

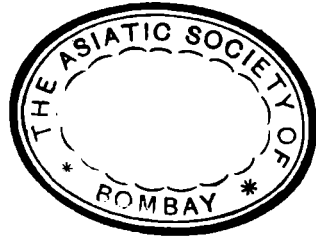
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JOURNAL  
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No. XXXIX., VOL. XV.

ART. I.—*Dharmasindhu, or the Ocean of Religious Rites, by the Priest Kasinatha.*<sup>1</sup> *Translated from the Sanscrit and commented upon by the REV. A. BOURQUIN.*

INTRODUCTION.

I worship the great Vittala,<sup>2</sup> the plenitude of gracious mercies, the easily pleased, the fulfiller of the distressed's desires, the dryer of the sea of transgressions innumerable, the ravisher of Rukmini's heart,<sup>3</sup> the supreme being whose activity spreads over boundless limits, and who pervades the mind.

I worship Shankara,<sup>4</sup> the destroyer of iniquities. May he lay his (divine)<sup>5</sup> hand on my head day and night.

I hasten to worship Shiva's wife and also (Ganapati)<sup>6</sup> the Lord

<sup>1</sup> See note 16.

<sup>2</sup> Shri-Vittala is the name of an idol worshipped at Pandharpur, a town of the Dekkan. He is more commonly called Vittoba, is considered to be an incarnation of Vishnu, the second deity of the Hindu triad, and is one of the most popular gods of the Maráthas. The word I translate here and further on in the introduction by worship is "Vande," which usually is used for the bow of adoration made to the gods in the beginning of any religious performance or even of any worldly undertaking, like, for instance, the writing of a book.

<sup>3</sup> Vittoba is here identical with Krishna, the renowned hero-god of the great epic poem Mahábháratá; and the epithet used here refers to an anecdote related in that work, as also in another called Bhágvataparána, that, namely, Rukmini, the beautiful and clever daughter of the king Bhishmaka, after having been promised into marriage to a man she could not love, heard of the heroic deeds of Krishna, became enamoured of him, and in a missive inflamed with love entreated him to save her from the impending calamity, whereupon he carried her off and married her. I have translated the word "mati" by "heart." Some native commentators take it to mean "intellect."

<sup>4</sup> Shankara is another name for Shiva, the third deity of the Hindu triad.

<sup>5</sup> All words placed in parenthesis are not in the Sanscrit text, but are used by me for the purpose of completing the meaning and the style of the translation.

<sup>6</sup> The renowned elephant-headed god, son of Shiva and his spouse Párvati. He puts both hindrances in one's way when displeased and removes them if propitiated.

of hindrances, the great Father (Brahma)<sup>7</sup> too, with the (divine) Sarasvati,<sup>8</sup> and prostrating myself before the revered Lakshmi,<sup>9</sup> Garuda,<sup>10</sup> the thousand-headed (Shesha),<sup>11</sup> Pradyumna,<sup>12</sup> the lord (Shiva), the ape-god (Hanuman), the glorious Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, (Saturn), the son of Châyá,<sup>13</sup> the six-faced (Kartīkeya),<sup>14</sup> Indra,<sup>15</sup> and all other gods, together with my preceptors, my mother, and my father, called Ananta,<sup>16</sup> and also Mádhava<sup>17</sup> and the other chief

<sup>7</sup> The first deity of the Hindu triad. It is a masculine form and a personified being, and quite different from Brahm, a neuter form and the impersonal Universal Essence.

<sup>8</sup> The goddess of learning and speech. According to some records she is Brahma's wife, but according to others his daughter.

<sup>9</sup> The wife of Vishnu and goddess of wealth and beauty.

<sup>10</sup> The well-known bird-god and attendant of Vishnu.

<sup>11</sup> Shesha, the thousand-headed serpent-god, is described in some records as the king of the Nágas or snakes of the seven infernal worlds; in others he is represented as forming the couch and canopy of Vishnu, and sometimes as supporting on one of his heads the seven infernal worlds followed by the terrene and six other superposed celestial worlds.

<sup>12</sup> An epithet of Kámadéva, the god of love.

<sup>13</sup> The shadow personified and wife of the Sun.

<sup>14</sup> Better known under the name of Skanda, the god of war. He is said to have been born of Shiva alone without feminine help. At his birth each of the six Kritikas or Pleiades offering her breast to him, his head divided itself into six to the satisfaction of each of them. Hence the appellation "six-faced god."

<sup>15</sup> Indra is the god of the atmosphere and lord of the gods of the sky, but subordinated to the triad.

<sup>16</sup> Here the author gives only his father's name, but at the end of the book he mentions his own as well as the names of his father, uncle, and grandfather, who all seem to have been very rigid in their observance of the law. His grandfather, the priest Kashinatha, was a learned Bráhmín of the Konkan. His uncle is said to have possessed a great knowledge of astronomy and astrology. His father Yajñeshvar left, when young, his birthplace near Ratnágiri, in the Konkan, and became a student of the seminary of Pandharpur, in the Dekkan (see note 2). After he had finished the course of his studies, he married, but whether he had other children besides the author of this work, cannot be surmised from the contents of the book. He was so learned in the holy scriptures, that he was considered an incarnation of the Infinite One. At a later period of his life he became an ascetic wanderer, and died on the shore of the holy river Bhima. The author of a book on Hindu rites, which depend so much on the motions of the celestial bodies, could scarcely have had a better entourage than that of an uncle astronomer and astrologer and of a father acquainted from his earliest years with all the traditional rites of the orthodox temple priests. This work is said to have been completed in the year 1712 of the era of Shalivahana (compare notes 35 and 36). Though of such recent date, it has become one of the most read standard books of orthodox Hindus, as its contents are known to be by no means of modern origin, but rather a reproduction of passages on rites taken from numerous old scriptural works of a more promiscuous character (compare note 19). It is to be seen in the house of every orthodox Hindu, not only in Western India, where it was first edited, but all over India: the holy Benares itself has reproduced several editions of it, and it is consulted at every occasion of religious rites to be performed.

<sup>17</sup> An ancient author of religious treatises.

and honourable sages, I compose this moderate<sup>18</sup> compendium of religious rites.

Reviewing older and well known (scriptural) treatises, but mostly avoiding a merely textual reproduction of sentences, I compose (this work) after the manner of the *Nirnayasindhu*<sup>19</sup> for the instruction of the ignorant.

## PART I.

### CHAPTER I.—ON TIMES.

There are six different ways (of reckoning) time, viz., by years, solar half-years, seasons, months, half-months, and days.

There are five kinds of years: the lunar and the solar years, the year called *Sāvāna*, the sidereal year, and the year of Jupiter.

The lunar year consists of twelve months, the first of which is called *Chaitra* (the second *Vaiśākha*), &c.,<sup>20</sup> each running from the first

<sup>18</sup> Everything is relative, for what appears here to the Hindu mind of the author to be a moderate compendium of rites, is to the European reader a prolix and voluminous work of some 500 pages in 8vo.

<sup>19</sup> The name of a work belonging to the *Mīmāṃsā* school, one of the three great divisions of orthodox Hindu philosophy. The name of its author is *Kamalakārabhāta*, but the time of its composition is not known. It is believed by Hindus to be very ancient. Besides the *Nirnayasindhu*, the contents of our work show that its author has used numerous other old works, such as *Hemādri*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Kīlāmādhava*, *Mayūkha*, *Kaustubha*, &c.

<sup>20</sup> The names of the twelve months are: *Chaitra*, *Vaiśākha*, *Jyeshtha*, *Ashāda*, *Shrāvāna*, *Bhādrapada*, *Ashvina*, *Kārtika*, *Mārgashirṣa*, *Pauṣa*, *Māgha*, and *Phalguṇa*. A careful remembrance of the consecution of these months is quite necessary to the right understanding of most parts of this work. The third chapter, for instance, on intercalary months would, without it, remain utterly incomprehensible to the reader. Each of these months consists of 29½ terrestrial days, the time which elapses between one conjunction of the moon and the sun to the next, that is, from new moon to new moon. However, to avoid the fraction, twelve months of 29 and 30 days alternately have been arranged, making a year of 354 days. Each of these months, whether of 29 or 30 days, is divided into 30 unequal parts called *Tithis* or dates. The numeration of these dates, however, does not run from 1 to 30, but only from 1 to 15; that is, to the end of the first half of the month, which is called the increasing or bright moon half month, when it begins again with 1 to 15 for the second half of the month, called the decreasing or dark moon half month. Now, in order to bring this year of 354 days into harmony with the solar course and with the seasons, a complicated scheme of intercalations, which will be described in Chapter III., has been devised by Hindu astronomers.

This clearly synodical lunar year has been for decades of centuries or more, and is still the single one among all Hindu sects all over India. Whatever wrongly may have been written by Europeans on this point to the contrary, must rest on misapprehension or carelessness, or perhaps with some on the want of the necessary knowledge of Sanscrit, without which no Indian calendar can be properly understood. That a scholar like *Duncan Forbes* in his *Hindustāni Grammar*, p. 148, says that the Hindus reckon time by solar years consisting of twelve equal portions, which it pleases him to call solar months, I can explain

increasing moon-day to the new moon-day, and of 354 days, or, when there is an intercalary month, of thirteen months (with 384 days).

only by conjecturing that he must have mistaken the Indian Tithis or dates for days, from which, however, they differ widely. Perhaps he looked at the dates of the month and found them to be always thirty; but had he counted the days, that is, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, &c., he would soon have found that six of the twelve months of the year have really only twenty-nine days, and would have then looked carefully into the real state of the Tithis, which he would have found to be a strange, though not arbitrary division, of each month into very unequal thirty parts, be the month one of thirty or one of twenty-nine days. He would have found Tithis of more than 26 hours and others of scarcely 21 hours, as a proof that the principle of computing the Tithis is widely different from that of computing terrestrial or sidereal days. The *Surya Siddhanta*, Chap. 14, 12, expresses itself in the following terms on the subject:—"The time in which the moon moving from the sun describes 12° of its orbit is a Tithi." And the well known Hindu astronomer, Professor Keropant Chatré, has kindly given me the following definition of the Tithi:—"The Tithi," says he, "is the time which the apparent moon requires to move over 12° from the apparent sun." Accordingly, the computation of the Tithis rests first on an arbitrary division of the moon's orbit into thirty equal parts of 12° each, which parts are taken as measures for the time the moon requires to pass through them. Now, if the moon's course were always uniform, then must also the Tithis be uniform; but as its velocity is accelerated or diminished in the measure the moon in its elliptical revolution approaches the earth or recedes from it, it is obvious that it requires more time to describe certain 12° than others, and that therefore the Tithis must be unequal. A careful examination of the tables of a Sanscrit calendar shows that the shortest Tithi occurs at the time when the moon is at its nearest approach to the earth, as the velocity of its motion is then the greatest. It is likewise evident that, as at least one of the Tithis of each month is of nearly 27 hours, the sun may rise twice in it. This is the so-called Tithi Vriddhi, which stretches over a full day and parts of the two days enclosing it. In this case the first day of the three retains the date of the preceding Tithi in which a sunrise occurred, say, the fifth, a Monday, the enclosed day is the real sixth, a Tuesday, and the third is the Tithi Vriddhi, or completing sixth, a Wednesday. But in this manner we should have a supernumerary day at the end of the month, if it were not reduced by means of the Kshaya Tithi or subtracting date. This is the short Tithi in which no sunrise occurs. It is taken together with the preceding Tithis and both ascribed to a single day, bringing thus the days to their original number, viz., 29½ or 29 in a month and 30 in the next, while by the whole process both months are sub-divided into thirty Tithis which were absolutely necessary for the performance, for instance, of obligatory funeral rites, which monthly and yearly must take place at the very date of death. Had this sub-division of the lunar months of twenty-nine and thirty terrestrial days alternately not been contrived, the funeral rite of a man could not have been performed in the month of twenty-nine days whose death had occurred on the last day of the month with thirty days. These puzzling Indian dates, which begin at any hour of the day and can be known only by a daily reference to the calendar, are yet followed by the whole of Hindu India both for civil and religious purposes, and as some of them are considered as holy and others as unholy, like, for instance, the above Tithi Vriddhi and Kshaya Tithi, as also the Amāvāsī, or dark moon date, and the Purnimā, or full moon date, with other numerous divisions and sub-divisions of sacredness and unsacredness, the common people in every act of life are made dependent on the more learned Gurus and Shastris.

As to the renowned so-called "Indian Solar Tables" procured to the learned Bailly by the two Jesuit missionaries Patouillet and Du Champ, and on which that savant in his "Astronomie Indienne et Orientale" built a remarkable speculative superstructure with regard to the two dates 1491 and 3102 B.C., up



The cyclus' sixty years, called Prabhava, Vibhava, Shukla, &c.,<sup>21</sup> are lunar years.

The solar year consists of 365 days,<sup>22</sup> the time the sun takes to pass through the twelve zodiacal mansions beginning with Aries.<sup>23</sup>

to which the above solar tables were said to run and to prove that the solar course and a solar year of 365 days were already known in India at that early date, they have been proved by the great Laplace in his "Système du Monde," p. 330—332, to be impossibilities, as, according to scientific astronomy, the general conjunction of sun, moon, and planets reported in those tables cannot have taken place at those dates, and to be mere speculative fabrications of comparatively modern times computed backwards.

It is well known that the Jews have for ages followed the lunar month and year. Like the Hindus, they have a common lunar year of 354 days, consisting of twelve lunar months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, or sometimes two months having twenty-nine and the two following thirty; and an embolismic year of 384 days, consisting of thirteen lunar months, the thirteenth additional month serving to harmonise the lunar year with the seasons.—The names of the twelve months are: Nissan, Iyar, Sivvan, Tammuz, Ab, Ellul, Tishri, Heshván, Kislev, Tebet, Shebat, and Adar. This last one is in the embolismic year repeated, and called, therefore, Veadar. That the Muhammadans and Arabs also follow the lunar months is a well-known fact which has been explained by many writers on their laws and customs, and needs no mention here. There can, therefore, be no doubt as to the lunations having been in the ages and among the nations of antiquity the first measure of time.

<sup>21</sup> The names of the sixty years of the cyclus are: Prabhava, Vibhava, Shukla, Pramoda, Prajapati, Angira, Shrimukha, Bhava, Yuvá, Dhata, Ishvara, Bahudhania, Pramathi, Vikrama, Vrisha, Chitrabhanu, Subhanu, Tarana, Parthiva, Vyaya, Sarvajit, Sarvadhari, Virodhi, Vikriti, Khara, Nandana, Vijaya, Jaya, Manmatha, Durmukha, Hemalambi, Vilambi, Vikari, Sharvari, Plava, Shubhakrit, Shobhana, Krodhi, Vishvasu, Parabhava, Plavanga, Kilaka, Saumya, Sádharana, Virodhakrit, Paridhavi, Pramadi, Ananda, Rakshasa, Anala, Pingala, Kalayukta, Sidharti, Baudra, Durmati, Dundubhi, Rudhirodgari, Raktakshi, Krodhana, and Kshaya. (As to the origin of this cyclus *cf.* note 36, last paragraph.)

<sup>22</sup> This of course is a round number, for Indian astronomers, living as early as the sixth or even fifth century of our era, knew of the fraction to be added, though they make it exceed the real solar course by about an Indian hour or 24 minutes. The author of the Sidbanta Shiromany gives the length of the solar year to be 365 days, 15 ghatikas, 30 palas, and  $22\frac{1}{2}$  vipala, a ghatika being 24 minutes, a pala 24 seconds, and a vipala 24".

<sup>23</sup> This solar year of 365 days cannot have been in use among Hindus, or even known to them at a very remote period of their history; as,

1st, all their religious ceremonies are based upon the lunar year (*cf.* note 20); as,

2nd, their present calendar year, though harmonised with the solar year since perhaps nearly 1,400 years (*cf.* note 36), is a pure lunar year, as described in note 20, with intercalations; as,

3rd, at the beginning of even those ceremonies which they now perform in connection with solar events (for instance, at the time of each of the twelve solar passages into the zodiacal signs) they carefully pronounce and repeat (*cf.* note 27) the date of the year, month, and day of the moon-phases year, explained in note 20; and as,

4th, had they known the solar year, they would never have invented and adopted the lunar year with all the additions and reductions they require to adjust it to the seasons.

### The year called *Sávana* has 360 days.\*

From the above; from what we have said in note 20; from the jealous zeal with which we see the Hindus have from their accustomed unwillingness to accept anything foreign to their soil, in spite of their knowledge of the solar year and of the necessity they were in to adopt it for the purpose of harmonising their own lunar year to the seasons, carefully preserved and followed the lunar year; there can be no doubt as to the solar year having been imported from the West into India, even if it were not possible by means of the history of the zodiac and of the lunar mansions, to prove, as Lassen has so conclusively done, that the Hindus' knowledge of exact astronomy is posterior and filial to that of Babylon and the Greeks.

\* Some have supposed that this *Sávana* year of 360 terrestrial days (a terrestrial day being the time between one sunrise and the next) had never been but the well-known fictive year of Indian astronomers, one day being made to correspond with one degree of the ecliptic, one *ghaṭika* with one minute, and one *pala* with one second (*cf.* note 31), but never in use among any nation, as such a year would soon have ceased to be in harmony with the seasons. Against such an hypothesis, however, are the two facts, that the most ancient rites of the Hindus, like, for instance, the three daily worships and others, as will be seen in the sequel, are decidedly connected with terrestrial days, and not with the *Tithis* or dates on which more modern rites are all dependent; and that this very *Sávana* year of 360 terrestrial days is still at the present day the one exclusively in use among the *Zend Avesta* Parsis. They brought it with them from Persia at the time of their immigration into India, and all their religious ceremonies being based upon it, they have up to this day, and in spite of all contrary influences, carefully followed it. It has twelve months of thirty terrestrial days, and without the sub-division into weeks, which are quite unknown to them, each day bearing a different name. In their present calendar they bring this *Sávana* year into harmony with the solar one by intercalating five days at the end of the year, which bear no names nor dates, and which, as they say, they "throw away." When this insertion of five days first took place, that is, when they first became acquainted with the solstitial course, could be ascertained only by a careful inspection of their almanacs and temple records of the whole period of their era, the present date of which is 1249. Of the remaining 5 hours and 56 minutes they know nothing, so that, if the intercalation has begun with the first year of their era, their year must now have passed nearly through all the seasons of the year. The priests, with whom rested the knowledge of astronomy and the responsibility of the calendar, its days being bound up with their religious ceremonies, declared the five days to be holy and completely to be set apart.

The names of the twelve months are: *Pharvardin*, *Ardibes*, *Khordad*, *Tir*, *Amardad*, *Sarévar*, *Mér*, *A'vá*, *A'dar*, *Dé*, *Baman*, and *Aspandad*.

The names of the thirty days are: *Ormud*, *Baman*, *Ardibes*, *Sarévar*, *Aspandad*, *Khordad*, *Amardad*, *Dépádar*, *A'dar*, *A'vá*, *Khorsad*, *Mor*, *Tir*, *Gos*, *Dakmér*, *Mér*, *Saros*, *Rastná*, *Pharvardin*, *Béram*, *Rám*, *Guvad*, *Deptin*, *Din*, *Aisán*, *Astad*, *Asman*, *Jemiád*, *Marespan*, *Anderám*.

Interesting it is to see all the names of the months recurring in their pure form as names of days except *Dé*, which becomes the composed *Dépádar*.

What these names signify, and whether in their meaning they bear any resemblance with the appellations of months and days of other nations, I am unable to say. It is remarkable that this same kind of solar year, consisting of 360 days with five epagomenic days was also in use not only among the ancient Egyptians, but also among the Mexicans and Peruvians, for at the time of the discovery and conquest of the New World, Spanish writers, describing the manners and religious usages of those nations, reported that their year was a solar one and consisted of 360 days with a yearly intercalation of five days. The great Laplace, who in his "*Système du Monde*" describes fully this Peruvian and

The sidereal year consists of twelve sidereal months, which shall be described later on, and of 324 days.<sup>25</sup>

The year of Jupiter has 361 days, just the time Jupiter wants to travel from Aries to the next mansion, and so on.<sup>26</sup>

In connection with the declaration<sup>27</sup> of religious acts, &c., the lunar year should be used and no other.

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Mexican year, says that those nations not having had themselves a scientific knowledge of the solar course, nor any written records of the heavenly phenomena necessary for such a computation, must have received their solar year from the north of Asia; yet he seems to be puzzled how such a year of 360 days with five intercalary days can have come to them from Asia, where no such year has ever been in use. Had he known the fact we have just recorded as to the ancient year of the Parsis, whose political influence once held sway over the whole of Asia, no doubt as to the truth of his assertion could have entered his mind (*cf.* note 35).

<sup>25</sup> I find nothing from which I could deduct that this year has ever been anything else than a year used by astronomers for celestial calculations. It is made up of twelve months of twenty-seven days each (in round numbers, of course, for in reality it is 27*d.*, 7*h.*, 43', and 12"). This is just the time the moon, progressing somewhat more than thirteen degrees a day, wants for its course through the twenty-seven sidereal mansions of the oldest Hindu lunar ecliptic in which the 22nd, namely, Abhijit, is wanting. In the Jyotishasāra, which must therefore belong to a later time, I find the following 28: Ashvini, Bharani, Krittika, Rohini, Mṛiga, Ardrā, Punarvasu, Pushya, Ashleshā, Maghā, Pūrvā-phālguna, Uttarāphalguna, Hasta, Chitrā, Svāti, Vishākhā, Anurādhā, Jyeshthā, Mula, Pūrvāshādā, Uttarāshādā, Abhijit, Shṛāvana, Dhanishthā, Shatātārakā, Pūrvābhādrapada, Uttarābhādrapadā, and Revati.

<sup>26</sup> Jupiter's passage from one sign to the next taking place in 361 days, its whole course through the Zodiac is accomplished in 4,332 days. This computation of our author is but by half a day short of the scientific computation of our time, and may therefore be taken as quite correct in accordance with what we have adduced in note 36 concerning Indian astronomical plus or minus fractions. Hindu astronomers and almanack-makers, however, in their computation of Jupiter's course do not follow the rules of the Dharmasindhu. In a series of calendars for the years 1757 to 1769 of Shālivāhana's era, I find that Jupiter entered Gemini on the 6th of the first half of the month of Jyeshtha 1757, and that passing through the whole of the zodiac, it re-entered the same sign on the 2nd of the first half of the additive month of Jyeshtha in 1769, the two dates, including 4,368 days, which, divided by 12, the number of the zodiacal signs, give exactly 364 days for a mean passage of Jupiter from one sign to another. It is interesting to mark here that this mean passage of 364 days is conformable to the solar year of 364 days in use among Hindus at some former period of their astronomical knowledge, and which is described by Bailly in his "Astronomie Orientale." Indian astronomers of that time, seeing that Jupiter's passage from one sign to the next was nearly equal to one solar year, gave up the difference, and for convenience sake made it exactly equal to it, saying that one course of Jupiter was equal to twelve solar years.

<sup>27</sup> This declaration must be made in the following manner. We will suppose that to-day's date is the twelfth day of the increasing moon of Māgha 1802. Before performing a sacrifice or any other religious rite the devotee must say: "I" (and here follow his name and surname) "in the Shaka era, in the year 1802, in the Shishira season (*cf.* note 35), in the increasing moon half month of Māgha, on the twelfth day, do offer this sacrifice."

There are two kinds of solar half-years, the Northing and the South-  
ing.<sup>28</sup> The Southing begins with the sun entering Cancer and stretches  
over its passage through six of the mansions. The Northing begins  
with the sun entering Capricorn and stretches over its passage through  
the six (other) mansions.

There are also two kinds of seasons: the solar and the lunar. Be-  
ginning with Pisces or Aries, the sun's passage through two and two  
mansions makes up each time one of the six (solar) seasons called  
Vasanta,<sup>29</sup> &c. Beginning with the month of Chaitra there are six  
lunar seasons each of two months, and called (also) Vasanta, &c.

The lunar season in which an intercalary month occurs consists of  
somewhat less than 90 days. It is excellent at the time of declaring  
religious acts performed either after the ritual called Revelation or that  
called Tradition,<sup>30</sup> to remember (and pronounce) the (names of the)  
lunar seasons (*cf.* note 27).

There are four kinds of months: the lunar, the solar, the Sāvāna, and  
the sidereal months. The lunar month begins either with the first in-  
creasing moon-day and ends with the dark moon-day, or it begins  
with the first decreasing moon-day and ends with the full-moon day  
(*cf.* note 20). Yet of both ways of reckoning, the more commonly  
used is that which begins with the first increasing moon-day. North  
of the Vindya mountains, however, they should begin their months  
with the first day of the decreasing moon. These lunar months,  
beginning with the first called Chaitra, should be remembered (and

<sup>28</sup> In connection with these two half-years we shall always translate "North-  
ing" and "Southing," and not "Northern" and "Southern"; that their pecu-  
liarity be always borne in mind, namely, that they are not congruent to our  
European way of calculating the solar course running from one equinoctial  
point to the other on each side of the equator, but that they are computed  
after the solar course from solstice to solstice and back again.

<sup>29</sup> The six seasons are: Vasanta (spring), Grishma (hot season), Varsha  
(monsoon), Sarad (autumn), Hemanta (cold season), and Shishira (cool season),  
spring beginning either in the end of March, or in the first days of April.

<sup>30</sup> The two words I translate by Revelation and Tradition are Shruti and  
Smriti. Shruti is "what is heard," specially the scriptures, called Vedas, as  
heard by the ancient sages from Brahmā's own mouth. Smriti is "what is  
remembered," "moved in the mind," and "commented upon," and refers to all  
human commentaries and other scriptural literature relating to the Vedas,  
like the Kalpasutras, Sikshi, Chandas, Nirukta, Vyākaraṇa, Jyotisha, Grihya-  
sutras, Sāmāyāchārikasutras, Dharmashāstras, Itihāsas, Purānas, and others,  
some of which works are unvedic, but still considered as revealed truth.  
Shrauta and Smarta, the words of our text, mean therefore acts performed in  
connection with Shruti and Smriti, but chiefly the two kinds of holy fire used  
for the daily and other burnt offerings, and kindled by a Brāhmin householder  
in the holy fire-room set apart for this purpose.

their names pronounced) at the time of performing religious rites (*cf.* note 27).

Some (astronomers) beginning with Pisces call the months of Chaitra, &c., solar months. A solar month begins with the entrance of the sun into a zodiacal sign and ends with its entrance into another.

The Sávana month consists of thirty (terrestrial) days (*cf.* note 24).

The sidereal month (*cf.* note 25) is reckoned after the moon's passage through the twenty-seven sidereal mansions beginning with the Twins.

The time from the first increasing moon-day to the full moon-day is called the light half month, and the time from the first decreasing moon-day to the new moon-day is called the dark half month.

There are 60 ghatikas (or Indian hours) in a day.<sup>31</sup>

The Shrouta is the Vedic burnt offering. It is not generally performed now except perhaps by some few Bráhmíns of Benares and other holy places. It must consist of three fires which a Bráhmín householder kindles on three specially prepared fire-places forming a half-circle. Turned towards the east the Bráhmín steps forth followed by his wife; facing him towards the east is the fire called Ahavania dedicated to Vishnu; to his right, towards the south, is the fire called Dakshina dedicated to Bráhma; and to his left, towards the north, is the fire called Garhapatyas dedicated to Shiva. Branches of the *Ficus Religiosa*, Kusha or other holy kind of grass, clarified butter, rice and sesamum seed are then gradually and under the necessary incantations thrown on the fire by the householder, while his wife, as a symbol of their unity, lays her right hand on his right arm. Only accompanied by her can a householder perform this rite. When a widower, he must relinquish his right to do so to his married son or nearest married relative, who henceforth performs the family ceremonies until the time at least of the father's remarriage. These fires, according to Vedic teaching, ought not to be extinguished, but kept glowing by means of lumps of dry cowdung added twice a day as fuel. Should they go out accidentally, then must fire be gained out of two pieces of wood from the *Ficus Religiosa* by means of an iron axis turned by a drill-bow. From them is the fire taken by which funeral piles are set ablaze.

All these accompanying features of the Shrouta are found again with the Smarta burnt-offering, which is performed in accordance with the teaching of Smṛiti, and consists in the kindling of one fire only. It is still performed by a few rich Bráhmíns in Bombay, and by many of the twice-born in up-country places and villages, where they more easily secure a room, which they dedicate to this rite, and call therefore the "house of fire." An earthen pot half buried in the ground contains the glowing holy cowdung fire.

The place is considered as holy, and cannot be entered by any one except after a thorough purification. A fuller description of this rite will follow in the course of the translation.

<sup>31</sup> Accordingly a ghatika is equal to 24 minutes of our time; 2 ghatikas make a muhurta, used in connection with sacrificial acts by astrologers. A ghatika is divided into 60 kalas (also palas), or Indian minutes, and the kala again into 60 vikalas (also vipalas), or Indian seconds. This method is extremely convenient, as all its divisions agree exactly with the divisions of the ecliptic, one day being equal to one degree, one ghatika equal to one minute, one kala to one second, and one vikala to one-sixtieth of a second of the ecliptic. As to the fact that one day is not exactly equal to one degree, nor one ghatika to one minute of the ecliptic, Indian astronomers know it and have

Thus is the first chapter of the compendium of the Ocean of Religious Rites.

## CHAPTER II.

Here follows a definition (of what must be observed at the time) of the sun's entrance into the zodiacal signs.

When the sun enters into Aries, the propitious time (for the performance of religious rites) is 15 ghatikas (*cf.* note 31) before and 15 ghatikas after the event; yet some say only ten before and ten after it; when in Taurus the preceding 16 ghatikas; in Gemini the following 16; in Cancer the preceding 30; in Leo the preceding 16; in Virgo the following 16; in Libra the preceding and the following 15, or, as some say, 10 before and 10 afterwards; in Scorpio the preceding 16; in Sagittarius the following 16; in Capricorn the following 40; in Aquarius the preceding 16, and in Pisces the following 16.

Should the sun enter Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius, Pisces, or Capricorn at the end of a day, there remaining only 2 ghatikas or so, then the time preceding the event is propitious (instead of the time following it, as ruled above); and if the sun enters into Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, Aquarius, or Cancer early in the morning, when only 2 ghatikas or so of the day are passed, then the time following the event is propitious (and not the time preceding it, as ruled above). Yet, as to the sun's entrance into Cancer in the morning, some say that the preceding day is to be considered as its holy time.

Now as to what must be observed when the sun enters at night time into one of the signs of the zodiac. If the event takes place before midnight, then is the afternoon of the preceding day its propitious time, but if it occurs after midnight, then is the forenoon of the following day propitious. Should it take place just at midnight, then both the afternoon of the preceding day and the forenoon of the following are propitious. This rule should be followed at the nightly entrance of the sun into any one of the twelve zodiacal signs except Capricorn and Cancer. Should the sun, when in the solstice, enter Capricorn at night, then is the whole following day holy; or Cancer, then is the (whole) preceding day holy.

Three ghatikas after sunset make up the evening twilight. If the sun enters Capricorn at that time, then the preceding day is holy.

Three ghatikas before sunrise make up the morning twilight. If at

therefore invented quite an ingenious way of equalizing the result of computations by means of certain additions and subtractions, the description of which would lead us too far.

that time the sun enters Cancer, then is the following day its holy time.

Thus are the peculiarities of the twilights set forth in the scriptures on astronomy.

Now as to presents (to be made to Bráhmíns) at such times. When the sun is in Aries a ram should be given; when in Taurus a cow; when in Gemini clothes, provisions, &c.; when in Cancer clarified butter and a cow; when in Leo an umbrella and gold; when in Virgo a house and clothes; when in Libra sesamum seed and cow-milk; in Scorpio a lamp; in Sagitarius clothes and a chariot; in Capricorn fuel and fire;<sup>32</sup> in Aquarius a cow, water,<sup>33</sup> and grass; in Pisces fields and necklaces; and other more donations which can be looked for (in other scriptures).

When the sun enters into the two solstitial signs (Cancer and Capricorn), or into the (two equinoctial) signs of Aries and Libra, one should, either during one day or during three days preceding the event, fast, bathe, and make donations. The last fasting should be kept throughout the day and night in which the solar entrance takes place, or throughout the day and night of its propitious time, just as it (according to the rules given above) may occur. This fasting is to be kept by a householder who has no son<sup>34</sup> with the desire of expiating his sin. It is voluntarily performed, and for some particular object, and not one of the fixed and obligatory rites.

Funeral rites to the manes, performed at a solar entrance into a zodiacal sign, must be without the (usual) rice balls;<sup>35</sup> but if performed at the sun's entrance into the solstitial signs (Cancer and Capricorn), then they are obligatorily regular.

Just at the time of the sun's passage into certain signs, certain donations must be made, so also before it enters into the sign, at its

<sup>32</sup> In this rapacious list one is rather astonished to meet with such easy presents as fire and water, and they both are often used by Bráhmíns, in discussion, as an example of their disinterestedness. However, it strikes one that they could as well have devised them as use them for the very purpose of feigning such a virtue. Besides, it must not be forgotten that ever fire and water cannot be presented without the copper or brass (sometimes, as I hear, gold) vessels in which they are contained.

<sup>33</sup> A son being, according to Indian scriptures, necessary for the performance of the prescribed funeral rites, without which a deceased father's spirit has, sometimes for ages, to be without enjoyment, and, in a disembodied state, to roam through space, it is considered as a punishment of the gods for a sin committed either in this life or in one of the previous phases of the transmigratory course, to be without male issue; hence the above fast performed with the desire to remove the curse and gain the good-will of the gods.

<sup>34</sup> Rice balls, water, and other provisions are offered at such times to deceased ancestors, who are said to eat the essence thereof.

passage through a "portion" of the half-yearly course, those donations, ablutions, &c., must be performed which are proper to the (following) conjunction. These "portions" are described in the scriptures on astronomy. There are in this present year 1712 of the era of Sháliváhana,<sup>35</sup> twenty-one "portions" of the half-yearly solar course.<sup>36</sup> Thus

<sup>35</sup> The era of Sháliváhana is called Shaka, and begins with the year 78 after Christ. It is adopted by the whole of Southern India, from the Nerbudda and Vindhya mountains southwards. Nations between the Vindhya mountains and the Himalayas follow the era of Vikramáditya, called Samvat, which begins with the year 57 before Christ. Both eras consist of lunar years of 354 days, which are now harmonized with the solar year by means of intercalations, but when they first began to do it, is not known (*cf.* note 23).

<sup>36</sup> The word I translate by "half-yearly solar course" is *Ayana* (*cf.* note 26). *Ayana-amsha* means therefore a "portion of the half-yearly solar course" and is commonly used for one degree of the ecliptic, which is divided as follows :

The whole Bhágana or ecliptic is divided into 12 Ráshi or zodiacal signs.  
 The Basbi into ..... 30 Amsha or degrees.  
 The Amsha into ..... 60 Kala or minutes.  
 The Kala into ..... 60 Vikala or seconds.

That *Ayanámsha* means a degree of the ecliptic is clear. That, however, *Ayanámsha* in the above text has a special meaning, is evident, for the author says that in the year 1712 of Sháliváhana's era (*cf.* notes 35 and 12) there were 21 such portions or degrees. I at first thought that this was a mere astrological calculation, but upon reflecting that even such astrological numbers were seldom unconnected with some real fact, I set to work in order to find the manner after which this number 21 was computed. In spite of the numerous and careful inquiries I made from astrologers and other Bráhmíns versed in the sacred books, except that in the present year 1880 or 1802 of Sháliváhana's era there were 22 such portions with a strong fraction, I could learn nothing, either because they themselves were ignorant of its meaning or way of computation, or because, which is more probable, they were unwilling to throw any light on the subject. After much ransacking of astronomical and astrological treatises, I found in the *Grahalághava*, a treatise written in the beginning of the 15th century, the following short passage concerning the *Ayanámsha* of our text : अथ वेदाव्ययूनः खरसहतः शकौयनांशः which means : "from the (current year of the) era of Sháliváhana subtract the Vedas, the Sea and the Sea, divide the rest with Cavity and Taste, and you shall have the *Ayanámsha*." Now, according to the symbolical meaning of the above words, as used in astronomy for the very purpose of rendering it obscure to the uninitiated, "Vedas" stands for the number 4, each "Sea" stands also for 4, making thus by numeration 444, which is the sum to be subtracted ; "Cavity" stands for 0 (cypher) and "Taste" for 6, which reverted make 60, the divisor.

Now, take the year given in the above text ..... 1,712  
 Subtract..... 444  
 -----  
 Which divide by ..... 60 ) 1,268 (21  
   120  
   -----  
   68  
   60  
   -----  
   8



the holy time of the "portion" is the twenty-first day preceding the sun's entrance into the zodiac sign. Thus (at least) must its conclusive

giving thus 21 Ayanámsha or degrees with a fraction of eight kalas or minutes. The same operation made on the current year 1802 of Sháliváhana's era will give 22 degrees with a strong fraction of 38 minutes, just the number mentioned above. So much as to the computation itself. Now as to the meaning of the subtrahend 444, of the divisor 60, and of the quotient 21 (the Ayanámsha of the text). Concerning this point nothing can be surmised from the concise text of the Grahálághava itself, but a commentary on the Grahálághava, written in the beginning of the 16th century, says in connection with the very words we have quoted from the Grahálághava, that the first time a certain instrument for measuring the sun's shadow (a gnomon), which he minutely describes, was "in the year 444 at the time of the vernal equinox and in the middle of the day" used, no shadow whatever was thrown at the base, but that next year, at the vernal equinox, a shadow of one kala, or one minute, was observed, and that it went increasing one minute each year. Now, as there are 60 minutes in a degree or Ayanámsha, and as each year adds only one minute to the shadow, in order to find the number of Ayanámshas which are passed, a simple division of the era by 60 is sufficient, having previously taken care, however, to subtract from the era 444, the number of years up to which nothing was known and no computation made of these Ayanámshas.

To every one who has so far attentively followed us, it must be evident that the Ayanámshas denote the degrees of what we call the "precession of the equinoxes" discovered by the Greek Hipparchos in the year 130 B.C. An equinoctial precession of one minute a year is of course too much, as according to exact astronomy it is only of  $50\frac{1}{2}$ ", but this slight difference can easily be accounted for partly by the primitiveness of the astronomical instruments used (as described in the commentary on the Grahálághava), partly by the penumbra, which is not taken into account, and partly by the fact that, as is seen by all computations of the sort and by what the above quoted commentary clearly says, small *plus* or *minus* fractions are not to be reckoned. Native astronomers know very well this want of exactness in their calculations, for a Maráthi translator and commentator of the above Grahálághava says that 210 years after the Grahálághava had been written, mistakes were discovered and mended by the astronomer Vishranatha Deivajna by means of additions and subtractions. It is here important to remember that also at about the same period lived the great Mathematician and the Father of Indian astronomy Aryabhata, who is commonly believed to have first introduced the knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes into Indian astronomy. (cf. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 1144.) The commentary to the Aryabhattija says that Aryabhata was born after the 36th century of Kaliyuga. Now, as the Kaliyuga begins with the year 3102 B.C., he must have been born after the year 500 A.D., which fact can but add strength to our argument that the Ayanámshas in the sense of our text (or precession of the equinoxes) were first computed in the year 444 of Sháliváhanas, or 522 A.D. (cf. on the alphabetical notation of the Hindus, by C. M. Whish, in *Trans. of the Lit. Soc. of Madras I.*, p. 54). According to the above the three following points must be self-evident:—

1st.—That no rite connected with these Ayanámshas or degrees of the precession of the equinoxes can have been performed before the year 444 of Sháliváhana's era;

2nd.—That all treatises or books containing any allusion to the precession of the equinox, that is, Ayanámshas in the sense of our text, or to rites connected with those Ayanámshas, must have been written after the year 444 of Sháliváhana's era;

3rd.—That the discovery of the precession of the equinoxes by the Greek Hipparchos is anterior to that of the astronomers of India by 652 years.

meaning be, and so it must be reckoned according to the higher or lower date of the era.

The sun's passage through Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, and Aquarius is

Somewhat less conclusive may perhaps the following conjecture appear to the reader, that, namely, these 60 years congruent to these 60 Ayanámshas of the precession of the equinoxes are also congruent to the renowned cycle of 60 years called by modern writers "Jupiter's Cyclus," which we have described in note 21, and that its origin, which has not as yet been either explained or even guessed at, is to be searched for just in these Ayanámshas. It is of course needless to demonstrate that no earnest inquirer can rest satisfied with the guess of some modern writers, that this 60 years' cyclus of Jupiter is a mere fictive calculation resting on a multiplication of one course of Jupiter equal to 12 years with a mystical number 5; and it must be, I contend, considered as an absolute impossibility that the origin of this cyclus, known and followed in every part and by every sect of India, could rest on any other basis but on a real astronomical fact, like, for instance, the astronomical phenomenon of the Ayanámshas of our text, corresponding in all its part exactly to Jupiter's cyclus. The time of the origin of these Ayanámshas, namely, the year 444 of Sháliváhana's era as described above, suits also exactly our theory as to the origin of the cyclus, for it is well known (*cf.* Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde) that this so-called cyclus of Jupiter is of post-vedic time, and that it can be traced only as far back as Vahára Mihira, who lived just at that very time, 444 of Sháliváhana. The objection that as this cycle is called "Jupiter's Cyclus," it must have some reference to the planet of that name, presents no difficulty, as, firstly, this appellation is but of modern origin, and probably invented after the fallacious multiplication of 12 by 5, as described above, had been imagined; and as, secondly, should this appellation be found to be of more ancient date, it would prove nothing at all, Jupiter being before all things the great and learned preceptor of the gods, and his name always used in connection with all kinds of scientific researches. How easy of apprehension is it, therefore, that this cycle of 60 years, resting on the learned discovery of the precession of the equinoxes, should have been ascribed to Jupiter and his name given to it! Another objection which could be made, that, namely, should the cycles have begun with the Ayanámshas in the year 444, the name of the present year 1802 (or 1880 A.D.) should be Krodhi, according to note 21, while in the Maharashtra country, for instance, the present year is Pramathi, is equally fallacious; for it is well known that though all parts of India and all Hindu sects follow the 60 years' cycle, they do not all begin it with the same year, and that this present year 1802 is called differently in different countries and even in different calendars of the same country. As to the fact that some Indian astronomers have in their treatises computations after which the whole Kaliyuga (*cf.* note 60) is divided into cycles of 60 years, it should be remembered that they divide thus not only the Kaliyuga, but also their whole kalpa, a period of 4,320,000,000 years, and that the whole is of course an *après coup* process.

Now, as to what some believe, that besides the above cyclus of Jupiter there has been another cycle, also of 60 years and anti-vedic in existence, I am unable to express any opinion, as I have had no opportunity to see and study a so-called Vedic calendar, the principles of which are said to be found in the great epic Mahábhárata.

And now, before closing the subject, let us give a key of the symbolical appellations of numbers as found in the Gráhalághava, and in its commentary. It must be well noted, however, that we can give here each time but one of the numerous names of the symbolical objects used, but that of course all other appellations of the same object have the same meaning and the same numeric value. For instance, the number 4 is represented indifferently by समुद्रः, सागरः, अभिः, उदधिः, सिन्धुः, &c., which all mean "sea." I can here but adduce their

called the "Foot of Vishnu;"<sup>87</sup> its passage through Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius, and Pisces is called the "Eighty-six;"<sup>87</sup> its passage through Aries or Libra is called "Equinoctial;"<sup>87</sup> and through Cancer or Capricorn "Solstitial."<sup>87</sup> Among these four classes each last is holier than the preceding.

For joyful ceremonies performed at the time of the sun's entrance into any of the zodiac signs, 16 ghatikas before and 16 after the event should ordinarily be rejected. But if it is the moon or any other of the planets which enters the zodiac signs, then before and after the event one should reject in their due order 2, 9, 2, 84, 6, and 150 ghatikas.<sup>88</sup>

Some say that when the sun enters any of the zodiac signs at night, then it ought to be kept as it is with eclipses, namely, that donations and ablutions be performed at night. Yet most people agree, and it is so kept in most countries, that when the sun enters a sign at night, ablutions, &c., should be performed at day time, and not in the night. If during one's natal constellation the sun enters any of the mansions, then will one have to suffer loss of property, &c. In order to nullify this influence one must bathe in water strewed with the leaves of the lotus flower.

If the sun enters into the equinoctial mansions (of Aries and Libra), or into the solstitial mansions (of Cancer and Capricorn) in

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Sanskrit names, reserving to myself for a later time the explanation of their inherent meaning, which forms in itself quite a large chapter of Indian history and mythology.

(0) शून्य, ख, आकाश; (1) एक, पृथ्वी, चंद्र, रूप; (2) द्वौ, अश्वि, पक्ष, अक्षि, दोष, यम; (3) त्रि, क्रम, भाष, राम, पुर, लोक, गुण, अभि; (4) चत्वार, समुद्र, वेद, युग कृत; (5) पंच, बाण, वायु, भूत, अक्ष; (6) रस, षट्, अंग, ऋतु, तर्क; (7) सप्त, ऋषि, स्वर, तुरग, पर्वत; (8) अष्ट, वसु, सर्प, मत्तगज; (9) नव, संख्या, नंद, रंभ, निधि, गो, अंक, नभश्चर; (10) दश, आशा, शून्य, अभ्र; (11) एकादश, महेश्वर; (12) द्वादश, अर्क; (13) त्रयोदश, विश्व, त्रयोदश; (14) चतुर्दश, मनु, इंद्र, भुवन; (15) पंचदश, तिथि; (16) षोडश, कला, अष्टि, राजा; (17) सप्तदश, अन्याष्टि, घन; (18) अष्टादश, धृति; (19) एकोनविंशति, अतिभृति; (20) विंशति, कृति, नख, अंगुलि; (21) एकविंशति, स्वर, प्रकृति, मूर्च्छना, स्वः; (22) द्वाविंशति, जाति; (23) त्रयोविंशति, आकृति, विकृति, संकृति, अर्हत्; (24) चतुर्विंशति, अिन, सिद्ध, चतुर्विंशति; (25) पंचविंशति, तत्त्व, अतिकृति; (26) षट्त्रिंशति, अर्हत्कृति; (27) सप्तविंशति; नक्षत्र; (32) द्वाविंशति, दशान, द्विज; (33) त्रयोविंशति, सुर; (49) उनपंचाशत्, तान.

<sup>87</sup> Why the two first are called so, I am unable to discover. The meaning of the two last names is self-evident.

<sup>88</sup> This refers to the seven first planets of Indian astronomers, viz., the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. The rules concerning the sun having been given above, the author had now only to establish rules for the six other planets, each of the six numbers of the text corresponding in due order with each of these six planets.

day time, then both teaching and learning must be put aside for that day and for the two nights enclosing it; but if it takes place in the night, teaching and learning must be put aside both for that night and for the two days enclosing it. That is the so-called Pakshini<sup>39</sup> solar passage, and the purpose of it is that one may get rest from study for twelve watches.<sup>40</sup>

As to other particulars, they will be given further on in connection with (the description of) the sun's entrance into the solstitial mansions (of Cancer and Capricorn).

Thus is the second chapter concerning the sun's passage through the zodiacal signs.

### CHAPTER III.

#### DESCRIPTION OF INTERCALARY MONTHS.

There are two kinds of intercalary months, viz., the Additive and the Subtractive.

The month in which no solar passage into the zodiacal signs occurs is an additive month, and the months in which two such passages take place is a subtractive month. From the time of the occurrence of an additive month one must count thirty (common) months, and then the next additive month will be found to be one of the eight or nine following months.<sup>41</sup> The subtractive month, however, does not occur as often as the additive month, but only once in a period of either 141 years or 19 years. The subtractive month is always one of the months of Kártika, Mārgashirsha, and Pausha, but never another. In the year in which a subtractive month occurs, there are also two additive months, one preceding and one following it.

<sup>39</sup> Pakshini is a kind of measure of time, consisting of one day and the two nights enclosing it, or of one night and the two days enclosing it.

<sup>40</sup> A watch is equal to 7½ ghaṭikas, or three hours of our time.

<sup>41</sup> The Jyotishasāra says that it recurs exactly after 32 months, 16 days, and 4 ghaṭikas, which would leave but a small minus of 4½ hours yearly to account for by the subtractive month-year, which, though it bears the name of subtractive, is really additive, for it has also two additive months, which more than nullify the subtractive month. Indian astronomers and astrologers, however, follow apparently neither the rule of the Jyotishasāra, nor the general rule put down in our text above, for I find by means of Sanscrit almanacks that between the additive month, which took place in the year 1799 of Shālivāhana's era, in the month of Jyeshtha, and that which took place in the year 1801 in the month of A'shvina, there are only twenty-nine months. The harmonising the lunar with the solar year is, according to Indian astronomy, altogether embarrassing (*cf.* note 49). It should be carefully noted that these intercalations do not take place within each lunar year of 354 for the purpose of harmonising it to the number of solar days in a year, viz. 365, but that they occur only in the third year, when the number of days fallen behind amount to a lunar month, in which year there are then 13 months and 3¼ days (*cf.* Chapter I.)

Here is an example of an additive month: If on the new moon-day<sup>42</sup> of the (first) month called Chaitra the sun enters Aries, but from the first moonlight day<sup>43</sup> (of the next month) to its new moon-day no other solar passage occurs, and the next passage into Taurus takes place only on the first moonlight day (of the third month), then the (second) month which has had no solar passage into the zodiacal signs is an additive month, and is called the additive Vaishákha month, and the month which has the solar passage into Taurus is the common Vaishákha month.

And here is an example of the subtractive month:

(Suppose that) on the new moon-day of the (sixth) month called Bhádrapada the sun enters Virgo; that the next month Áshvina (according to the rule given above) is an additive month, and is called the additive Áshvina month; that on the first increasing moon-day of the following common Áshvina month the sun enters Libra; that again on the first increasing moon-day of the following Kártika month the sun enters Scorpio; and that (finally) in the following month of Mârgashirsha two solar passages in the zodiacal signs occur, viz., one into Sagitarius on the first increasing moon-day<sup>44</sup> and one into Capricorn on the new moon-day;<sup>45</sup> then this month of Mârgashirsha, in which the sun enters the two signs of Sagitarius and Capricorn, is a subtractive month. It must then be carefully observed that this month of Mârgashirsha, together with the following month of Pausha, makes only one month, the first-half of which, from the 1st to the 15th day, is called Mârgashirsha, and the second half Pausha, because of two months being thus made up of the whole of the (thirty) days.<sup>46</sup>

Now, whosoever dies in the first part of this subtractive month, his yearly funeral rites<sup>47</sup> must be performed (in common years) always in the month of Mârgashirsha; but whosoever dies in the second half of that month, his funeral rites must always be performed in Pausha.

<sup>42</sup> It must be remembered that the new moon-day is the last day of the Indian lunar month, south of the Vindya Mountains.

<sup>43</sup> The first moonlight day, or increasing moon-day, is always the first day of the Indian lunar month, south of the Vindya Mountains.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. note 43.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. note 42.

<sup>46</sup> Concerning this subtractive month cf. notes 41 and 50.

<sup>47</sup> These rites for the benefit of the departed spirits of ancestors and relatives are observed with the greatest strictness on very numerous occasions. As a detailed description of them is to follow in the course of our translation, it is unnecessary here to give a full explanation of them. Compare, however, notes 34 and 60.

Thus also must it be kept with the yearly remembrance rites of one's birth and severance of the umbilical cord.<sup>48</sup>

Immediately after (the above described subtractive month) does the sun enter Aquarius on the new moon-day of the month Mágha, then cometh the additive Phalguna month, then the common Phalguna month, on the first increasing moon-day of which the sun enters Pisces. Thus is the subtractive month enclosed by two additive months, and the year in which there is a subtractive month has thirteen months and about 389 days.

The additive month which precedes the subtractive is called Samsarpa.<sup>49</sup> In it every (religious) act may be performed and no joyful rite should be omitted.

In the subtractive month, which is called Amhaspati,<sup>50</sup> and in the following additive month all religious acts should be omitted. In the same manner also should all religious acts be in that additive month omitted which recurs once in three years.

Here follows a description of those religious rites which should or should not be omitted (in the additive and in the subtractive month).

Those obligatory or occasional, or reward-desiring religious acts which are unadjoinable, should be performed even in the additive and in the subtractive month, but those obligatory, occasional, or reward-desiring religious acts which are adjournable should be omitted. That is: Obligatory rites like the worship at the twilights,<sup>51</sup> oblation to fire, &c.; occasional rites like ablutions at the time of eclipses, &c.; and reward-desiring rites like the Kárirī sacrifice,<sup>52</sup> or the sacrifice which one possessed of a demon offers for the destruction of that demon, should be performed in the intercalary month. But obligatory rites like the

<sup>48</sup> This is done with great ceremonies and under the incantations of the officiating Brahmin.

<sup>49</sup> Samsarpa means "the regularly moving" month, probably because, more than the subtractive month, it recurs at more regular periods.

<sup>50</sup> Amhaspati means the "lord of perplexity," and truly is it so called, for not only am I, in spite of all my inquiries, still unable to see how the fraction of days remaining after the harmonization of the lunar year with the solar one by means of the additive month, can be fully equalized by the use of this subtractive month as described above, but Indian astronomers and astrologers, in their almanacs as well as in their oral opinions they give one about it, seem equally perplexed, and their explanations are conflicting, while the rule of 19 and 141 years of the text also leaves always a fraction on one's hands.

<sup>51</sup> The most generally and strictly performed morning and evening rite, called Sandhyá. It will be more fully described further on in the text.

<sup>52</sup> A certain sacrificial rite in which the fruit of the plant Karira (*Capparis aphylla*) is used.

Jyotishtoma<sup>53</sup> sacrifice, &c., or occasional rites like the sacrifice offered after a son's birth, &c., or reward-desiring rites like the sacrifice for obtaining a son, &c., should be performed in the common month following the intercalary month. If a reward-desiring rite has been commenced before, it may be continued in the intercalary month, but no new one should be begun or finished in it. The reconsecration of an idol necessitated by the omission of its worship; all the rites (of birth) from the rite of the fertilization of the womb up to that of putting solid food into the child's mouth,<sup>54</sup> which must be performed at their proper times and cannot be adjourned; the healing from fever and other diseases; funeral rites and sacrifices performed on rare occasions; occasional atonements; the usual obligatory funeral rites; the funeral rites of the eleventh and of the following months, and the dark moon-day funeral rite may be performed in the intercalary month. Should anybody die in the intercalary month falling in Chaitra, then, sometimes many years afterwards, when the intercalary month falls again in Chaitra, his yearly funeral rite must be performed in that intercalary month. But if anybody dies in the common Chaitra month, then his yearly funeral rites must (always) be performed in the common Chaitra month, and not in the intercalary month. Yet concerning his first yearly funeral rites, though he should die in the common month, they must be performed

<sup>53</sup> A typical form of a whole class of sacrifices in which Soma, the Indian Vedic nectar expressed from plants and emblematic of the procreating fluid, is used.

<sup>54</sup> There are eight of them: 1, Garbhádhánam, or "fertilization of the womb," a religious rite performed for the benefit of a newly-married couple immediately before their first cobabitation; 2, Pumsavanam, literally "the male-producing rite," is a ceremony partly of rejoicing and declaration to the community of a woman's conception, when she perceives the first signs of it, and partly for the purpose of masculinizing (*cf.* note 33) the new fœtus by means of sacrificial worship and Brahmanical incantations; 3, Anavalobhanam, or "non-longing rite," a ceremony performed by a pregnant woman, after which no cobabitation is permissible, and by which miscarriage or any demoniacal influence is prevented; 4, Simantonnayanam, or "the rite of parting and smoothing the hair," the rite of a husband parting and smoothing the hair of his pregnant wife, and of putting a thrice becoloured stick, called therefore *tryeta*, into her tresses, while a Brahman repeats incantations; 5, Jatakarma, or "birth ceremony," a rite performed at the time of birth for luck and in order to find the horoscope of the new-born child. The last act of it consists of the severance of the umbilical cord, under Brahmanical incantations; between the act of birth and that of the umbilical severance, butter is given to the child in a golden spoon; 6, Námakarma, "the name-giving rite," which is performed on the twelfth day after birth; 7, Nishkramanam, the "going-out" ceremony, which consists in taking out the child, when three months old, to look at the sun or at the moon; 8, Annapráshanam, the "feeding rite," or the ceremony of putting for the first time solid food, mostly boiled rice, into the child's mouth. All these ceremonies are performed with the help of the family Brahman-priest.

in the intercalary month and not in the common month, but his second yearly (and following yearly) funeral rites must be performed in the common month. The ceremonies (beginning with the day of death and ending on the eleventh day, and the rice ball rites may be performed in the intercalary month, but the funeral rites of the second and following months must be repeated twice, once in the intercalary month and once in the common month. Thus, also, when the twelfth monthly funeral rite falls on an additive month, it should be performed twice, once in the intercalary month and once in the common month. The year's eve commemorative rite should take place just on the eve of the year, and the first yearly rite should take place in the fourteenth month. When in a year the additive month precedes immediately the subtractive month—for instance, the month of Kártika is the additive month, and the sun in the following month, entering both Scorpio and Sagitarius, is a subtractive month—then the yearly rite falling in the month of Kártika must be performed both in the preceding additive month and in the following subtractive month. But when the additive month is separated from the subtractive month (by another month)—for instance, Áshvina is the additive month and Mârgashirsha is the subtractive month—then the funeral rites falling on Áshvina must be performed both in the additive Áshvina and in the common Áshvina, for it appears that both months are well qualified for the performance of rites. When the yearly rite falls on the separated subtractive month, it should be performed in that subtractive month. Thus also in the above given example of Mârgashirsha being the subtractive month, the yearly rite falling on Mârgashirsha (which is the first half of the subtractive month) or on Pausha (which is the second half of the subtractive month) must be performed only in one of both, and it is understood that it must be done without dividing the days into first and second halves.<sup>55</sup>

Here follow the rites which are to be omitted in the intercalary month.

The ceremony of investing with the right of reading the Vedas and of taking it back,<sup>56</sup> the funeral rite of the eighth day (of the month), the rite of a child's tonsure, the rite of investing (with the sacred shoulder

<sup>55</sup> This refers to the manner some Indian astronomers and astrologers explain the subtractive month, namely, that the first half of each of the thirty days of that month (in the above given example Mârgashirsha) constitutes the one month and the afternoon of each of these thirty days the other month.

<sup>56</sup> As each one of these rites will be fully described in the course of our translation, it is unnecessary to enter into details here, and some few general remarks, when needful, will suffice.



thread and) with the holy munji-grass waistband,<sup>57</sup> marriages, pilgrimages to holy waters and others, the rite performed at the time of building a house, the ceremony of (solemn) entrance into a new residence, the consecration of an idol, the making over of a well or of a garden, &c., the rite of putting on new clothes and ornaments, the (sixteen) great gifts (to Bráhmans), like, for instance, the sacrificial offering of one's weight (in silver, gold, or jewels), &c., sacrificial acts, the consecration of the holy fire-place, pilgrimages to holy waters and idols not before visited, wandering ascetism, the reward-desiring letting loose of a bull, anointing a king, sacrificial vows (to the gods), the adjournable feeding rite (*cf.* note 54), the ceremony of the return of a student home (after completion of his Vedic studies with his teacher), the sacrificial ceremonies for neglected religious duties, the investiture of an idol with the sacred cord, the rite of putting the holy shrub Damana on the penates (performed on the full moon-day of Chaitra), the rite of listening (to the Vedas), domestic oblations like the offerings to serpents, &c., the rite of Vishnu's sleep and of his turning from one side

<sup>57</sup> Maunji, properly speaking, is the ceremony of investiture with the sacred waistband, which is a sign of chastity, and should be kept up to the time of marriage. Unlike the sacred shoulder thread, which is made of cotton, and should be renewed every fourth month, or at least once a year, the holy waistband cannot be renewed, and is therefore made of the strong blades of the munji-grass. If very orthodox and a Vedic student, a Brahman will keep it during the whole time of his studies, which last twelve years; usually, however, now Brahmans do not keep it more than one year, many of them even only a few days. As this ceremony of the sacred waistband is always performed in connection with the investiture with the sacred shoulder thread, many (Europeans of course) have erroneously thought that Maunji meant the investiture with the sacred shoulder thread Brahmans so ostentatiously wear. Even the great orientalist E. Burnouf confounds it with it, while Böhlingk and Roth, though knowing that Maunji is a grass girdle, seem to be ignorant of its being a religious rite far more general, obligatory, and holy than most other ceremonies, for with it is connected the initiation of the novice with the holiest of the holy mantras or incantations, the so-called Gáyatri, the key-stone of all spiritual knowledge without which no Veda can be studied or even touched, and no rite be performed. In the sequel of this work we shall meet more than once with the form and the meaning of this holy mantra. The sacred shoulder thread is worn by many other castes besides the Brahmanical and the two next castes of the twice born, while the holy waistband can be worn but by them. As remarked above, the two ceremonies take place on the same day. When, therefore, the author of our work speaks of rites in a general way, and says that on such and such a day Maunji should be or should not be omitted, he means the whole ceremony of the day consisting of both the investiture with the sacred thread and the investiture with the holy waistband. In this manner also do I translate it here, but in order that the fact of Maunji being in reality only the initiating investiture with the holy grass waistband be not lost sight of, I carefully even here put the accompanying words within brackets. When the detailed definition of both rites shall be (later on in the work) given, we shall then, of course, meet with a special name for each of these two rites.

to the other, the divine rites like, for instance, that of making an oath. &c., must all be omitted in the intercalary month.

But occasional rites like, for instance, the rite performed for destroying the evil influence of ill-timed menstruation,<sup>58</sup> the rekindling of the holy fire, the reconsecration of an idol, if their performance follows at once their cause, may be done in the intercalary month; but if they are performed at a later time, then they should be done in the common month. In a time of famine the Soma libation called *Āgrayanam*<sup>59</sup> may be performed in the intercalary month, but in usual times it should be performed in the common month. The funeral rites called *Yuga* and those called *Manu*<sup>60</sup> must be repeated in both months.

In the additive month, which precedes the subtractive, and which, as we have seen above, is called *Samsarpa*, the following rites should be omitted: the tonsure of a child, the investiture with (the sacred shoulder thread and) the holy waistband, marriage, the installation of

<sup>58</sup> That does not mean out of the natural course, but happening at the unpropitious time of the sun's passages into the zodiacal signs, as explained in Chapter II.

<sup>59</sup> A kind of Soma sacrifice (*cf.* note 53) or oblation of thanksgiving for the first fruits after the monsoon, or of supplication for a fruitful season.

<sup>60</sup> There are yearly four *Yuga* funeral rites relating to the Indian four *Yugas* or mundane periods called, 1st, *Krita* (with 1,728,000 years); 2nd, *Tretā* (with 1,296,000 years); 3rd, *Dvāpara* (with 864,000 years); and 4th, *Kali* or the current period (with 432,000 years), making a total of 4,320,000, which is called a *Mahā-yuga* or "great period." Seventy-one of these *Mahāyugas* are equal to 306,720,000 years, which is a *Manu* period. There are fourteen of these *Manu* periods with an aggregate of 4,291,080,000 years, which fabulous number with its fifteen intercalations of 1,728,000, each makes up a full *Kalpa* or a day of *Brahmā* of 4,320,000,000 years. The fourteen funeral rites called in the text *Manu* funeral rites correspond with these fourteen great *Manu* periods, and are therefore performed fourteen times a year.

Besides these four *Yuga* and fourteen *Manu* funeral rites, there are seventy-eight others equally obligatory, making in all ninety-six, which are to be performed yearly. They are as follows: Twelve *Amā* or new-moon rites; four *Yuga* and fourteen *Manu* rites (as just now described); twelve *Kranti*, corresponding to the twelve passages of the sun into the zodiacal mansions; twelve *Dhriti*, performed on the day of the month the sun and the moon are on the same side of either solstice, but of opposite direction; twelve *Pāta*, performed on the day of the month the sun and the moon are on opposite sides of either solstice and their declination is the same; fifteen *Mahālaya*, great funeral rites and sacrifices performed at the end of the Hindu lunar year in the month of *Bhādrapada*, which is the last month of the year of the era of *Vikramāditya*, but not of *Shālivāhana*, which shows that *Vikramāditya*'s era was once followed by all Hindus, as now even those who follow *Shālivāhana*'s era still perform these rites according to *Vikramāditya*'s calendar in the month of *Bhādrapada*; five *Ashtaka*, performed on the eighth day of five months of the year; five *Anvashtaka*, performed on the ninth day of five months of the year; and five *Purvedyu*, performed on the seventh day of five months of the year.

the sacred fire, sacrificial feasts, the festival of the last day of the lunar year, and anointing a king. Yet no other should be omitted.

The beginning and the end of a newly vowed sacrifice to the gods cannot take place in the subtractive month, but the ablutions of the month of Mággha may be begun and finished in the subtractive month, if they are not performed for the first time. The ablutions of Mággha ought to be begun on the full-moon day of the subtractive month in which the sun enters Capricorn, and ended on the full-moon day of the month of Mággha in which the sun enters Aquarius. In the same manner also should it be held with the month of Kártika.

When the month of Vaishákha is an additive month, then the Vaishákha ablutions and the monthly vowed sacrifices (to the gods) should be begun on the full-moon day of the preceding Chaitra month, and, continuing for two months, ended on the full-moon day of the common Vaishákha.

All that which has been hitherto described as to be omitted in the intercalary month refers also to the setting, youth, and old age of Venus and Jupiter.

The most common opinion is that their old age comprises seven days before their setting, and their youth seven days after their rising. When fifteen, five, and three days are given, that is done in connection with local custom, and calamitous or uncalamitous times.

The whole of the above description as to what ought or ought not to be omitted in the intercalary month, applies also to the time when Jupiter is in Leo. Here follow the particulars: The rites of ear-piercing, child's tonsure, investiture with (the sacred shoulder thread and) the holy loin-grass-cord, marriage, pilgrimages to idols, sacrificial vows to the gods, house-building ceremony, consecration of idols, and wandering ascetism should carefully be omitted.

Yet here are some exceptions regarding the time Jupiter is in Leo. When Jupiter has entered the constellation of Mággha, that is (the  $\alpha$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\xi$ ,  $\eta$ , and  $\nu$ ), part of Leo, then, according to the custom of all countries,<sup>61</sup> no joyful rites should be performed; but after that portion of Leo is passed, then Jupiter's passage through Leo has nothing unpropitious for countries south of the Godáveri and north of the

<sup>61</sup> This expression for us of course means all provinces of Hindustán, though in the mind of the author of this book and of the authors of the works he quotes it certainly meant the whole earth, as all Brahmanical authors have always assumed and perhaps believed that India was not only the centre of the world, but that the Brahmanic religion was first established everywhere.

Bhágirathi (or Ganges). But for the nations between the Godáveri and the Gauges throughout the whole passage of Jupiter through Leo nothing should be omitted but marriage and the investiture with the sacred thread and holy girdle. All other rites may be performed in every country after Jupiter's passage through that first portion of Leo. If, however, at the same time (Jupiter is in Leo), the sun enters Aries, then may in all countries and during the whole passage of Jupiter through Leo joyful rites be performed. In the same manner, when (during Jupiter's passage through Leo) the sun enters Taurus, then the opinion of some is that no sin is incurred by performing ceremonies at the time Jupiter is in Leo. When Jupiter is in Leo, ablutions in the Godáveri, but when it has entered Virgo, ablutions in the Krishna, are most meritorious. Those who make a pilgrimage to the Godáveri must first perform the sacred shaving and fast, but not those who live on its shore. At the time of pregnancy of one's wife, or after marriage and other joyful ceremonies, the sacred shaving is not sinful for the people dwelling on the shores of the Godáveri. To pilgrims going to the holy Gayá<sup>62</sup> and to the Godáveri, the intercalary month and the setting and rising of Jupiter and Venus are not unpropitious.

As to particulars about the sacrifices called Vrata<sup>63</sup> in the intercalary month, they will be given elsewhere.

Thus is the third chapter, which sets forth what must be done and what omitted during the intercalary month, the setting and rising of Jupiter and Venus, and the passage of Jupiter through Leo.

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<sup>62</sup> A town of pilgrimage in Berár.

<sup>63</sup> It is difficult to translate this expression, as it includes every religious act which is connected with a vow. Often does it seem to mean "vowed sacrifices to the gods" for special mercies. In some places we have translated it in that way. It is not improbable that in the course of our translation of the text we may meet with a fuller description of it.



ART. II.—*Picture and Description of Borák.* By E. REHATSEK.

[Read 19th July 1880.]

In the representation of Borák given by D'Ohsson,<sup>1</sup> which is said to be a faithful copy of that occurring in Persian books, he appears with the head of a beautiful young woman and the tail of a peacock not quite opened, and rising almost perpendicularly. On his neck Borák has a collar, on his head a crown, pendants in his ears, and his body is, as it were, swimming in the atmosphere. Beneath are flames, and above are three angels pouring out rays of light, whilst the fourth of them, who is in the rear, carries a basin full of flames, and the fifth, namely, Gabriel, with youthful features and crowned head, as well as wings like the others, appears to be the leader; but Borák has no bridle. The body of the prophet Muḥammad, who bestrides Borák, is so covered with the celestial rays issuing from the hands of the angels who surround him that only his foot in the stirrup beneath and a curious kind of diadem which covers his head above can be seen. The portion of the saddle-cloth which can be seen contains no inscription; and on comparing this description with the subjoined drawing—which is an accurate copy of a picture on glass sold in the Bombay bazár—it will be observed that neither the prophet nor the angels are represented, but only Borák with two green wings, above which there is a canopy bearing the words *Ya Allah* يا الله, and the saddle-cloth bears the name of *Allah* and those of *Muḥammad*, *A'ly*, *Faṭimah*, *Hasan*, and *Husayn*, the five persons most venerated among the Shya'hs, whose names are also often engraved on cornelian and other stones as well as amulets. They are called the five "persons of the cloak," in Arabic *أهل كساء* or *أهل عباءة*, because, according to certain Moslem doctors, the Almighty, desirous of crowning the favours destined by Him for His favourite servants, sent Gabriel to Muḥammad with orders to the latter to assemble his son-in-law, his daughter, and his two grandsons, and so prepare himself for receiving the abundance of heavenly favours. Muḥammad

<sup>1</sup> Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman, t. I., p. 67.

gathered these favoured persons around himself, and whilst he covered them with his cloak, Gabriel poured over them the blessings of God.

The occasion on which these persons were under the cloak, or rather blanket, is explained as follows in the English translation of the *Mishkát-ul-Masabih* <sup>2</sup> :—“ Sa'd-bin-Abu Wakkás said, when this revelation came down : ‘ Come, let us call together our sons and your sons, and our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves.’<sup>3</sup> His majesty said : ‘ O Lord, verily A'ly and Faṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥosain, are people of my house,’ and he called them. When his majesty called the people of his house, the leader of the Christians saw them and said to his tribe : ‘ Alas upon you ! I see their faces ; if they were to ask God to move mountains from one place to another, they would be able to do it. Take care, never venture to curse them ; if you do, you will perish.’ Then they agreed to give a poll-tax. A'yesha said : ‘ One morning his majesty came out with a striped blanket over him, and Emám Ḥasan came, and his majesty took him under it. Then Ḥosain came, and his majesty took him under it also ; after that Faṭimah came, and he took her under it. Then A'ly came, and his majesty said, ‘ O people of the house of the prophet, God wishes to put away from you the impurity of evil and to purify you by purification.’”

The Shya'hs entertain a special regard for these five persons, and believe that the following passage of the *Ḳorán* was revealed for their sake\* :—“ For God desireth only to remove from you the abomination of vanity, since ye are the household of the prophet, and to purify you by a perfect purification.” They invoke them in their necessities, and quote the Arabic distich :—“ I have five by means of whom I extinguish the heat of the last pestilence ; [Muḥammad] the elect, the [A'ly] approved, their two sons [Ḥasan and Ḥosain], and

<sup>2</sup> Collection of Authentick Traditions, vol. II., p. 779.

<sup>3</sup> تعالوا ندع ابناؤنا و ابناؤكم و نساءنا و نساءكم و انفسنا و انفسكم (III., 54)

This is called *ayyt-ul-muláhelat*, the verse of imprecation, because after the words “ and yourselves” comes the expression *ثم ندتهل* then let us make imprecations. The scene described in the *Mishkát* is recorded also by Mirkhond, vol. II., p. 14 : Bombay lithogr. ed.

\* انما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس اهل البيت و يطهركم تطهيرا (XXXIII., 33.)

Faṭimah<sup>6</sup>." Some, however, go still further and say:—"Divinity belongs to five individuals, the possessors of the cloak; they are Muḥammad, A'ly, Faṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥosain, and they said that the five are one substance."<sup>6</sup>

The *Shebi mi'rāj*, or "night of the ascension," is a festival celebrated in Persia with great solemnity, prayers, and lectures; and the ascension in which the prophet Muḥammad rose by the will of God up to the highest firmament is believed to have been a real fact. On this point Sale expresses himself as follows:—"It is a dispute among Muḥammadan divines whether the prophet's night journey was really performed by him corporeally, or whether it was only a dream or a vision. Some think the whole was no more than a vision; and allege an express tradition of Moâwiyah, one of Muḥammad's successors, to that purpose. Others suppose he was carried bodily to Jerusalem, but no farther; and that he ascended thence to heaven in spirit only. But the received opinion is, that it was no vision, but that he was actually transported in the body to his journey's end; and that if any impossibility be objected, they think it a sufficient answer to say that it might easily be effected by an omnipotent agent."<sup>7</sup>

Many authors describe the ascension of Muḥammad and the appearance of Bŏrák; both are also recorded in the most ancient biography of the prophet, by Muḥammad Ben Eshák, who died A.H. 151 (A.D. 768). This work was published in Arabic by Dr. F. Wüstenfeld in 1860, and four years afterwards the German translation of Dr. Weil appeared.

° لي خمسة اظفي بها حر الوباء الخاتمة

المعطي والموتضي وابناهما والفاطمة

The words *الخاتمة الوباء* have by Reinand (Monuments, p. 181) been translated "le brasier de la peste"; but here evidently the *last* calamity of the day of judgment or hell is meant.

° الإلهية لخمسة اشخاص اصحاب الكسا وهم محمد وعلي وفاطمة  
والحسن والحسين وقالوا خمسة منهم شي واحد Maracci Prodomus, P. III.,  
p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> His Koran, Ch. XVII., pp. 226 and 227, foot-note c.—According to Masu'di ed. and transl. Meynard, t. IV., p. 146, Muḥammad was 51 years, 8 months, and 20 days old when he performed his night journey to heaven. واسري به وهو ابن احدى وخمسين سنة وثمانية اشهر وعشرين يوما



Also Mirkhond's son Khondemir not only mentions but gives the following detailed account of Borák:—

*Distich.*—At midnight the divine angel [Gabriel] from afar  
Came and brought the Borák [lightning] of light.

“Borák was a vehicle smaller than a mule and larger than an ass; his face was like that of a man, his ears like those of an elephant, his mane like that of a horse, his neck and tail like those of a camel, his breast like that of a mule, his feet were like those of an ox, or, according to another tradition, like those of a camel, his hoofs like those of an ox, and his breast resembled a red ruby, whilst his wool resembled white armour, shining on account of its great purity. He had two wings on his flanks which concealed his legs. The swiftness of this vehicle was so considerable that each step of it extended as far as the eye could reach.

*Verses:*

A steed progressing like the moon and the turning sphere,  
Borák, swift-stepping, like the light of vision;  
His nature was not composed of water and loam;  
He pastured in the garden of paradise,  
He was distressed neither by saddle nor bridle,  
Nor had any one thrown the lasso over him,  
But all at once by the Creator's command  
Gabriel the faithful led him with a bridle,  
And conveyed him to the best of men, [saying]  
“O thou to whom the arrangement of the affairs of the earth is given,  
“Proceed this night towards the sphere,  
“And put to shame by thy face the sun and moon.”\*

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نیم شبان پیک الهی ز دور آمد و آورد براتی ز نور  
و براق مرکبی بود از استر خورد ترواز دراز گوش بزرگتر رویش  
مشابه روی آدمی و گوشهای او مانند گوش فیل و بال او مثال بال  
اسب و گردن و دم شتر و سینه اش همچون سینه استر و قوایمش چون  
قوایم گاو و بروایتی مثل قوایم شتر و سمهای او مانند سم گاو و سینه  
او شبیه قطعه یاقوت احمر بود و پشهش همایل زر و بیضا که از غایت  
صفا می درخشید و دو پر بر ران داشت که صاق و برا می پوشید  
و آن مرکب به مرتبه تیز رفتار بود که آنجا که چشم کار میکرد یک  
کام میخرا مید

This animal is said to have been alluded to by Muḥammad himself in the following words uttered by him :—"Whilst I was near the enclosure of the Ka'bah, one came who split my breast and took out my heart, which he washed with Zemzem water and returned it to its place. Then a white animal called Borák was brought to me ; it was larger than an ass and smaller than a mule. It shook its ears and stepped as far as its eyes could reach. I was placed on it and carried towards Jerusalem, whereon a shouter called out thrice on the right side of the road :—"O Muḥammad I ask thee to stop a moment,' but I proceeded and paid no attention to him.'"

On this subject the statement of Abdulfeda (*Annales Muslemici*, t. I., p. 52) is as follows :—

وقد اختلف اهل العلم فيه هل بجسده ام كان روبا صادقة والذي عليه الجمهور انه كان بجسده وذهب اخرون الى انه كان روبا صادقة ورووا عن عايشه رضي الله عنها انها كانت تقول ما نقده جسد رسول الله ولكن الله اسري بروحه ونقلوا عن معاوية ايضا انه كان يقول ان الاسراء كان روبا صادقة

"The learned further differ whether it [the ascension] took place in the body or whether it was a true vision, and the majority agree that it was in the body. Others, however, state that it was a true vision, and they refer to the tradition of A'úyshah (may God reward her), according to which she is stated to have said :—"The body of the apostle of God was not missed, but God made him travel only in spirit.' They also report that Moa'úvyah used to say that the Night Journey was a true vision."

جواد قهر ميگر دون خرام	براقی چو نور بصر تیز کام
ز آب وز خاکش نبود بی سرشت	چریده به بستان باغ بهشت
نبوده ز زین و اجماش کز زد	نیزد اخده کس بسویش گمده
که ناگه بحکم جهان آفرین	گرفتیش هنان جزوئیل امین
رسانید نزدیک خیرالانام	که ای داده کارزمین را نظام
خرامش کن امشب بسوی سپهر	خجل ساز ز روی خود ماله و مهر

\* ان رسول الله ع بينما عند البيت اذ اوتيت شتف النحر فاستخرج القلب فغسل بماء زمزم ثم اعيد مكانه ثم اوتيت بدابة ابيض يقال له البراق فوق الحمار ودون الابل مضطرب الاذنين يضع خطرة عند منتهى

طرفه فحملت عليه فسار بي نحو بيت المقدس فاذا مناد ينادي من بين الطريق يا محمد علي رسلك اسالك يا محمد علي رسلك اسالك يا محمد علي رسلك اسالك فوضيت افلم امرج عليه

The 17th chapter of the Korán, which bears the title of "The Night Journey," contains but two allusions to the ascension, and none of the details just given as being the words of the prophet himself, who had in the 52nd year of his age and in the 12th of his mission (A.D. 621), a vision in which he was visited by the Angel Gabriel, who led him mounted on Borák [lightning], the animal described above, from Mekkah to Jerusalem, and thence through the seven heavens into the presence of God. It has already been mentioned above, on the authority of Sale, that some Muḥammadan doctors believe the *Mi'raj* or ascension to have been only a dream or vision, which was in course of time transformed into a reality and even a dogma. The allegorical explanation given by the celebrated Abu A'ly Syná [Avicenna] is so interesting that a portion of it is worth inserting in this place<sup>10</sup> :— "Thus said the apostle of God, Muḥammad the elect (the blessing and peace of God be upon him and on his family) :— 'One night I was sleeping in the house of Omm Hány'<sup>11</sup> ; it was a night of thunder and lightning ; no animal gave forth a sound, no bird sang, and no one was awake. I was not asleep, but [in a state] between sleeping and waking.' By this figure of speech he means that a long time had elapsed [in a state of indifference] till he became desirous of attaining divine truths. In the still watches of the night human beings are more at liberty [to contemplate divine matters] because they are disengaged from physical occupations. Accordingly, it happened one night that I was [in a state] between sleeping and waking, i.e., between intellect and the senses, and I fell into the sea of knowledge. It was a night of thunder and lightning, i.e. the seven upper forces prevailed in such a manner that a man's power of wrath and of imagination ceased to operate, and lethargy took the place of activity. He said :— 'Gabriel descended in a pleasing form with so much splendour, glory, and magnificence that the house was illuminated,' i.e., the power of the holy spirit joined me in the form of a command, and took such effect that all the powers of the rational soul were refreshed and brightened, and what he said in the description of Gabriel :— 'I saw him more white than snow ; his face was beautiful, his hair curled, and his forehead inscribed with the words : No God except Allah. His eyes were handsome, his brows slender ; he had seventy thousand curls twisted of red rubies, with six hundred thousand pearls of fine water,' i.e., he was endued with so many moral beau-

<sup>10</sup> *Dabistán*. Calcutta typogr. ed., 1809, p. 1281 seq.

<sup>11</sup> Daughter of Abu Táleb.

ties that if a portion of them is to be made perceptible to external senses it would be done as just described. The words: *No God except Allah written with an appointed light* [or specific purpose] mean that every one whose eyes fall on his beauty will be severed from any connection with the darkness of idolatry and doubt; he will attain such a degree of certainty and confidence in demonstrating the existence of the Maker that hereafter the contemplation of any made thing will augment his monotheism.

“He [Gabriel] was so lovely that if any one had 70,000 curls he could not equal his beauty. He was in such haste that you would have said he flies with six hundred feathers and wings, so that his progress was independent of space and time. He [Muḥammad] said: ‘He arrived near me, took me in his arms, and kissed me between the eyes, saying: *O sleeper, how long wilt thou sleep? Arise!* That is to say, when the sacred force reached me, it caressed me, opened to me the road of self-knowledge, and honoured me, so that an unspeakable longing arose in my heart which transported me to devotion. His words *How long wilt thou sleep?* mean How long hast thou been satisfied with false imaginations? There are worlds: the fact is that thou art in one of them, and canst not reach them except in the wakefulness of knowledge, and I shall in the plenitude of my compassion guide thee; arise!’ Then he [Muḥammad] continued: ‘I was frightened, and leapt from my place in terror, *i. e.*, from awe for him [Gabriel]; no intention remained in my heart and mind!’ He further said: ‘Be at ease; I am thy brother Gabriel!’ *i. e.*, by his grace and revelation my dread abated; and he indulged in familiarity to deliver me therefrom, but I nevertheless said: ‘O brother, a foe’s hand prevails,’ and he replied: ‘I shall not deliver thee into the hands of a foe.’ I asked: ‘Who art thou;’ he replied: ‘Arise, be attentive, and keep up thy spirits, *i. e.*, maintain a clear memory, follow me, and I shall remove all difficulties.’ As he spoke I became entranced, transported, and commenced to follow the steps of Gabriel, *i. e.*, I abandoned the physical world, and, followed by the aid of natural reason, the vestiges of divine grace.”

His [Muḥammad’s] words, “I saw Borák on the footsteps of Gabriel,” that is so say, the energetic intellect which conquers the sacred forces, and the aid of which is superior to them in this corruptible world, because it likewise originates from the upper intellects. The energetic intellect is the supreme king who aids the souls at all times with what is

proper, and resembles Borák because it illuminates<sup>12</sup> the night [of the untutored intellect], and is of aid like a vehicle to one who progresses [in the path of divine knowledge]; it was during that journey wanted by the protector [*i. e.*, Muḥammad], and therefore he called it the vehicle [Borák]. His words that it *was greater than an ass and smaller than a horse* mean that it [namely, the energetic intellect] is superior to the human but inferior to the first intellect. *His face was like the face of a man* means that it sympathises with human dispositions and displays as much resemblance [kindness literally] towards men as the genus to the species, so that its likeness to man consists in kindness and disposition. His saying that *its fore and hind legs are long* means that its benefits reach all places and its bounty keeps all things fresh. His words *I was desirous to mount him* [*i. e.* Borák], *but he was headstrong until Gabriel aided me*, imply that he [Muḥammad], although as yet under the influence of the physical world, wished to join it [*i. e.*, the energetic intellect], but it refused until the sacred force had washed him of the impediments of ignorance and corporeality, so that he became isolated, and attained by its means the plenitude and advantage of the energetic intellect." After this Borák is mentioned no more in the account, and the whole ascension or "night journey" is described in the same allegorical manner; it terminates as follows<sup>13</sup>:—"He [Muḥammad] said: '*When I had done all this I returned to the house and found, on account of the velocity of the journey, the bed clothes still warm;*' he had namely performed an imaginary journey and travelled with his mind—attaining with his mind not only all created beings, but also reaching the self-existent necessary Being [*i. e.* God]. When the journey had been accomplished by imagination, he returned to his customary state of mind; he had no need of a day; it took place in less than the twinkling of an eye. Who knows what happened, is aware of it; and who does not, must be excused. Nor would it be suitable to communicate these explanations to ignorant or low persons, because only intelligent men can profit by them."

The following is another allegorical explanation,<sup>14</sup> by *Núrbakhsh*, the founder of the *Núrbakhshi* [light-giver] sect in Kashmir:—"Be aware that the ascension of the lord Muḥammad the elect (peace and the blessing of God be on him) was a corporeal one, but allegorical and

<sup>12</sup> Borák means flashing, illuminating, lightning.

<sup>13</sup> *Dabistár*, p. ۴۶۳

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. ۴۸۱.

in a state of trance, intermediate<sup>16</sup> between sleeping and waking, for which reason the first tradition concerning the *mi'raj* has the words:—  
 كنت بين النوم واليقظان [I was between sleeping and waking] and likewise وفقك الله لتعبير الاحوال المكشوفة علي الانبياء والاولياء عليهم السلام [God has referred thee for the explanation of revealed matters to the prophets and saints, on whom be peace]. The conveying from the mosque of the sanctuary [Mekka] to the further mosque [Jerusalem] represents removal from one place to another in this lower world. To be the leader [Eimám] in prayers means that there will be many of the heirs of the prophet who will be saints and divines of celebrity."

"*Borák* is the vehicle of obedience and the allegorical representation of prayer; his saddle and bridle are the allegorical representation of an attentive mind fully collected [in religion]. The limbs of *Borák*, which are of costly jewels, represent truth, sincerity, love, humility, lowliness, and perfect love towards God expelling all other desires except those tending to Allah in prayer. The restiveness of *Borák*, and the aid of Gabriel afforded [to Muḥammad] in mounting, represent the subduing of the carnal mind by the God-knowing intellect, Gabriel himself representing the latter."

Also in the Apocalypse, *i. e.*, Revelations, strange beasts and horses are mentioned. The allusion to the former occurs in VI., 6—10. They were four in number, one was like a lion, the second like a calf, the third had the face of a man, and the fourth was like a flying eagle. Each of them had six wings, and they were full of eyes. They appear to have been beasts of a superior kind, because they not only gave thanks to him that sat on the throne and liveth for ever and ever, but the twenty-four eiders did so likewise *after them*. The same was probably the case with the horses (VI., 2, 4, 5, 8) white, red, black, and pale, each of them being *mentioned first*, and then the function of their riders whose personality is not even alluded to, excepting the last who rode the pale horse and whose name "was Death, and Hell followed with him."

The dragon whose "tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth" (XII., 4) is further on (XII., 9) stated to be "that old serpent called the Devil and Satan," who delegates "his power, and his seat, and great authority" (XIII., 2) to a beast which rose out of the sea and "was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as *the feet of a bear*, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion" (*ibid.*), "and he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and

<sup>16</sup> The word is *barzakh*, and occurs also in the Korán, XXIII., 102.

bound, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads" (*ibid*, 16). A beast of this kind is only alluded to in the *Korán* (XXVII., 84), but not described. This, however, has been done afterwards by consigning the traditions of various authorities to writing, and the following is the account of Zamakhshari:—"On the beast of the earth, the spy. It is recorded in the *Hadith* that its length is 60 cubits; no one running after it will be able to reach it, and no one fleeing from it will be able to escape from it. It is said to have four legs, hair, feathers, and two wings. Ebn Jurayh states that it has the head of a bull, the eyes of a hog, the ears of an elephant, the horns of a stag, the neck of an ostrich, the breast of a lion, the colour of a tiger, the back of a cat, the tail of a ram, and the hoofs of a camel. The space between two of its joints measures twelve cubits according to human cubits. It is said that it will put forth only its head [from the earth], which will extend to the extremity of the horizon and reach the clouds. According to Abu Haryrah every colour will appear on it, and the space between its two horns amounts to one Farsakh for a rider. According to Alhasan the exit of it will be completed only after three days. When the Commander of the Faithful, A'ly Ebn Abu Táleb (on whom be peace), was asked whence the beast would come forth, he replied:—"From the greatest of mosques and during three days, whilst the people are looking; but only one-third of it will come forth." The prophet (upon whom be peace, &c.,) was asked whence it would issue, and he replied:—"From the mosque which is the greatest with God, namely, the mosque of the sanctuary [of Mekka]." There is a tradition that it will issue in three issues; it will come out on the boundaries of Yemen and then disappear; then it will issue from the desert, and be concealed for a very long time, and whilst the people are in the greatest of mosques . . . . nor will anything frighten them except its coming forth . . . . Some people will flee and some will remain on beholding it. It is said that it will come forth from [mount] Çafa, and speak Arabic to the people with a smooth tongue, saying: 'Men had no firm belief in our signs,' *i. e.*, men did not believe in my coming forth; because its coming forth is one of the signs. It will also say: 'Is not the curse of God to befall the wicked.' According to Alsaddy it will address the people on the vanity of all religions except the religion of Islám. According to Ebn O'mar it will face the north and give forth a shout, then it will face the east, then Syria, then Yemen, and will do the same . . . . It is also related. . . . Whilst Jesus (peace be on him) will be walking around the temple and the Moslems with him,

the earth will quake beneath them, the chandelier will move, and [mount] Çafa will be split . . . . Then the beast will come forth from [mount] Çafa, bearing the staff of Moses and the seal of Solomon ; it will touch every believer on the forehead [literally, place of prostration], or between his eyes with the staff of Moses, so as to impress a white mark, which will spread over his face and make it shine . . . . like a brilliant star, and it will write between his eyes 'believer.' It will mark every infidel with the seal on his nose, and the mark will spread until it blackens the face; and it [the beast] will write between his eyes 'infidel.' Then the face of the believer will shine from the staff of Moses and the nose of the infidel will be struck by the seal. Then it [the beast] will say to them: 'So-and-so, thou art of those who dwell in paradise, and O So-and-so, thou art of those who abide in hell.' "10

١٥ ودابة الارض الجساسة جاء في الحديث ان طولها ستون ذراعاً لا يدركها طالب ولا يقونها هارب و روي لها اربع قوائم وزغب وريش جناحان وعن ابن جريح في وصفها راس ثور وعين حنزيرواذن قيل وقرن ابل وعنق نعامة وصدرا سد ولون نمر وحاصرة هرة وذنب كبش وخف يعبر وما بين المفصلين اثنا عشر ذراعاً بذراع ادم وروي لا يخرج إلا راسها وراسها يداغ اعنان السماء ويداغ السحاب وعن ابي هريرة فيها من كل لون وما بين قرنيها فرسخ للراكب وعن حسن لا يتم خروجها إلا بعد ثلثة ايام وعن اميرالمؤمنين علي ابن ابي طالب عليه السلام انه قيل من اين تخرج الدابة فقال من اعظم المساجد التي ثلثة ابام والناس ينظرون فلا يخرج إلا ثلثها وعن النبي ص انه قيل من اين تخرج الدابة فقال من اعظم المساجد علي الله يعني المسجد الحرام وروي انها تخرج ثلث خرجات تخرج باقصي اليمين ثم تتكمن ثم تخرج بالبادية ثم تتكمن دهرًا طويلًا فبينما الناس في اعظم المساجد... فما يهولهم إلا خروجها... فتقوم يهربون وقوم يقفون تطارة وقيل تخرج من اصفا فتكلمهم بالعربية بلسان زلق وتقول ان الناس كانوا باياتنا لا يوقنون



يعني ان الناس لا يقنون بخروجهي لان خروجها من الايات وتقول  
 'الاعنة الله على الظالمين وعن السدي تكلمهم ببطلان الاديان كلها صوي  
 دين الاسلام وعن ابن عمر تستقبل المغرب فتصرخ صرخة ثم تستقبل  
 المشرق ثم الشام ثم اليمن فتفعل مثل ذلك ... وروي ... بينما عيسى ع  
 يطوف بالبيت ومعهم المسلمون ان تضرب الارض تحتم تحرك القنديل و  
 ينشق العفا ... فتخرج الدابة من العفا ومعها عيسى موسي وخاتم سليمان  
 فتضرب المومن في مسجدة او فيما بين عينيه بعصا موسي فتنكت نكتة  
 بيضا فتفشا تلك النكتة في وجهه حتي تضي بها وجهه ... كانه كوكب  
 دري وتكتب بين عينيه مومن ونكت الكافر بالخاتم في انفه فقفشا  
 النكتة حتي تسود بها وجهه وتكتب بين عينيه كافر فتجمل وجه المومن  
 بالعبا وتخطم اذن الكافر بالخاتم ثم تقول لهم يا فلان انت من اهل  
 الجنة ويا فلان انت من اهل النار

ART. III.—*The Alexander Myth of the Persians.*  
 BY E. REHATSEK, M.C.E.

What we take the liberty to call the Alexander-myth, passes with Persian chroniclers, all of whom wrote quite independently of Western sources, for real history. Nevertheless, their coincidence in the main points and in some proper names, with classic authors, is remarkable enough, considering that the earliest Persian authors whose works still exist, composed them more than a thousand years after the Greek and Roman classics had produced their accounts of the Macedonian hero. There is a consensus that Alexander was a Greek king who conquered Persia and a portion of India, but some Persian authors state that this celebrated sovereign was no other than the same two-horned Alexander, Sekander Dhulqarnyn, some of whose exploits are described in the Qorán (XVIII.), whilst others assert that the latter has been one of the prophets, and not the same with the Greek Alexander, Sekander Rúmy. The epithet "two-horned" is nevertheless applied unanimously to both, although the reasons why he obtained it are not satisfactorily explained, and are stated to be of various kinds. Mirkhond is one of those authors who calls the Alexander of the Qorán the "great two-horned," and considers him to have been a prophet who lived before the time of Abraham; he attributes to him the building of the famous rampart against Yajúj and Májúj (Gog and Magog) mentioned in that book, which may perhaps be a dark allusion to the Great Wall of China; he, nevertheless, causes him, after traversing the countries of the east and the west, as well as visiting India and other lands, to settle in Alexandria, and to found near it the city of *Maksdoniá*.

The remote age in which this "Greater Alexander" is supposed to have lived may be conjectured from the following statement quoted by Mirkhond on the authority of the A'jáyib-ullákhbár, namely, that "it took 150 years to build the just mentioned city, and that it was surrounded by a wall so polished, that on account of its glare the inhabitants were forced to wear veils. In one corner of the town there was a tower 600 cubits high, containing a talismanic speculum, in which an army, coming from any quarter of the world, could be perceived, and the inhabitants were enabled to make timely preparations for defence.

It is said that the city remained inhabited during one thousand five hundred years ; after that it was in ruins one thousand years ; and now it is nearly two thousand years since Alexander the Greek built a town there in the same manner as he had learnt from ancient histories, and called it after his own name ; it still subsists till the present year, namely, A. H. 801 (A. D. 1398).''

Mirkhond had undoubtedly read, and also agrees often with the *Shah-námah* written in the tenth century of our era,<sup>1</sup> and, as is well known, based on much earlier sources. In that book, however, to save the honour of the Persians, who could not brook the idea of having been subjugated by a foreigner, whose nation was, moreover, supposed to be tributary to them, currency had already been given to the myth that

Dará, the King of Persia, had espoused the  
daughter of Philip, the King of Macedonia,  
Alexander.

but had, on discovering that she had a fetid breath, sent her again back to her father to Greece, where she soon gave birth to Alexander, the future conqueror of Persia, who was generally believed to have been the son of Philip. Nevertheless, Mirkhond gives no opinion of his own concerning the descent of Alexander, and contents himself with quoting the above with some others, whilst Nizámy in his *Sekander-námah* first mentions that Philip had made an excursion into the desert, where he found a dead woman, with an infant at her feet, sucking his own finger for want of milk, and this child Philip adopted as his own son ; then he adduces another tradition, which is of Zoroastrian origin, and refers Alexander's parentage to Dara<sup>2</sup>; Nizámy, however, rejects both these accounts, and asserts that Alexander was no other than Philip's own son. This, Khondemir says, is also the opinion of the Qády Názér-uddyn Bey-dávy, but nevertheless relates in the beginning of his account the statement above given from the *Shahnámah*.

According to Nizámy, Philip entrusted the philosopher Lysimachus, whose name he spells *Liqomájush*, with the education of Alexander.<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, the son, of Nicomachus, and most distinguished disciple of

<sup>1</sup> Firdousy was born A. H. 328 (A. D. 939-40).

• دگر گونه دهقان آذرپرست      بدارا کند نسل او باز گشت

<sup>3</sup> He who had both the name and business of preceptor was Lysimachus the Acarnanian (Langhorn's Plutarch, p. 417). According to the same author, Philip sent for Aristotle only after perceiving that he did not easily submit to authority (p. 471).

Plato, is, however, made the companion of Alexander, of whose age he was, in his studies and amusements.\* Diogenes Laertius (Lib. V., cap. i., n. vii., 9) asserts that Aristotle went only after his father's death to the Court of Philip, and was appointed teacher of the young prince, who was 15 years old. According to Justin (Lib. XII., cap. xvi.) Alexander remained five years under the tuition of this philosopher. There is, however, a general consensus among oriental and occidental authors, that Alexander always entertained the highest esteem for Aristotle,<sup>5</sup> and that he corresponded with him even from the remotest countries.

Mirkhond accurately observes that Philip, *Fylqús*, was assassinated by Pausanias, *Fálús*, and assigns his violent passion for the spouse of the king as the cause of the deed.<sup>6</sup> Alexander was born in the first year of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, 354-5 B. C., and his father having been murdered in 336, he ascended the throne at the age of 19 or 20. Other authors generally commence the reign of Alexander with his expedition to, and conquest of Persia, but Nizámy gives before it an account of a campaign against the Ethiopians, of whose incursions the Egyptians had complained; the Macedonian hero defeats them and builds Alexandria.<sup>7</sup> In this war, to the description of which Nizámy devotes several pages, but Firdousy only 2 or 3 distichs, Alexander is said to have been accompanied by Aristotle, and to have greatly profited by his advice. After returning from this campaign to

هز پيشه فرزند استاد بود      كه همدرس او بود و همزاد بود  
 ارسطو كه دستور درگاه بود      بهر نيك و بد محرم شاه بود

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias nobilis ex Macedonibus adolescens, nemini suspectus, occupatus angustiis Philippum in transitu obruncavit. (Justin. L. IX., cap. ii.) Creditum est etiam immisum ab Olympiade, matre Alexandri fuisse.—(*Ibid.*, cap. vii.)

<sup>7</sup> He indeed builds Alexandria, not, however, before his campaign against Darius, as Nizámy states, but after defeating that king in the battle of Issus, near the sea-shore, along which he continued to march with the intention of paying a visit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia, and on reaching the site of what afterwards became Alexandria, "he ordered a city to be planned suitable to the ground, and its appendant conveniences." Then he continued his laborious journey through the sands to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and accomplished it; after that he returned to Phenicia and resumed his march against Darius. (Plut.)—Ad Jovem deinde Hammonem pergit. (Justin L. XI., ch. xi.) Reversus ab Hamnone Alexandriam condidit et coloniam Macedonum caput esse Ægypti jubet. (*Ibid.* See also *Dicid.*, L. XVII., ch. vii.)

Greece, Alexander receives an embassy from Darius, asking the usual yearly tribute of one thousand golden eggs, but replies that the hen which laid them had died, and that henceforth Persia is to receive no more tribute. When Darius was informed of the proud reply of Alexander, he declared that a fly might as well presume to make war against an eagle, or a drop of water against the ocean, than the king of Greece against him. Darius hereon sent a swift courier to Alexander with a ball, a crooked bat for playing the Persian cricket or Chugán, and a box filled with millet, or mustard-seed, or sesame, according to various authors. This ambassador introduced himself with a polite speech, but also delivered the uncourteous message of Darius, that as Alexander was only a boy, he had sent him playthings, and emptying the box he poured out the grain, assuring the Greek king that the Persian armies were more numerous than these. Alexander, however, prognosticated his own success from the gifts, by replying that the ball represented the terrestrial globe which he meant to conquer, and that the crooked stick had been sent to him as an indication that he would draw Persia to himself. Then he called for the chickens of the palace, which unanimously assailed the grains, and said that if the king of Persia intended to attack him with troops of sesame he possessed fowls that would gobble them up. Hereon, says Nizámy, Darius declared war, and marched with an army, the cavalry alone of which amounted to 900,000 men, against Greece, till he reached the boundaries of the dominions of Alexander.

According to some authors, Alexander took the initiative in this war,<sup>9</sup> but Josephus Flavius (B. XI., ch. viii.) states that not only Darius, "but all those that were in Asia also, were persuaded that the Macedonians would not so much as come to a battle with the Persians, on account of their multitude." Alexander, however, invaded Asia in 334 B. C. with 32,000 infantry and only 500 cavalry,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> A general assembly of the Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth, they came to a resolution to send their quota with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general (Plut., p. 456). No reasons are, however, assigned why the campaign against Darius was undertaken.

<sup>10</sup> As to the number of troops, those that put it at the least say he carried over 30,000 foot and 500 horse; and they who put it at the most, tell us his army consisted of 34,000 foot and 4,000 horse. (Plut., p. 457; Justin Lib. XI., ch. vi., has 32,000 infantry, 45,000 cavalry, and 80 ships.)

and the first battle near the river Granicus having been fought with the generals of Darius, the Persians retreated to Issus (333 B. C.), where he himself was present, and left 110,000 dead on the field of battle. Among the prisoners of the Greeks, as will be seen further on, were the mother, wife, and children of Darius, who then retired further into the interior, weakened but not dismayed.<sup>10</sup>

None of the numbers and names of places, just given, are mentioned by Persian authors, who use rather vague expressions, and agree only in the main points with our classical sources. Mirkhond very quickly jumps to the final catastrophe by causing Alexander at once to conquer Adarbajjan, Gayllán, and then to march to Fárs, where Darius meets him with an army more numerous than the leaves of trees; he evidently describes the battle of Arbela, but gives no name. He not only considers the Greeks to be monotheists, as other Persian chroniclers do, but when they rush to the attack they actually use a verse of the *Qorán* (LXI., 3.) for their war-cry :—"Aid comes from Allah, and victory is at hand."

In the *Shahnámah* three battles are described, but with very scanty topographical remarks; to fight the first Darius himself advances with his army from the river Euphrates, near which a battle was fought that lasted seven days, and on the eighth the Persians fled<sup>11</sup>; for the second, Darius collected new forces from Erán and Turán, and was again beaten, the more so, as Alexander had issued a proclamation that he

<sup>10</sup> In *Castris Persarum multum auri ceterarumque opum inventum. Inter captivos castrorum, mater, et uxor eademque soror, et filiæ duæ Darii fuere. Ad quas visendas hortandasque quum Alexander venisset, conspectis armatis, invicem se amplexæ, velut statim morituræ complorationem ediderunt. Provolutæ deinde genibus Alexandri, non mortem, sed dum Darii corpus sepeliunt, dilationem mortis deprecantur. Motus tanta mulierum pietate Alexander, et Darium vivere dixit, et timentibus mortis metum dempsit, easque haberi ut reginas præcepit. Filias quoque non sordidius dignitate patris sperare matrimonium jussit.* (Just. L. IV., ch. ix.)

<sup>11</sup> This battle was not fought near the Euphrates, as Firdousy believed, but near the Granicus, nor was Darius present in it; his satraps had assembled a great army and had taken a position upon the Granicus; they offered neither a great nor a long resistance to the Greeks, but soon turned their backs. According to Plutarch, 20,000 of their foot and 2,500 horse were killed in this battle, but according to Diodorus, only 10,000 in all. The classical authors put the loss of Alexander at a ludicrously small figure; Plutarch states that not more than 34 were killed, and Arrian that about 25 of the king's friends fell in the battle, and of persons of less note 60 horse and 30 foot.

did not wage war against the people <sup>12</sup>; whereon defections took place in the army of Darius, who gradually retired to Persepolis, where he gathered strength and hoped to retrieve his fortunes. Alexander traversed E'ráq and Kermian, whereon the third battle was fought,<sup>13</sup> in which the family of Darius fell into the power of the Greeks, and his

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۱۲. شمارا از من بیم وزار نیست سپاه مرا با شما کار نیست

Thus it would appear that the Prussians in the Franco-German war of 1870-71 and the English generals in the Afghán war of 1879-80 only imitated the precedent of Alexander the Great, when they issued proclamations that they did not mean to attack the people but only the government.

<sup>13</sup> On the first alarm of the approach of the Persians, Alexander took possession of the town of Issus, and in the battle which ensued in the vicinity of it, both Alexander and Darius fought in person; Oxathres, the brother of the latter, perceiving that the former was particularly desirous to encounter Darius, resolved to follow him. He took up his position with the bravest cavaliers in front of the chariot of Darius, and put to the sword great numbers of those who attempted to approach the person of the king. The escort of Alexander being, however, equally valiant, a heap of corpses was soon accumulated around the chariot of Darius; those who attacked and those who defended him being equally ready to sacrifice their lives. The horses of Darius, covered with wounds, and rendered savage by the tumult around them, no longer obeyed the reins, and were on the point to drag the king into the midst of his foes. Darius, perceiving this danger, himself seized the reins of his horses, contrary to the custom and dignity of the kings of Persia. Meanwhile his officers gave him another chariot, the disorder among his troops increased, and he fled, but again returned about midnight to the camp of his defeated troops, with which he then retreated to Babylon and again gathered strength. (See Diod. B. XVII., ch. xvii.) In this battle 110,000 Persians were killed according to Plutarch, but according to Diodorus (B. XVII., ch. vi.) 20,000 infantry and at least 10,000 cavalry, whilst the Macedonians lost only 300 of the former and not more than 150 of the latter. Here also the tent of Darius was taken, and when Alexander was sitting down to table, an account was brought him, that among the prisoners were the mother, the wife, and two unmarried daughters of Darius. Plutarch, Curtius, Diodorus, and Justin all agree that Alexander after some pause, during which he was rather commiserating the misfortunes of these ladies than rejoicing at his own success, sent Leonnatus to assure them "that Darius was not dead, and that they had nothing to fear from Alexander"; here Plutarch takes occasion to praise the continence of Alexander, and says that he knew no woman before his marriage with Bersine, a widow who had been taken prisoner at Damascus; she was well versed in Greek literature and of royal extraction, her father Artabazus having been the grandson of a king of Persia. This marriage is alluded to also by Justin (L. IV., ch. i.), who adds:—"Ex qua postea susceptum puerum Herculeum vocavit."

nobles—many of whose relatives had been slain or taken prisoners—besought him to sue for peace. Accordingly, Darius wrote a letter to Alexander,<sup>14</sup> in which he promised to give him enormous treasures, abdicated the throne in his favour, and adjured him to be generous, but finding that he could effect nothing, he despatched a courier with a letter to India, requesting *Fúr* (Porus of the classics), a sovereign of that country, to aid him with an army. When Alexander heard this he forthwith left Persepolis with his army and encountered Darius for the last time in a battle, after which the latter fled with only 300 men, among whom were also two officers, *Máhyár* and *Jánúsyár*, who became traitors and slew Darius, or rather wounded him mortally, hoping that Alexander would reward them for the deed. When they informed him of what they had done, he ordered them to take him to the spot where the body of Darius was, and there a most pathetic scene ensued. The conquered monarch still breathed, the victor compassionately bent over him, assured him of his fullest sympathy, promised to get his wounds cured by the best Indian and Greek physicians, and to re-install him on the throne.<sup>15</sup> Darius informed the conqueror of his approaching end, recommended to him his family, but especially requested him to preserve his wife and daughter *Rushang* (Roxane)

<sup>14</sup> This letter is mentioned also by Plutarch, who says :—“ It was about this time that he received a letter from Darius, in which that prince proposed, on condition of a pacification and future friendship, to pay him 10,000 talents in ransom of the prisoners, to cede to him all the countries on this side the Euphrates, and to give him his daughter in marriage. Upon his communicating these proposals to his friends, Parmenio said ‘ if I were Alexander, I would accept them.’ ‘ So would I,’ said Alexander, ‘ if I were Parmenio.’ The answer he gave to Darius was ‘ that if he would come to him, he should find the best of treatment ; if not, he must go and seek him.’ ” This repartee of Alexander to Parmenio is recorded also in Diod. B. XVII., ch. vii.—Darius quum Babylonem profugisset, per epistolas Alexandrum deprecatur, redimendarum sibi captivarum potestatem faciat, inque eam rem magnam pecuniam pollicetur ; sed Alexander in pretium captivarum regnum omne, non pecuniam petit. Interjecto tempore aliæ epistolæ Darii, Alexandro redduntur, quibus filiæ matrimonium et regni portio offertur. (Justin, L. XI., ch. xii.)

<sup>15</sup> “ Alexander,” says Plutarch, “ having subdued all on this side the Euphrates, began his march against Darius, who had taken the field with a million of men.” The abovementioned battle, which took place near Arbela, is not described by Plutarch ; but Diodorus and Arrian (L. III., ch. 13, seq.) give a long account of it. Diodorus (B. XVII., ch. vii.) states that Darius, being very desirous that the battle should take place under the walls of Nineveh, because there was a plain favourable for the deploying of his large army,



from dishonour, then he expired. Alexander had the body of Darius removed, embalmed with camphor,<sup>16</sup> and placed with due ceremony in a Dukmah, he himself with all his courtiers accompanying the funeral procession. The ceremony being finished, two gibbets were erected, on which the two assassins were hanged.<sup>17</sup> According to the classics, however, the governor of Bactriana, Bessus, murdered Darius in the hope of succeeding him on the throne (331 B. C.), whereas Persian authors are unanimous with reference to the abovementioned

pitched his camp near the village of Arbela. Whilst the Persian authors assert that Darius was slain in his flight after this battle, Plutarch narrates that Alexander traversed the whole province of Babylon, went to Ecbatana (Hamdán), made himself master of Susa, burnt Persepolis after a carousal, and then marched again against Darius; but upon intelligence that Bessus had seized the person of that prince, he rode in pursuit and reached Darius only after hard riding of eleven days; "they found him extended on his chariot and pierced with many darts." When Alexander came up he had already expired. The next movement of the conqueror was into Hyrcania, which he entered with the flower of his army, and had a view of the Caspian Sea. Thence he marched into Parthia, &c., as may be seen at a glance in Spruner's beautiful *Atlas Antiquus*, No. VIII., where the "Alexandri Magni iter" is traced out with red lines, whereas all the Persian authors cause Alexander at once to march to India after the just mentioned battle of Arbela.

16. نقش زبر کا فور شد ناپدید و زانیس کی روی دارا ندید

<sup>17</sup> That the above named two officers slew Darius and led Alexander to him is apocryphal; and Bessus, the real murderer, was punished only after Alexander had marched to Bactriana; for, says Diodorus (B. XVII., ch. xviii.), Darius had retreated from Alexander to Bactriana with an army of 30,000 men which he had again collected, and was just marching out from the town of Bactra (Balkh) when the satrap Bessus killed him. This author states in the same chapter that Alexander pursuing Darius at the head of his cavalry, and being informed of the murder of the Persian king, searched for, and found his corpse, which he got honourably interred; he however adds that according to some authors Alexander found Darius still alive and complaining of his misfortunes, whereon the conqueror assured him that he would avenge his death. This is in conformity with our Persian authors. On the other hand, neither Plutarch nor Justin hint at any such interview between the two kings; the latter says (L. XI., ch. xv.) :—"Emensus [Alexander] deinde multa millia passuum, quam nullum Darii indicium reperisset, respirandi equis data potestate, unus ex militibus dum ad fontem proximum pergit, in vehiculo Darii, multis quidem vulneribus confossum, sed spirantem invenit." Further on (L. XII., ch. v.) he says, after mentioning the conquests of Alexander in Central Asia :—"Interim unus ex amicis Darii, Bessus, victus producit, qui regem non solum prodiderat, verum et interfecerat. Quem in ultionem perfidie exoruciandum fratri Darii tradidit."

statement concerning the two officers of Darius; they also agree perfectly with some Greek and Roman authors that Alexander married Roxane, whom they call Rushang, the daughter of Darius, or of one of his satraps.<sup>18</sup> The Shahnámah contains a letter of Alexander to Dilárá, the spouse, and Rushang, the daughter, of Darius, informing them that the late king had promised him the latter in marriage. In reply to Alexander, Dilárá consents to bestow the hand of the young lady upon him,<sup>19</sup> and a short time afterwards, the wedding takes place with great pomp. Then Rushang was, according to Nizámy, sent to Greece with Aristotle.

Mirkhond states that Alexander married Rushang and installed the brother of Dara as his viceroy in Fars, and chief of ninety-nine governors of Erán. By order of Alexander, works treating on medicine and astronomy were translated into the Greek language, but all the books of the Magi were burnt and their temples destroyed; which latter statement is in strict accordance with the traditions of the Parsees, that the religion of the Parsees fell into decay by the conquest of Alexander.<sup>20</sup> The author of the Shahnámah, on the contrary, has not a word to say of Alexander's enmity towards the Persian religion or his persecution of it; and as Firdousy had throughout the work manifested rather laudatory than derogatory sentiments towards it, he was by his enemies accused of being a Zoroastrian in disguise; this accounts for the presence of a passage in which he found it necessary to declare his stout adherence to Islám and admiration of A'ly, for which he incurred the odium of fanatic Sunnys, although he had praised also Abu Bekr and O'mar. Nizámy, however, like the majority of chroniclers, asserts that Alexander wished to destroy the Zoroastrian religion, wherefore nearly the whole piece concerning it is here given:—

The chronicler of ancient lore  
Speaks thus of former times:—

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<sup>18</sup> Plutarch says nothing about the lineage of Roxane, but mentions that Alexander's marriage with her was entirely an effect of love. He saw her at an entertainment, and found her charms irresistible. Neither is the locality mentioned where the marriage took place. According to Arrian, Roxane was a captive, and daughter of Oxyartes, the brother of Darius.

<sup>19</sup> دگر آنکر از روشنگ یاد کرد      دل ما بدان آرزو شاد کرد  
پرسندند؛ تمت ما بنده ایم      بفرمان و رایت سرافکنده ایم

<sup>20</sup> Spiegel's Avesta, vol. i. Einleitung, ch. ii., p. 16.

When Zoroaster's Faith decayed  
 The fire went out, the ignicolist was burnt.  
 Alexander ordered the Eranians  
 To abandon ignolatry,  
 To leave their ancient Faith  
 To embrace that of their new king,  
 The Magi the fire to leave,  
 The fire-temples to destroy.  
 It was the custom of those times,  
 In fire-temples scholars to maintain,  
 The treasures there to guard,  
 That none obtain access to them.  
 A rich man without heirs  
 His wealth to fire-temples left.  
 This custom was a public injury,  
 As every temple was a treasure-house.  
 When Alexander destroyed those shrines,  
 He caused the treasures to flow out ;  
 Every fire-temple he met with,  
 He demolished, and its treasures took.  
 It was the usage of ignicolists  
 To sit throughout the year with brides ;  
 On Jamshyd-new-year's day, and Joshan Sedeh  
 To renovate the temples' festivals ;  
 From all directions maidens young  
 To the temples quickly sped.  
 Bedecked, with ornaments, adorned  
 They arrived in crowds with eagerness.  
 The book Barzyn, the magic words of Zend  
 Were chanted loud, to reach the sky,  
 But all their work was play and dalliance  
 Telling stories, or reciting magic spells ;  
 Some danced, some clapped their hands  
 Or played with rose-bouquets.  
 When the quickly turning sphere  
 Again a new year had commenced  
 A feast they kept, and left their homes  
 To celebrate it in the fields,  
 Then pleasure parties were arranged  
 Rejoicings great took place,

But when Greece and Persia became one  
All these rejoicings had an end.  
The throne becomes exalted by one king  
When there are many it must decay ;  
One king a hundred much excels  
Just as too rich showers ruin cause.  
The well-meaning monarch now ordained :—  
Rites of the Magi no one should observe,  
Noble brides should show their face  
To mothers and to husbands alone.  
He broke the incantations, pictures all  
Dispersed the Magi from the Butkhaneh,  
He cleansed the world from all polluted Faiths  
And kept the people orthodox.  
This power in the country of Erán  
Allowed no Zartosht fires to remain,  
Henceforth the covetous Magi could no more  
With treasures fill the Ateshkedehs.  
When the king had abolished the rites of fire,  
He grieved all those who worshipped it.  
He ordered all the people of the period  
Homage to pay to God alone,  
To follow the orthodox religion  
To turn their backs on sun and moon.  
The realm was conquered by the liberal king  
He turned his steed into the open plains  
And joyously victory espoused  
As is recorded in Firdousy's strains.  
But if you wish to listen to my lay  
And see some mysteries revealed  
Take out the cotton from your ears  
Because I humbly give a new account  
Of what I learnt from trusted men  
Concerning events of those times ;  
Some chronicles I also possessed  
Of which I left no word unread  
Those treasures I compared.  
I gathered scattered broken leaves,  
From hidden records I produce,  
The narrative I now present :—

A Persian sage and old  
 Spoke thus and my approval met:—  
 The king deprived Dárá of throne and crown  
 Then he from Mausul marched away  
 And entered Babel with much pomp,  
 He cleared the land of sorcerers  
 The fire of Mobeds he ordered  
 To be put out with gentleness ;  
 To purge the Zend-books from fatuity,  
 Or else to place them into libraries.  
 He showed the way to the barbarians  
 And blotted from their hearts the memory of fire  
 Thence he, highminded sovereign,  
 Sped towards Adharabádagán  
 Wherever he the fire perceived  
 He quenched it and the Zend-books washed.  
 That region had a fire, rock-enshrined  
 Called “ incomprehensible ” by ignicolists  
 Attended by hundred gold-collared Hyrbads  
 Placed side by side to worship it.  
 That ancient flame to quench,  
 He ordered, and was obeyed.  
 Having extinguished the said fire  
 He marched his troops to Espahán ;  
 That beauteous and adorned town  
 So pleasant and so rich,  
 Rejoiced the heart exceedingly ;  
 Here many fires were quenched  
 And their Hyrbads were abased.  
 There was a temple more adorned  
 Than pleasure gardens in the spring.  
 For Zartosht’s Faith, and Majús rites  
 Fine brides attended service there,  
 All captivating eyes and hearts ;  
 One was a sorceress, descendant of Sám  
 Her name was Adhar Humayún.  
 When that enchantress sang her spells  
 She hearts enfeebled, raptured souls.  
 Now Alexander speedily decreed  
 The demolition of that house,

But Adhar Humayún assumed  
 A flaming dragon's shape;  
 The soldiers at the fiery serpent glanced  
 Fled terror-stricken and dismayed;  
 The king they forthwith thus informed :—  
 A dragon in the temple dwells  
 With fire he our men assails  
 And burns them or devours.  
 The king this mystery to know  
 His Dastur quickly called  
 Who forthwith thus replied :—  
 " Balynás secrets can unfold  
 The talismanic arts he knows."  
 " Can phantoms such as this,"  
 The king Balynás asked,  
 " Foil our designs in this place ?"  
 The wise man said :—" Such figures are  
 Produced by sorcery alone,  
 If it be the pleasure of the king  
 I shall this serpent tame forthwith."  
 The sage now to the temple sped  
 And saw a dragon's head erect.  
 The sight of Balynás dismayed the witch  
 She levelled incantations at the sage  
 But they recoiled on her alone.  
 He foiled all her sorceries  
 The moment of defeat now came;  
 He called for rue, a medicinal herb,  
 With which he touched the sorceress  
 And broke her spells, as water quenches fire.  
 The maiden saw that she was lost  
 And mercy craved at his feet.  
 Balynás now her face beheld,  
 Relented, spared her life,  
 But made the flames blaze aloft  
 And had the fire temple burnt.

As the rest of the piece contains nothing more about the religion of the Persians, it is omitted, but it winds up with a marriage, just like a modern European novel. Balynás takes the lady to Alexander, who permits him to wed her.

Before Alexander invaded India he extended his conquests into Central Asia, where he built, according to Invasion of India. Mirkhond, a large city near the river Jayhún (Bactrus), which he named Marjálús, and invited persons from other regions to settle there ; he also founded Samarqand and Herat.<sup>21</sup> After accomplishing these conquests he marched to India through difficult passes, and across steep mountains. The invasion of India and the fights with two kings there, named Kyd and Fúr, are narrated by all the Persian chroniclers, although naturally in different ways.

No opposition is said to have been offered to the Greek conqueror on his entering India, and the gates of towns were freely opened to him.<sup>22</sup> Kyd, the sovereign of India, whose province he first entered, presented him with a beauteous maiden, a skilled physician, a great philosopher, and an inexhaustible marvellous goblet, from which water or wine could be made at pleasure to flow at any time. After receiving these gifts, Alexander declared that he would never attack Kyd, buried his treasures in a mountain and marched to the ancient city of Qanúj on the Ganges, <sup>23</sup> to attack Fúr, who had given an insolent reply to a

<sup>21</sup> After his campaign in Persia and his conquest of Arachosia (331-330, B. C.) Alexander marched to Bactriana, mounting along the basin of the Etymander (Helmend) ; thus he arrived at the foot of the passes on the Hindu-Koh, entered the upper basin of the Kophes (Kabul-river) and the basin of the Oxus. There he founded a town called ' Alexandria of the Caucasus ' (Arr. L. III., c. xxviii., 4, and V. i., 5) and ' Alexandria of the Paropanisades ' (*ibid.* L. IV, c. xxii., 4), whence he passed northwards to Balkh and Samarqand, but the campaign of the Kophes, the precursor of his Indian conquests, took place only two and a half years later, in the spring of 327. In his march from Arachosia to the passes of the Paropanisus (Hindu-Koh), Alexander necessarily also passed through Ortospanum, *i. e.* Kabura, the present Kabul. (Etude sur la-geogr. grecque et latine de l'Inde. Vivien de St. Martin, p. 21, seq.)

22. بچاي كه آمد سكندر فراز در شارما نها كشادند باز

<sup>23</sup> It is too well known that Alexander never marched to the Ganges. The classic authors mention no sovereign of the name of Kyd ; Taxiles, however, the sovereign of Taxila (Takshasila, on which see " The Ancient Geogr. of India " by A. Cunningham, p. 114, seq.) paid a friendly visit to Alexander and brought him great presents, for which he received larger ones in return. (Plut.) Alexander desired indeed to attack the Gangarides, after he had conquered Porus and some other princes, and to march for that purpose to the river Ganges, but the army, now eight years from home, refused to comply ; wherefore he promised his troops that he would begin his return march, built ships, and descended the Indus. (Diod. L. XVII., c. lii.)

letter from Alexander. The numbers of the forces, which consisted of Greeks dressed in armour, of Egyptians [*sic*] and of Persians, are not given, except of the last named, who are said to have amounted to 40,000. When Fúr became aware of the approach of the enemy he prepared for resistance, and advanced with his army, which occupied four miles in extent, and was accompanied by numerous elephants trained for war. Alexander had an elephant constructed which moved on wheels, and was filled with naphtha, as well as other combustibles; this model having been tried and found serviceable, more than a thousand were made, according to Firdousy, but Mirkhond states that 24,000 hollow figures were constructed. A battle ensued, and the Indian army having retreated before these fire-engines, Alexander advanced further, and again encountering it, challenged Fúr to single combat, to prevent another conflict between the two armies, which would necessarily result in terrible slaughter. Fúr agreed, and the condition was that the kingdom should belong to the victor in this duel. Accordingly the two kings fought, Fúr lost his life, and Alexander installed a great Hindu noble of the name of Súrak on the throne of the country.<sup>24</sup>

Not a word is said by Firdousy how Alexander managed to transport himself all at once, with his army, to Mekkah, where he performs his devotions in the Ka'bah, approaching it on foot, and distributing largesses all the while. That piece must be spurious, not at all by Firdousy, but foisted in and gradually amplified during the lapse of eight centuries; how else could Alexander again make his appearance among the Brahmans, as we shall see in the next paragraph? After finishing his pilgrimage, Alexander constructs ships in Jeddah, whence he sails to Egypt, which is under the sway of Qytún, who pays allegiance to him, as soon as he hears that he is a great and pious monarch. Alexander rests himself a year in Egypt; he leaves it, however, to go to Andalús, which is governed by a queen Qydáfah, and makes a treaty of peace

<sup>24</sup> According to Plutarch, Porus was merely taken prisoner, and Alexander not only restored to him his dominions, but added very extensive territories to them, which he was to govern as his Lieutenant. This is stated also by Justin, L. XII., c. viii; and Diodorus (L. XVII., c. xlv.) mentions that Porus, although dangerously wounded, was still breathing, and entrusted to physicians of his own nation; when he recovered his health, Alexander re-installed him in his kingdom. In the above mentioned contest, the head-quarters of Alexander were at Jalálpur, near the river Jhelum; those of Porus about Muhábatpur, four miles to the W.S.W. of Mong, and three miles S.E. of Jalálpur according to Cunningham (*loco laudato*, p. 172).



with her, on which occasion the forger's ignorance of chronology appears in a very glaring way, because the Christian religion is alluded to as existing at that time. It may also be observed in this place that the queen Qydáfeh had sent a skilful painter to limn a portrait of Alexander by which she recognized him; and it will be noticed further on, in the paragraph on the war with the Russians, that Nizamy causes Nushabeh, the queen of Borda, to recognize Alexander in the same manner.

No battles are mentioned as having been fought, nor any kind of hostilities since Alexander left India, where he again returns from Andalús to the province or rather town of the Brahmans, with surprising celerity, no allusion whatever being made to the distance intervening between Andalús and India, nor to the manner in which he succeeded to transfer his whole army again to that country. It is however expressly mentioned that he hastened from Andalús to India, for the purpose of questioning the ascetics on ancient subjects.<sup>25</sup> The Brahmans sent from their mountain a letter to Alexander, in which they informed him, after the usual compliments, that they were all devotees, and that if he had come in search of wealth, he would be disappointed, they being all in a state of nudity, engaged in the pursuit of knowledge, and the exercise of patience, of which nobody could deprive them. A messenger, dressed only in an apron of grass, had brought the letter, which Alexander perused, and then advancing only with his philosophers, left his army behind. When he met the Brahmans they greeted him politely, and the following conversation ensued:—

- A. What enjoyments in the world have you? They consist in sleep, in eating, drinking, resting and fighting.
- B. We have nothing to do with war, nor with clothing, as we are all born naked, and shall again be so when we die.
- A. What is more abundant, the visible or the invisible; the living or the dead?
- B. The invisible is more abundant, because all who have lived before, are dead.
- A. What is more, land or water?

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۲۵ وز آنجا یکه لشکر اندر کشید      دوان تا بشهر بوهمن رسید  
بدان تاز کردار پای کهن      بپرسد ز پرهیزگاران سخن

- B. Also land is preserved by water.  
 A. Who is most independent ?  
 B. He who is contented with little.  
 A. Who is the greatest sinner ?  
 B. He who refuses to listen to the dictates of reason.  
 A. What is always with us ?  
 B. Our soul, our cares, and our sins.  
 A. What is the nature of greed for money that makes it deplorable ?  
 B. Greed of money resembles two demons ; the one distressed by want, the other by wealth.  
 A. What can I do for you ; will you accept treasures ?  
 B. O mighty king ! ward off from us old age and death !  
 A. From death there is no escape, even iron is destroyed.  
 B. Then why, O mighty king, do you exert yourself so much in war, and in the accumulation of wealth ?  
 A. I am destined by fate for this course of life, and those who are slain in their contests with me, are only punished for their own deeds.<sup>26</sup>

After leaving the Brahmins, Alexander departs to the fish-eaters,<sup>27</sup> who live near the boundless sea, veil their faces like women, use robes, paints, and perfumes. A mountain is discovered, yellow, and shining like the sun ; Alexander wishes to examine it, but is persuaded to send a few Persians and philosophers in a ship, and not to risk his own life ; the mountain, however, proved to be a large yellow fish, who destroyed the ship. Then he comes to a region where he meets with trees that let down their branches and spread their foliage over a distance, so that people are living under them ; the description answers to our Banian-tree, *i. e.*, *Ficus Indica*.<sup>28</sup> Then he marches

<sup>26</sup> It is extremely surprising that the number and scope of the questions here given, is the same with those which Plutarch states that Alexander asked the Gymnosophists. Had Firdousy not been a poet and therefore biassed by imagination as well as shackled by the exigencies of rhyme and metre, a much greater coincidence, if not identity of this dialogue, would have resulted between his description of it and that of his Greek predecessor.

<sup>27</sup> These may be the ichthiophagi of Gedrosia (Mekran) whom Alexander encountered when he marched back to Persia through Beluchistan. Bad diet, excessive heat, and maladies destroyed large numbers of the army, but the Persian accounts mention nothing of the sort.

<sup>28</sup> زده رش فزون بود پهناي او چهل رش به پدهود بالاي او

through a region where many snakes issued from the water, whilst on the land many fire-coloured scorpions appeared, which stung his soldiers while they slept. Wild boars with teeth as strong as adamant, as well as lions, whom it became necessary to combat, also made their appearance, but the army put the whole district on fire, and departed from the sea coast, after having slain so great a number of hogs that they almost blocked up the road.

Now Alexander entered the country of the negroes, who were tall, and attacked the troops in a furious onslaught, but more than a thousand of them were killed, and the rest fled. They had no better weapon than large bones with which they fought. One night a howling of wolves was heard, and a flock of them appeared, each of which was as large as an ox, but their leader had the size of an elephant, and killed many warriors; they were however put to flight. When Alexander reached the soft-footed nation (*narm-páyán*) he found them to be very numerous, but possessing neither horses nor armour, neither swords nor clubs; when however the army approached them they yelled, and received it with a shower of stones, but the troops slew many of them. Now Alexander marched till he reached a very large city, where he was received in the friendliest manner by the inhabitants, who came out to meet him with all kinds of provisions. Here he rested his army, and great rejoicings took place.<sup>29</sup> Marching away from this place, he reached a mountain, the abode of a terrible dragon, who allowed no one to pass beyond it. The people of the town near it were compelled daily to bring five oxen to feed the monster, for fear of being attacked by it. Alexander at once ordered the withholding of this offering, whereon the dragon, being hungry, came down and was received with a shower of arrows, the martial noise of drums, trumpets and fifes, but the fires that had been kindled all round the camp, staggered the monster so, that it retired again. The next morning, however, Alexander ordered the customary offering to be made; it consisted, however, not of five oxen, but only of their hides stuffed with naphtha

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<sup>29</sup> This may have been the royal palace of Gedrosia (or rather Kermán), where, says Plutarch, Alexander gave the army time to refresh themselves again, and entertained them with feasts and public spectacles. See the account of the pathetic meeting of Alexander with the Admiral of his fleet, who landed in Harmozia (Ormuz) and there learnt that the king who had marched with the army from India by land, was not far.—(*Nearchi Paraplyus ex Arriano*, p. 23 seq. Edited in Greek and Latin by Hudson. Oxford: 1698.)

and poison. After a while Alexander approached the dragon, and saw it looking like a big black cloud. Its tongue was dark blue, its eyes like blood, and it vomited fire. When the dragon had swallowed the five oxen and the poison had taken effect, the monster furiously knocked its head against the rock and perished.

When Alexander with his army had advanced towards Herúm, the city of the Amazons, he despatched a letter to inform them that all who offered resistance to his prowess had been humbled to the dust ; but a reply was sent to him that the female army numbered 10,000, all virgins ; that each who had slain a man in battle is rewarded with a golden diadem, and that there were 30,000 who had been thus crowned. If Alexander desired to meet them in combat, he would have to encounter a host, obscuring the sun and moon, but if he came as a friend, he would be received hospitably. This message was borne by an Amazon dressed in royal garments, accompanied by an escort of ten others on horseback. Alexander returned an answer that he was desirous to see the city, or to receive any of the ladies who might honour him with a visit, but that he had no intention to wage war against females ; he meant to ascertain how a community of women could exist without men, since death must necessarily diminish their numbers.

After amicable arrangements had been made, Alexander put his army in motion, but when he had progressed two stages, an icy wind arose, accompanied by snow ; when he had advanced further, a cloud of black smoke presented itself, and the ground became as hot as if the troops had been marching over fire. Now the army reached a town, the inhabitants of which which were black as night, all foaming at their mouths ; their eyes were bloodshot, and they spat fire. They brought elephants as presents for the army, and confessed that the storm and snow had been produced by themselves, as also that no one had ever passed over this route. Alexander rested his army during one month in this town, and then continued his march towards the city of the Amazons. Now two thousand women crossed a river, all handsome, adorned with crowns and ear-rings, bringing abundant provisions to a delightful prairie full of trees and running brooks. When Alexander entered the city of Herúm, a procession of Amazons met him with presents of costly garments, ornaments and perfumes, which he graciously accepted. There he lived for some time in pleasure,

making friends with all, and having satisfied his curiosity, departed again.<sup>30</sup>

Having arrived in a country all the people of which were of strong build, with red faces and yellow hair, Alexander asked them about the remarkable things of those regions. One of them replied that at some distance there existed a water, about which no one could give any information ; when the sun arrives there, it sinks ; and beyond that spot, in the darkness, the spring called the water of life is situated, by drinking of which a human being becomes immortal. Mirkhond does not mention this spring, and Firdousy does not specify its locality, although an account, exceeding sixty distichs, of Alexander's visit to this spring is given in the Shanámah ; his guide, the prophet Khid̄er, reached the water, drank of it and attained immortality, but Alexander himself was frustrated in his endeavour to reach the spot. He went to a mountain, where he beheld various strange things, and lastly even the angel Serafyl, sitting in an expectant posture, with inflated cheeks, his trump in the hand, waiting for the divine command to sound the blast of the resurrection and judgment day. On perceiving Alexander, the angel admonishes him to be prepared. The Greek hero then came down from the mountain, and on entering the darkness with

<sup>30</sup> According to Diodorus (L. XVII., c. xxi.), Thalestris, the queen of the Amazons, who possessed all the country between the Phasis and the Therma-don, managed to put herself in the way of Alexander, when he was in Hyrcania (which means the southern shores of the Caspián sea, and Mazanderán). She was surprisingly beautiful and strong in body, but more celebrated by her extraordinary courage. She brought 300 armed Amazons, and Alexander being struck by the beauty as well as the martial aspect of these women, asked what had procured him so magnificent a reception. Thalestris unhesitatingly told him that her ambition was to possess an infant by him, hoping that the fruit of their union would surpass in bravery all men in the world. The king, easily gained over by this proposal, amused himself thirteen days with Thalestris, whereon he sent her away with splendid presents. Plutarch also mentions the visit of the queen of the Amazons to Alexander, as having taken place before his invasion of India, when he had approached the Caspian sea, and passing beyond it attacked the King of the Scythians, but doubts of its authenticity, although it had been repeatedly narrated by many preceding historians. It is curious that at Gumuche Tepe (silver hill), a village on the Caspian coast, silver money bearing the head of Alexander is frequently found, and that immense quantities of large bricks, fragments of ancient pottery, &c., also bear witness to his presence. (See more on this subject, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. x., p. 20, 21.)

his escort, he hears a shout, to the effect, that whether any one picks up a stone from the ground or not, he would repent of it. Some gathered stones, and when they again came out into daylight, they found that they had got rubies, and repented that they had not taken more, whilst those who had taken none were sorry, because they thought they might also have obtained precious stones. The narrative comes to a conclusion abruptly, without assigning any reason why and how Alexander was frustrated in his search for the water of immortality.<sup>31</sup>

This subject is treated at much greater length in the *Sekandernámah* of Nizami, according to which Alexander was one day discussing with his officers concerning the things most precious in the world. Some asserted that the costliest substances could be obtained in Khwarezm, others in China, others in India, &c., but one maintained, that treasures were but mud in comparison to immortality, which might be attained by drinking water from a certain spring. The spring is situated under the north-pole, and any one who drinks of it will never die. Also here the prophet Khider was the guide; but he considered it unsuitable that the whole army should march to the locality, accordingly only a small party undertook the journey. After travelling one month, Alexander reached a spot near the north-pole, where the sun rose only for a moment and sank again.<sup>32</sup> At last, however, the party entered a region without any daylight, which distresses Alexander; he bethinks himself, however, and gives Khider a fleet horse with very precise instructions how to set about to discover the spring; which appears very strange, considering that he was a prophet, and superior to ordinary mortals. Khider is successful in his errand, drinks of the miraculous water, and becomes immortal. He

<sup>31</sup> When Alexander was in Hyrcania near the Caspian sea, he arrived near the river Stibæus, which flows underground, and may have something to do with the myth of the water of immortality, in search of which he travelled in darkness. Diodorus (L. XVII., c. xix.) states that Alexander encamped near a rock, called the big stone. At its foot there is another where the river, called Stibæus, takes its rise. This river, issuing in large waves from its source, rushes a distance of three stadia, at the end of which it meets a rock of the form of a female breast, that separates it first into two arms and at the foot whereof a deep abyss yawns, into which the river precipitates itself with great noise and much foam, then flows 300 stadia under ground, whereon it once more comes to the ground.

<sup>32</sup> چو یکه! رفوت سوی شمال  
گذرگاه خورشید! گشت حال  
بر آمد فرو شد بیک لحظ زود  
ر قطب فلک روشنای نهود

again mounts his steed, keeping in view the spring for some time and looking back. But, alas! it disappeared suddenly, and then he knew that Alexander could never find it, and enjoy the blessings conferred by a draught from it. After all, however, this is not the only account; and the author proceeds to inform us that according to ancient Greek narratives the water of life had been discovered by Khider on another occasion; he was namely travelling in the company of Elyas, and both these prophets having arrived near a spring, they took out their provisions for a lunch; among these there happened to be also a dried fish, which, accidentally falling into the water, became suddenly alive, and they knew that they had discovered the water of immortality!

Contrary to Mirkhond, with several other chroniclers in prose and poetry, Firdousy appears to have taken the Macedonian Alexander to be one and the same person with the Alexander of the Qoran (Surah xviii. and xxi.); he at any rate attributes to Alexander the Great the construction of the famous rampart mentioned in that book.<sup>33</sup> According to the *Shahnáma*, Alexander was informed by a certain nation which had received him with great civility, that it suffered very much from the incursions of the people of Yajuj and Majuj, whose faces were like those of horses, their tongues black, their eyes red, complexion dark, and teeth like those of boars. Their bodies were hirsute, their ears like those of elephants; when one of them wished to repose he laid down on an ear as on a bed, and used the other for a coverlet; each of their females brought forth one thousand children at one birth. After receiving this information Alexander determined to build a wall to hinder the incursions of this savage nation, consulted his philosophers, and ordered his blacksmiths to collect great quantities of iron, copper, brass, stone, and mortar. With these materials he built two walls along two sides of a mountain; when the walls had attained the height of it, naphtha was poured upon them, which being put on fire, consolidated the structure, by melting all its component parts into one solid mass, so that it could not be destroyed by foes. Then Alexander pays a visit to a mountain where he beholds a palace illuminated by crystal

<sup>33</sup> It has been mentioned in the beginning of this paper that this rampart may be the wall of China, built about the first century of our era; I allude to it also in *The Indian Antiquary* for 1872, p. 370, in my description of "A Persian Map of the World," on which also the rampart of Gog and Magog is represented.

lamps, with a human body laid out in state; also a couple of miraculous trees, the one male, the other female. The body speaks, and also the trees, on the perishableness of human affairs, whereon Alexander takes his departure.

Usually in the *Shahnámah* all princes with whom Alexander comes in contact, *e. g.*, Darius, Porus, the queen of Amazons, &c., are favoured by him with a preliminary interchange of letters. Accordingly, an epistle is sent to the *Foghfúr*<sup>34</sup> of China, who receives the messenger, and sends a reply to the effect that he has powerful armies under his command. Some more correspondence passes between the two sovereigns, and the emperor of China sends abundant, as well as magnificent presents to the camp of Alexander, who however, strangely enough, again marches away, and has not even an interview with him.<sup>35</sup>

*Nizámy* gives a much longer account of Alexander's sojourn in China, the banquet given to him by the emperor is described at great length, and it may also be noted that the abovementioned expedition in search of the water of immortality was, according to this author, undertaken by Alexander, not before, as *Firdousy* has it, but after his invasion of China. Disappointed in his search, Alexander returns from the extreme north again to the inhabited earth, and endeavours to oblige the kings by beneficence. Here *Nizámy* seems to have either been interrupted by death, or not to have been inclined again to take up the thread of the narrative so as to bring it down to the demise of Alexander, but we shall see further on that he commits the blunder of taking him back to Greece.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> It may be observed that *Foghfúr*, arabized from *Boghbur*, is only the literal translation of the Chinese *Tientsch*; heaven-son, God-son, the official title of the emperor.

<sup>35</sup> This march to China, or at any rate in the direction of it, is no other than the one undertaken by Alexander before invading India, when he reached the limits of the Chinese empire on the *Yaxartes*, viâ *Balkh* and *Samarkand*, whereon he again retraced his steps to the *Hindu-koh*.

<sup>36</sup> *Sir Gore Ouseley* states on p. 48 of his "Biographical Notices," &c., that according to *Gholam Ali Azad's* "Memoirs," entitled "The Royal Treasury," *Nizámy* finished his *Sekander-námah* A. H. 597 (A. D. 1209), which is generally supposed to be the year of his death; this, however, *Hammer Purgstall* in his "Geschichte der schónen Redekünste Persiens" places A. H. 576 (A. D. 1180), whilst in the "*Nef̄ta-úl-uns*" of *Jámy*, Bombay lithogr. ed. p. ۳۹۷ we find the year of *Nizámy's* death given not in numbers, but in words A. H. 592 (A. D. 1195-96), when he was above 60 years old.



It is historically remarkable that Nizamy, an author of the twelfth century of our era, makes circumstantial mention of the Russians, whose very name appears to have been unknown to other chroniclers purporting to give the biography of Alexander. This author states that whilst Alexander was on the eastern frontiers of Asia engaged with the Chinese, he obtained information that the Russians had attacked the Queen of Borda, and had devastated her residence. Alexander had already at an early stage of his campaigns, after taking Persepolis, paid a visit to the Borda-country, which obeyed the beautiful Queen Nushabeh, and enjoyed a paradisiac climate. Desiring to become acquainted with this queen, Alexander appears in the guise of his own ambassador, but is recognized by her, and as he still persists in keeping up his incognito, is at last silenced by his portrait, which she produces to his great confusion and admiration of her wisdom.

Alexander undertakes an expedition against the Russians, and Nizamy describes his seven great battles in as many separate pieces. At last, however, Alexander makes a prisoner of Qontal, the king of the Russians, liberates Nushabeh, and sends her back to her country. Nizamy represents the Russians drawn up in lines of battle as red-faced and shining like the fire-altars of the Magi.<sup>27</sup> In the first battle a Hindu prince fighting on the side of the Greeks, distinguished himself greatly in a duel with the Russian General Pertás. The Alans are also several times mentioned, but they fight on the side of the Russians; they had in the sixth battle a singular warrior who resembled more a beast than a human being, and killed so many Greeks that Alexander surnamed him Ahrimán (devil).

The explanation given to the Macedonian king about this ferocious being, which he thought was not of the human species, was as follows:— There is a dark mountain of difficult access, and on it beings live, who have the form of men, and the strength of iron. Nothing is known of their origin, all have a red complexion and blue eyes; they entertain no dread of furious lions, and are so powerful that one of them is a host in himself. No matter whether a male or a female of them engages in fight, it is terrible; none of them have ever been seen dead, and but few alive. Each of them keeps sheep, the wool and cheese whercof he uses, and has no need of anything else. On the forehead of every

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37 زدگوطرف سرخ رویان روس      فروزنده چون قبلر گاه مجوس

man and woman a horn, like that of a rhinoceros, grows ; in this particular they differ from the Russians, but are as wicked as they. If one of them wants to sleep, he takes up his position on a tree, fixing his horn among lofty branches. There he sleeps unconscious day and night, because sleep is the solace of ignorance. When a Russian shepherd passes near a sleeping demon of this kind, he brings other men, who fetter him with ropes, and bands of iron, which being done, fifty men haul him down from the tree. When the prisoner becomes aware of his captivity, he roars like thunder, and endeavours to burst his chains ; if he succeeds, he slays all his captors, merely by a box upon the ear of each. But if unable to escape, he is gradually deported to Russia, being carried about in every village and house ; by this means his captors obtain victuals, and make their living as showmen. If a war breaks out, the monster is a fortune to them again ; they dare not free it from its bonds, but drag it in chains to the battle, where it becomes furious, and commits great slaughter.

In the seventh battle Alexander is represented fighting personally, and the just described monster caused terrible havoc in the ranks. First a shower of arrows was poured on the barbarian, which took no effect ; then three bricks of steel were successively aimed at his head, but fruitlessly, as it proved to be harder than adamant. Now a brave warrior attacked him, but was slain, and borne away in triumph to the Russian side. Lastly, an elephant was driven against him, but he grasped its trunk with his hands, whereon the animal roared with pain, and falling to the ground, expired. Alexander now concluded that if this monster, upon which arrows, steel bricks, and iron swords had taken no effect, could not be conquered, it would be a sign that his fortune had turned. Accordingly, he determined to attack it in person ; he took, however, the advice of an astrologer, who informed him that the best weapon to be used on this occasion would be a lasso. Alexander at once acted upon the information, threw the noose over the foe, and pulling the rope violently, shortened it, his own troops succouring him so effectively as to drag the monster over, to the great dismay of the Russians. After this exploit great rejoicings took place, and during the banquet, the king, flushed with wine, gave way to an impulse of generosity, and presented the captive with his liberty ; he, however, soon vanished, but reappeared afterwards with a veiled figure, who proved to be a fairylike maiden. She had groaned in captivity among the Russians, and testified her joy at her liberation to Alexander by amusing him with exquisite song and music.

After the seventh battle yet one more final contest takes place, in which Alexander vanquishes Qontál in single combat, and obtains much treasure. Nizámy does not complete the biography of Alexander till his death, but makes him embark on the Mediterranean after conquering the Russians,<sup>38</sup> and he arrives in Greece to the great joy of the whole country<sup>39</sup>; but the author intended to complete the history of Alexander, if he could find the time,<sup>40</sup> and in case he should further be patronised by his sovereign.<sup>41</sup>

In the Shahnámah the Russians are never mentioned, and after leaving China, Alexander marches to Jogh-ran, then to Sind, where he takes many prisoners, and to Yemen, where he is received with much civility. Our hero marches after that again a whole month without resting, till he arrives near a high mountain, after crossing which, the army obtains a view of a river and is greatly rejoiced; game proved to be plentiful, and hunting was carried on with zest. Here a hirsute man, with large elephantine ears, of the name of Gósh-bister (ear-couch) was discovered, and the information elicited from him that on the other side of the river a nation of ichthiophagi had its domiciles. Being ordered to bring some of them, he departed, and returned with seventy of them, who brought diadems and golden bowls; they had no sooner informed Alexander that the treasures of Kaikhosrú, which it would be worth his while to possess, were in their city, when he at once paid a visit to it, and took possession of the crown, the throne, and of the boundless treasures left by that monarch.<sup>42</sup>

On his march to Babylon, Alexander had gloomy forebodings of death,<sup>43</sup> which he communicated in a letter sent to Aristotle by some

۳۹ وز آنجا در آمد بدریای روم برو برد کشتی با باد بوم

۴۰ همه خاک روم از راه آورد شاه بر افروخت چون شب زرخشند ماه

۴۱ زمانه گرم داد خواهد زمان چنان است اندیشه را گمان

که در باغ این نقش رومی نورد گل سرخ رویانم از خاک زرد

۴۲ گر اقبال شاه باشدم دستگیر سخن زود کردد گذارش پذیر

<sup>42</sup> Plutarch simply mentions that Alexander found the tomb of Cyrus open. "He put the author of that sacrilege to death, though a native of Pella, and a person of some distinction. His name was Polymachus."

<sup>43</sup> بدانست کش مرگی نزدیک شد بر او بر روز تاریک شد

<sup>43</sup> Also Plutarch asserts that several ill omens disturbed Alexander; and Justin says (Lib. XII. cap. iii):—"Quidam ex Magis prædixit, ne urbem introiret, testatus hunc locum ei fatalem fore."

of his returning veterans. On that occasion he exacted homage from the nobles to set his mind at rest.<sup>44</sup> On the very day of Alexander's entrance into the city of Babylon, where he received a joyful welcome, a monstrous infant, with a lion's head, and hoofs on his feet, was born, but died soon after its birth. This was by some astrologers explained as a bad omen, but contradicted by others; Alexander was however not consoled, and even wrote a letter to his mother, in which he informed her of his approaching death, of his desire to be buried in Egypt, and of the pregnancy of Rushang,<sup>45</sup> whose infant, if male, was to succeed him as king.

When the army learnt that the king had fallen sick, it was greatly concerned and became tumultuous<sup>46</sup>; accordingly he ordered his throne to be carried out,<sup>47</sup> and when the soldiers beheld their sovereign in a state of weakness their sorrow was great, but when he expired it knew no bounds, and loud wailings resounded everywhere. The corpse of Alexander was embalmed<sup>48</sup> with camphor and dressed in gold-brocade, but we fail to understand how it could be placed in honey<sup>49</sup> without destroying the effect of the spectacle; poets, however, sometimes take great licences for the mere sake of the rhyme.

44 هر آنکس که بود او ز تخم کیان بفرمود تا پیش بندد میان  
همه رویها سوی درگه کند زبدها گمایش کزته کند

Servile exhibitions of this kind were always ridiculed by the Macedonians, and on the present occasion Cassander manifested his scorn (according to Plutarch) by openly laughing at the ceremony.

<sup>45</sup> According to our classic sources, Roxane was then in the sixth month of her pregnancy.

46 بتخت بزرگی نهادند روی جهان شد مراسم پر از گفتگویی  
47 بفرمود تا تخت بیرون برند ز ایوان شاهی بهامون برند

"The Macedonians, by this time thinking that he was dead, came out to the gates with great clamour, and threatened the high officers in such a manner that they were forced to admit them, and suffer them to pass all unarmed by the bedside." (*Plut.*)—*Tumultuantes deinde milites, insidiis periisse regem suspicantes, ipse sedavit; eosque omnes quum prolatus in editissimum urbis locum esset, ad conspectum suum admisit, osculandamque dextram suam fletibus peroxit.* (*Justin. Lib. XII., cap. xv.*)

<sup>48</sup> *Ægyptii Chaldacique jussi corpus suo more curare.* (*Q. Curt. L. X., c. x.*)

49 تن نامور زیر دیبای چین نهادند تا پای در انگیبین

A difference arose between the Persians and the Greeks about the place of burial, the former insisting that it should be in the country, and the latter contradicting them. At last the dispute was decided by going to a mountain, said to give answers; and to the question:—"Where is to be the burial of Alexander?" the echo replied, "Alexandria"; accordingly, the body of the king was conveyed to Egypt.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ceterum corpus ejus a Ptolomæo, cui Ægyptus cesserat, Memphim; et inde paucos post annos Alexandriam translatum est. *Ibid.*—Alexander expired in Babylon, on the 21st April, in the 32nd year of his age, after a reign of twelve years and eight months, in the year 322 B.C.

ART. IV.—*Specimens of pre-Islamic Arabic Poetry, selected and translated from the Hamasah.* BY E. REHATSEK.

[Read 17th March 1881.]

Old Arabic poetry is not to be judged according to modern standards or Western models. It was mostly the spontaneous and even extemporaneous effusion of sentiments elicited by the events and circumstances among which those who uttered them lived. It is, unlike the poetry of later times, simple and artless, but contains, on the other hand, words and locutions no longer current in the spoken language, nor in literature, and therefore difficult of explanation, which, however, is to a certain extent facilitated by the aid of early commentaries made at a time when the difficulty of ascertaining the accurate sense of ancient poems began to increase. The poet enounces an opinion, addresses some living or dead person, describes a victory or defeat, narrates his own exploits, or bewails a hero who has fallen in battle. These are the subjects on which the poet expatiates; as, moreover, the desert abounds neither in a great variety of landscape nor of animal or of vegetable life, and the habits of the nomadic Arabs were of the extremest simplicity, the field through which the imagination of a bard could soar was not very extensive; his constant companions, the horse and the camel, are often alluded to, as well as the ostrich, the lizzard, the serpent, and even the goblins of the desert; he not only uses inanimate objects as similes, but personifies them and introduces them speaking; thus, for instance, the sword agrees to fight, eats flesh, takes a morning draught, or offers the goblet of death, which in its turn scans a wounded man with its eyes, and is ready to accept him. Also wise sayings, the praises of heroism, magnanimity, and liberality, as well as the vituperation of cowardice and meanness, afford ample scope to the talents of the ancient Arab poets.

The seven suspended poems have been repeatedly published and translated into various languages. Hammer-Purgstall, Michaelis, Pococke, Rückert and Schultens have given specimens of old Arabic poetry, and Freytag has not only edited but also translated into Latin the whole of the *Hamasah*, but up to this time not much has been done to make old, especially pre-Islamic, poetry more known. As Abu Tammám, who collected the poems of the *Hamasah*, died about A. H. 228 (A. D. 842-3), the work can naturally not contain pieces later than

that date ; he is, moreover, known to have given preference to ancient ones, and to have excluded those composed during his time, so that less than a score of them occur in the *Ĥamasah*, which contains 834 pieces in all. Although the poems composed before may generally be distinguished from those written after the promulgation of Islām, it is mostly impossible to determine the precise time, and often even the names of the authors, whose verses are introduced by the preamble, "Some one has recited" or "A man of the *Ĥemyár* (or some other tribe) has said." Accordingly, it has been found safest to assume that the oldest Arabic poems are scarcely one century older than Islām. It can, on the other hand, not be denied that a few short pieces composed between the 2nd and 3rd century of our era also exist, so that the cradle of Arabic poetry may be said to be oscillating between the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century.<sup>1</sup> Poetry however has, after attaining great perfection during the lapse of ages, together with the whole of Arabic literature, which is still represented by many thousands of authors, come to its close with the end of the 12th century of the *Hijrah* era (A.D. 1786, October 23).

Although the Arabs still exist as a people who have inherited the language from their ancestors, the greatness of their dominions, and with it the bloom of their literature, has passed away long ago, so that writers who at present treat on the history, the mental activity, and the literature of the Arabs as something completed and past for ever, need not fear to incur the blame of indulging in a false view, any more than a historian of the *Khalifate* who declares the impossibility of a resurrection thereof from its ashes, and the re-establishment of its power in three parts of the world as of yore. Should a new Arabian empire arise in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, or *E'rák*, which, considering the surveillance of European politics over those countries, is by no means probable, it could arise only by commingling with the elements of European civilisation, so that the future literature, unless a mere repetition of the old one, would likewise begin a new era, as a literature mixed or recast, the embryo of which is now forming by the works produced during the present century in Syria and the north African coasts. Works are indeed still written in Arabic ; they are, however, mostly compilations and repetitions of ancient productions, endless commentaries and glossaries ; and the printing offices in Constantinople, Cairo and Teherán not only spread a knowledge of older works, but publish also new ones trans-

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<sup>1</sup> *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*. Hammer-Furgstall, vol. i., p. 4.

lated from European languages. This is especially the case in Beirut (where the Americans have produced excellent treatises on various sciences according to their present advanced state) and also in Egypt, where the educational institutions maintained by the Government use books on modern engineering, mathematics, medicine, &c.

In the present paper more than a score of specimens, selected from pre-Islamic poets, are given, and in another the poetesses of the Hamasah will be taken up, who amount to more than double that number, although some of them have immortalised themselves by the recital of only one or two distichs. Certain verses allow of two or more interpretations, and those have been adopted which appeared most suitable and natural without entering into the discussions the scholiast sometimes indulges in. As far as could be done, the occasion on which the verses were recited, and the time when the poet flourished, as well as other information which appeared worthy of interest, is given. The pieces follow each other according to the Arabic alphabetical order of the poets, which was considered to be the most suitable, as a chronological one could scarcely be attempted:—I.—Al-Háreth B. Wa'lah. II.—Al-Raby' B. Zyád. III.—Al-Shanfara. IV.—Alkullákh. V.—Almotalemmis. VI.—Bishr B. Obayi. VII.—Bala'á B. Kays. VIII.—Thábbet Sherra. IX.—Jahder. X.—Hazaz. XI.—Hassán. XII.—Dorayd B. Al-Çimmah. XIII.—Rajulon min Hemyar (a Hemyarite). XIV.—T'arafah B. Al-A'bd. XV.—A'áreck. XVI.—A'bd-Allah B. Al-Domaymah. XVII.—A'bd. Allah Al-Kattal. XVIII.—U'rwah B. Al-Ward. XIX.—A'ntarah. XX.—Gh'ulláq. XXI.—Kays B. Zubayr. XXII.—Ka'b B. Zuhyr. XXIII.—Ma'dán B. Jowás. XXIV.—Ma'dán B. Al-Muðarrab. XXV.—Hallál Razyn.

I.—*Al-Háreth B. Wa'lah Alduhly* *البحارث بن وعلة الذهلي* <sup>2</sup>

Wa'lah is an eminent inaccessible crag on the top of a mountain, it means also a water-vessel, the origin of which is referred to "Wa'l," refuge, either because it is very much in request against thirst in hot weather, or because creditors, when everything else is sold, at last take refuge with the water-pots and confiscate them also. In this sense the word is used by the poet Du Al-Rommah, who says:—

حتى اذا لم يجد و علا و نجىها مخافة الرمي حتى كلها هيم

<sup>2</sup> p. ٩٧ The scansion is متفعا على twice, and متفعا once. See Darstellung der Arab. Verskunst. Freytag, p. 214.

The metre is Kámel *الضرب الثاني من العروض الثانيه*



“Until, when finding no refuge, he impedes them for fear of being shot by arrows, until all of them are very thirsty.” Here probably an onagar or other animal is meant, which for fear of hunters, keeps the females off from the watering place.

In the following verses the poet appears chiefly to address the murderer of his own brother, but concludes after all not to avenge him :—

فَاذَا رَمَيْتُ بِدَيْبِنِي سَهْمِي	قَوْمِي هُمْ قَتَلُوا أَمِيمَ أَخِي
وَلَيْنَ سَطَوْتَ لِأَوْهَنْ عَظْمِي	فَلَيْنَ عَفَوْتَ لِأَعْفُونَ جَلَّة
وَبَدَانَهُمْ بِاللَّشْتَمِ وَالرَّغْمِ	لَا تَأْمَنَنَّ قَوْمًا ظَلَمْتَهُمْ
وَأَلْشَى نَحْفَرَةَ وَقَدْ بَدَى	أَنْ يَأْبُرُوا نَحْلًا لِنُفِيرِهِمْ
أَلْعَصَا قَرَعْتَ لِذِي الْعِلْمِ	وَزَعَمْتُمْ أَنْ لَا حُلُومَ لَنَا أَنْ
وَطَّءَ أَلْمَقِيدَ نَابِتِ الْهَرَمِ	وَوَطَّئْنَا وَطَاءَ عَلَى حَقِّ
لَوْ كُنْتَ نَسْتَدْقِي مِنَ الْعَلَمِ	وَتَرَكْنَا لِحَمَا عَلَى وَضْمِ

My people killed my brother, O Omaima ; so that if I shoot, my own arrow will hit me,  
 But if I pardon them, I pardon a great thing, and if I attack them, I weaken my bones.  
 Trust not the people whom thou hast injured, and insulted by contumely as well as resistance,  
 Lest they fertilise date trees of others<sup>3</sup> ; and a thing which thou despisest will soon grow.  
 You supposed we had no prudence ; but the stick was knocked for a prudent man.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Arabs often compare women to date-trees ; a poet addresses one as, “ O, date-tree from the place Dât I'rk,” and the scholiast observes that when they capture the women of their foes they seduce them.

<sup>4</sup> The stick was knocked for A'âmer B. Alzarib to admonish him in his old age, when he erred in the administration of justice ; it was also done for A'mr B. Hummamah. Both were judges, and the following statement is by the scholiast said to refer rather to the latter, to whom the Arabs used to come for judicial decisions. He made mistakes as he was very aged, and said to his daughter

And thou hast wrathfully stamped on us, as the camel with shackled feet tramples on the plant Herm.  
 Thou hast left us like meat on the butcher's block ; if thou wert indeed to leave any meat.

II.—*Al-Raby' B. Zyád the Absite* الربيع بن زياد العبي

Raby' was an enemy of Kays B. Zyad, who likewise recited verses against the Beni Zyád, as will be seen further on ; such was, however, not always the case, as Raby' alludes in the three last verses of the following piece reproachfully to a former occasion on which he afforded with his tribe aid to Kays, who was the possessor of the stallion Dáhis and of the mare Gh'abrá, but according to others of only one of these

when she reminded him of his errors :—“ When thou perceivest this, knock the stick for me ; ” after doing which he understood the case he had to decide. It appears that a stick was knocked for vaticination also, and that persons familiar with the signs made by it could understand each other, so that a conventional pantomimic stick-language must have existed. King No'mán once sent A'mr B. Málek, the brother of Sa'd B. Málek, to look for the state of the fodder, and when he delayed to return, the king became so angry that he swore he would kill the man, whether he came praising or blaming the fodder. When A'mr arrived, No'mán was sitting among the people with Sa'd near him, who was aware of the oath No'mán had made. Accordingly Sa'd asked for permission to speak to his brother, but No'mán replied :—“ If thou speakest I shall cut off thy tongue.” “ Then,” continued he, “ I shall make signs to him.” “ If thou doest so,” replied No'mán, “ I shall cut off thy hands.” “ Then I shall wink,” said Sa'd. “ In that case,” answered No'mán, “ I shall pluck out thy eyes.” Then Sa'd asked for permission to knock the stick for his brother, and on being allowed to do so, he took one from a person sitting near, and put it down. Then grasping his own stick whilst his brother was standing, he knocked it once against the other stick, whereon his brother looked at him ; but he motioned with his own stick towards him, whereby his brother understood him to have said :—“ Remain in thy place.” Then he struck his own cane once, lifted it heavenwards, and rubbed it with the other ; whereby his brother knew that he was to say :—“ I have found no sterility ; ” then he struck the other cane repeatedly with his own, and raised it a little, when his brother knew that he had to say :—“ Nor any plants.” Then he knocked the stick once and approached No'mán, which meant :—“ Speak to him.” Accordingly, A'mr B. Málek approached until he stood in front of No'mán, who asked :—“ Praisest thou fertility or blamest sterility ? ” And the reply was :—“ I praise neither the vegetation, as the earth is avaricious ; neither is its produce known, nor its sterility described. The seeker of fodder halts ; who denied that there was any gets informed, and who was sure of it becomes apprehensive.” Accordingly, No'mán spared his life.

<sup>5</sup> p. ۲۴۱ This is the third species of Mutakáreb, seven times *نقولن* and once *نعل* p. 740. *Metrorum Tabula*. Ham. Freytag.

horses on account of which a sanguinary war broke out, which is said to have lasted forty years. Raby' lived in the fifth century of our era:—

حرق قيس علي البلاد حتى اذا اضطرت اجذما  
جاية حرب جناها فما تفرج عنه وما اسلما  
غداة صرت بال الرباب تعجل بالركض ان تلجما  
فكنا فراس يوم الهرير اذ مال صرجه فاستقما  
عطفنا وراءك افراسنا وقد اسلم الشفتان القما  
اذا نفرت من بياض السيف قلنا لها اقدمي مقدما

Kays fired the country against me, and when it burnt, he decamped.  
(He has committed the crime of war, but was neither left by it nor surrendered to the foe.)

In the morning when thou fledst over to the Rebáb tribe, the foes pursuing too swiftly, for thee to put a bridle on thy horse,  
We also were riders on the day of Haryr when thy saddle swayed and slid forward  
We turned our horses to follow thee, when thy lips betrayed the face,<sup>6</sup>  
When they fled from the flash of swords, we said to them : Advance.

*By the same.*<sup>7</sup>

The poet bewails the death of Málek B. Zohayr, which to avenge he afforded his aid:—

انى ارتقت ولم اغضب حار من سيء النباء الجليل الساري  
من مثله تميمي النساء حواسرا و تقوم معولة مع الاسمار  
افبعه مقتل مالك بن زهير ترجو النساء مواقب الاطهار  
ما ان اري في قتله لذوي النهي الا الهطى تشد بالاكوار

<sup>6</sup> A figure for:—You were so pleased at the approaching rescue, that you laughed.

<sup>7</sup> p. ٤٤٧ Second species of Kámel, six times متفعلن. Tabula Metr. Ham. Frey., p. 740.

وَمُجَنَّبَاتٍ مَا يَذْقُنَّ عَذُوقًا يَذْقُنُّنَّ بِالْمَهْرَاتِ وَالْأَمْهَارِ  
 وَمُصَاعِرًا صَدَا الْحَدِيدِ عَلَيْهِمْ فَكَانَمَا ظَلِي الْجُورَةَ بِقَارِ  
 مَنْ كَانَ مَسْرُورًا بِمَقْتَلِ مَالِكٍ فَلَيَاتِ نَسْوَتُنَا بِوَجْهِ نَهَارِ  
 يُجِدُّ النِّسَاءَ حُمُورًا يَنْدَبْنَهُ يَلْطُونِ أَوَّجِهَهُنَّ بِالْأَمْحَارِ  
 قَدْ كُنَّ تُحِبُّنَّ الْجُورَةَ تَسْتَرًا فَلَيَوْمَ حِينَ بَرَزْنَ لِلنِّظَارِ  
 يُضْرِبْنَ حُرَّ وُجُوهُنَّ عَلَيَّ فَيُفِي عَفَّ الشَّمَائِلِ طَيْبَ الْأَخْبَارِ

I marched with open eyes, O Hāreth, on account of the bad news,  
tremendous; arriving in the night

On account of such, women are unveiled when the night sets in, and  
stand lamenting till the morning dawns,

Do women after the slaughter of Málík B. Zuhayr hope to see the  
consequences of their pure state? <sup>8</sup>

In [the expedition to avenge] his murder I see that the prudent  
behold only camels with saddles

And horses led by their side, which taste no food and kick both the  
male and female foals. <sup>9</sup>

And brave warriors with iron-rust on them, as if their faces were  
smeared with pitch. <sup>10</sup>

Let him who rejoices at the death of Málík, meet our women at the  
break of day

He will find the women unveiled, bewailing him, beating their faces  
in the morning.

<sup>8</sup> When taking blood-vengeance the Arabs had no intercourse with their wives, neither drank wine or used perfumes, and indulged in no kind of pleasure till it was accomplished.

<sup>9</sup> The two last verses show how the Arabs saved the strength of their horses and reserved it for the battle, by making them simply walk with the camels they rode, and which carried all the baggage. The presence of the foals implies that on this occasion also the mares were taken along, and that nothing was left behind.

<sup>10</sup> This may perhaps be an allusion to the rusty visors of the knights.

They were in the habit of veiling their faces, but to-day they displayed them,  
They strike their noble countenances, for a knight of pure intentions  
and of good report.

III.—*Alshanfara* الشنفرى <sup>11</sup>

The above name is an epithet, and means “the thick-lipped.” The poet belonged to the Awás B. Al-Hijr, and was captured by the Beni Shabábah when yet a little boy. Afterwards the Beni Salláman captured a man of the Beni Shabábah, a subdivision of the Beni Fehm, for whom the latter gave Shanfara in exchange. Shanfara remained with the Beni Shabábah, and was accounted as one of themselves, until he quarrelled with the daughter of the man with whom he lived and who had adopted him, which happened as follows:—Shanfara said to the girl:—“Little sister! Wash my head!” But she refused to be called his sister, and slapped him on the face. He went away angrily and proceeded till he found the man who had bought him from the Beni Fehm, and who had been absent at the time. Him he asked:—“Of what tribe am I?” The man replied:—“Of the Awás B. Hijr.” Then Shanfara said:—“I shall not leave you till I have slain one hundred men of you, because you have made a slave of me.” He actually killed ninety-nine, but the man who was to have completed the hundred, broke, before he expired, the skull of Shanfara, after the latter had cut off his foot, and shortly afterwards also himself expired. Shanfara, on being asked where he desired to be buried, recited the following verses:—

لا تقبروني ان قبري محرم عليكم ولا ين ابشري ام عامر  
اذا احتملوا راسي وفي الراس اكثرني وغودر عند الملتقي ثم سايري  
هذالك لا ارجو حياة تسرني سبيس اللدالي مبلًا بالحراير

Bury me not, for my grave is illicit to you; but rejoice, O hyena,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> p. ٢٤٢ This is in the long metre, four times *فعلون مفاعيلن* Tabula Metrorum, p. 736. Ham. Freytag.

<sup>12</sup> This animal which will devour the poet is called in the text figuratively the “mother of A’ámir.” As the soul of a man remaining unburied and unrevengeed was believed to have no rest, the poet’s boldness in courting such a state was groat. An owl issued from the skull of such a corpse and croaked “give me to drink.” (See more on this subject in my paper, vol. xii., p. 163, *seq.* of this Journal.)

When they carry off my head, which contains the better part of me,  
and my body is left on the battle-field  
Now I do not expect life to gladden me in course of time, doomed as  
I am to destruction for my transgressions.

IV.—*Al-kalákh* الخ القلاخ<sup>13</sup>

*Kalakh* means "the camel has brayed," hence the surname by which this poet is known would be "the brayer," but several men of this name have been known. In the following verses he bewails the death of Aryb B. A'sa's:—

سقى جدانا واري ارب بن عمن من العين غيت يبتق الرعد وابله  
مُلت اذا القي بارضى بعاهه تقدم سهل الارض منه صايه  
فما من فتى كذا من الناس واحدا به نبتقى منهم عيدا نباده  
ليوم حفاظ او لدفع كربه اذا عي بالحمل المفضل حاصله  
وذى تدرا ما الليث في اصل غابه باشجع منه عند قرن ينازله  
قبضت عليه الكف حتى تقيده وحتى يفي للحق اخضع كاهله  
فتى كان يسكى ويعلم انه سيلحق بالموتى ويذكر نايه

May the tomb which covers Aryb B. A'sa's be irrigated by the rain  
of the cloud whose showers precede thunder,<sup>14</sup>

Lasting, so that when it unburdens itself, its torrents cover the  
plains.

There is not one man among knights whom we would wish as a sup-  
port and exchange for him.

On a day to defend honour or to ward off misfortune, when the  
bearer of a vexatious load fails to carry it.

Many a brave man, not surpassed in valour by a lion in his lair if a  
champion encounters him.

<sup>13</sup> p. ٤٦٥ Same metre as of iii.

<sup>14</sup> The word عمن designates in the text the direction between the Kiblah of E'rak and sunset, from which abundant and lasting rain comes.

Hast thou grasped with thy fist till thou madest him prisoner,  
 when he gave in and bent his back,  
 He was a modest knight who knew that he will meet with death and  
 that his beneficence will be remembered.

V.—*Almotalammis* المتلّمس<sup>15</sup>

His proper name is Jaryr B. A'bd Al-Masyh B. A'bd-Allah B. Zayd or B. A'bd-Al-U'zza ; from the names it would appear that the poet's father, "servant of the Messiah," was a Christian, and his great grandfather, "servant of U'zza," a polytheist. He flourished between A. D. 560 and 570, was the companion and a contemporary of the great poet Tarafah, author of one of the seven suspended poems. The following verses breathe a noble spirit of independence and defiance peculiar to the ancient Arabs:—

الم تر ان ألمرء رهن مئيدة صريعا لعافى الطير او سوف يرمس  
 فلك تقبلن ضيما سخافة مئيدة وموتن بها حرا و جلدك املس  
 فمن طلب ألا وتارما حزانفه قمير وخاض ألموت باليف بيهمس  
 نعامة لما صرع القوم رهطه تبين في الثوابه كيف يلدس  
 وما ألداس الا ما راو وتحدثو وما العجز الا ان يضامو فيجاسو  
 الم تر ان ألعون اصبح راسيا تطيف به ألايام ما يتايس  
 عصى تبعا ايام اهلكت ألقرى يطان عايه بالصفيح ويكلس  
 هلم ايها قد اثبرت زروعها وعادت عليها ألملجئون تكدس  
 وذاك اوان ألعرض حتى ذبابه زنا بيره و أالأزرق ألمتلّمس  
 يكون نذير من وراء ي جنة وينعمرني منهم جلى واحمس  
 وجمع بني قران فأعرض عليهم فان يقبلوها تا ألتى نحن نوبس

<sup>15</sup> p. ۳۲۲ The metre is the same as of iii. and iv.

فَانْ يَقْبَلُوْا بِالْوَدِّ نَقْبِلُ بِمِثْلِهِ وَالْاَفَانَا نَحْنُ الْاَبِيْ وَاَشْمَسُ  
 وَاِنْ يَكُ مَنَا نِي حَبِيْبٌ تَنَّا قُلْ فَقَدْ كَانَ مَنَا مَقْتَبٌ مَا يَعْرَسُ

Seest thou not that man is pledged to death, prostrated, a prey to noble birds or speedy burial?

Do not therefore suffer oppression for fear of death, but die a free-man whilst your skin is smooth.

To wreak vengeance *Ḳaḳyr* cut off his nose, and *Bayhas* rushed into death with his sword.<sup>16</sup>

*Na'ámah*, when the people prostrated his family, showed by his clothes how he dresses.<sup>17</sup>

Men are only what they appear or are considered to be, and weakness is only to be insulted and sit [unavenged].

Seest thou not that *Aljaun* has become a strong fort, the times pass around it, but it is not softened.

<sup>16</sup> *Ḳaḳyr* was the companion of *Jozymah*-*Allabrash*, king of *Hyrah*, whose affair with *Zabbá* is well known. To enable the former to wreak his vengeance on the latter, *Ḳaḳyr* amputated his own nose, and presenting himself to *Zabbá*, told her that *Jozymah* had thus maimed him; this so allayed her suspicions that she took him into her service, and he obtained the coveted opportunity to destroy her. *Caussin de Perceval* (*Hist. des Arabes*, II., p. 198,) has identified *Zabbá* with *Zenobia*, who succeeded her husband *Odenatus*, A. D. 267. History shows *Zenobia*, captured by the Romans in the act of entering a boat to cross the *Euphrates*, whilst *Zabbá* is struck down on the bank of that river, trying to escape by a subterranean passage under it. The Arabs assign the part of *Aurelianus* at the end of this drama to *A'mru B. A'dy*, son of the king of *Hyrah*, who may have been engaged in some war against *Zenobia* or *Zabbá*, the overthrow of whose government during the time of *A'mru B. A'dy* seemed to the Arabian historians a sufficient warrant for this adaptation.

<sup>17</sup> *Bayhas* was surnamed *Na'amah*, "ostrich," for his stupidity, which saved his life in a feud with another tribe when all his brothers were slain. He appears to have been another *Bayhas* than the one mentioned in the third line; perhaps also his stupidity was only simulated, and his habit of wearing his trowsers for a shirt, and the latter in the place of the former, elicited from him the following distich for a reply, when asked for the reason:—

البس لكل حالة لبوسها      اما نعيمها واما بوسها

"Put on for every state its clothes, be it happy or unhappy."



It resisted the Tubbah kings when towns were destroyed, it is constructed of stones, cemented with lime.<sup>19</sup>

Approach it! Its harvests sprout again, and its water-wheels revolve again.

This is the time of the Ali'rd valley; its flies are alive, its wasps and the blue infester.<sup>20</sup>

Nadir will be a mace in my rear, and Julay with Ahmas will aid me against them!

And the Beni Karrán! Propound the matter to them; whether they agree to what is displeasing to us

But if they agree to amity, we shall accept them with the same, or else shall be very refractory and obstinate.

And if there be backwardness in the Beni Hubayb towards us; we had a squadron which delays not revenge.

*VI.—Bishr B. Obayy B. Humám the A'bsite.<sup>20</sup>*

بشر بن ابي بن حمام العبي

In the following verses of the poet the horses of the tribe Beni Zuhayr B. Judaymah are vituperated, with reference to the celebrated war between the Beni A'bs and the Beni DUBYÁN. It arose from a race ran by the stallion Dális and the mare Gh'abrá belonging to Kays B. Zohayr B. Jodaymah Al-A'bsy on the one side, and on the other by Khattár and Hanfá, two horses which were the property of Hudayfah B. Bedr Al-Fezáry. The stake was twenty camels, the steeds were reduced in flesh during forty days, and were to run a distance of 100 arrow-shots from Dát-Alaçád; but some young men of the Beni Fezárah whipped away, or struck in the face the stallion and the mare at the bidding of Hudayfah, so that they left the race course. In the war ensuing after this event, Kays took Aúf, the brother of Kudayfah prisoner, and slew him; the latter was, however, avenged by

<sup>19</sup> Sometimes the Tubbah kings are taken to mean any kings of Yemen, but Hâreth Alráysh, who lived 167 years before the Christian era, is said to have been the first who assumed the title of K̄yl, and the last who used it was Tobba B. Hosan B. Kolaiarb; he died about a. d. 297.

<sup>20</sup> The poet obtained the nickname by which he is known, from the last word of this distich.

<sup>20</sup> p. ۲۲۲ Same metre as iii., iv. and v., but of the 3rd species; twice  
فعلون مفعولان مفعولان مفعولان مفعولان Darstellung, FreyL., p. 163.

his brother Hameh, who killed Málik, the brother of Kays, and Kays, fatigued by the long war, retired to O'mán :—

ان الرباط الكند من ال داحس ابين فما يفلحن يوم رهان  
 جلبن باذن الله مقتل مالك و طرحن قيسا من وراء عمان  
 لطن علي ذات الاماد و جمعن يرون الاذي من ذلة و هوان  
 ميينع منك السبق ان كنت سابقا و نقل ان زلت بك القدمان

The ill-starred horses of the progeny of Dāḥis are refractory and unsuccessful on the day of battle.

They have by the permission of God brought on the murder of Málik, and thrown Kays to further O'mán.

They were struck near Dāt Allaḥád ; your company foreseeing the injury [which would ensue] from vileness and abasement.

Thou wilt be hindered from precedence if thou precedest, and slain if thy feet stumble.<sup>21</sup>

VII.—*Bala'á B. Kays Al-Kinány* بلعابن قيس الكنانى <sup>22</sup>

In the following verses the poet boasts of his own prowess :—

و فارس في غمار الموت مستفعل اذا تالي علي مكروهة صدقا  
 غشيتة وهو في جارا باسلة عضبا اصاب سراة الراس فانلقا  
 بضربة لم تكن مني مخالسة ولا تعجلتها جبنا ولا فرقا

Many a knight on plunging into the vortex of death when affirming by oath an unpleasant thing truthfully

Have I attacked, whilst he was in a well armed and a brave squadron, with a sharp blade and split his head

With one stroke, neither wantonly nor rapidly inflicted, from cowardice and fear.

<sup>21</sup> This verso is no doubt addressed to the stallion Dāḥis, who was not allowed to gain the race, and who would have been killed by his own master, had he failed to do so by stumbling.

<sup>22</sup> p. 27 first species of Basyt, twice مستفعلن فاعلن مستفعلن فعلن  
 Tabula Freyt., p. 738.

VIII.—*Tábbet Sharrá.*<sup>80</sup>

## نابط شرا

It is said *Tábbet B. Jáber B. Sufyán* was thus surnamed because he took a sword under his arm and walked out. His mother being asked, she replied:—"I do not know, he has taken the evil under the armpit [*Tábbet Sharrá*]." According to others he obtained this name because he was in the habit of walking with a knife under his armpit. It is also said that whilst a boy, he wished to carry a ram home, which brayed and kicked so much, that he threw it away near the house, and that on being asked what he had carried under his arm, he replied, "evil" [*Sharrá*]. Whilst others again state that his mother addressed him one day as follows: "All your brothers have brought me something except yourself;" whereon he replied:—"I shall bring you something to-night." Accordingly he went out, caught large serpents, and carried them home in a bag under his arm, liberating them before his mother. Others say that he had wrestled with a *Gh'ul*, had slain and carried him home under the armpit. Several of his verses allude to the *Gh'ul*, but the present ones were occasioned as follows:—

*Tábbet Sharrá* was in the habit of annually collecting honey in a cave belonging to the *Hodaylites*, who having obtained information that he had arrived, watched him when he had arrived with his companions, and had let himself down into the cave. The *Hodaylites* put his companions to flight, and standing near the cave shook the rope; when he raised his head, they said to him: "Come up!" He asked:—"On what condition shall I come up? Will you let me go on paying you a ransom?" They continued:—"We have no condition for thee." He replied:—"Do I not see you in my mind, catching me, killing me, and eating my honey? By Allah, I shall not surrender." After that he poured out the honey from the mouth of the cave, tied the empty bag to his breast, and slid down along the sticky honey, until he arrived safely at the foot of the mountain and escaped from his foes. According to another account, he was in the habit of gathering honey, which was accessible by one road only. That road the *Lehyanites* occupied, giving him the option either to come to them, or to throw himself down from another place where they thought he would be killed. He poured, however, out the

<sup>80</sup> p. ٣٣ Second species of *Tavyl*, twice *فعلون مفاعيلن فعلون مفاعيلن*  
*Tab. Metr. Ham. Freyt.*, p. 736. *Darstellung*, p. 162.

honey he had gathered, escaped safely, and then recited the following verses. The words "I spread out my breast to it" which occur in the seventh line, allude to his manner of sliding down:—

اذ المرء لم يُحْتَلْ وقد جدَّ جدَّةً اضاع وقامي امرء وهو مُدْبِرٌ  
 ولاكن آخر الحزم اذ ي ليس نازلاً به الخطب الا وهو للقصد مُبْصِرٌ  
 فذاك قريع الدهر ما عاش حول اذا سد منه منخر جاش منخر  
 اقول للكيمان وقد صفرت لهم وطايبي ويومي ضيق الحجر صعور  
 هما خطتنا اما اسار وصتة واما دم والقتل بالبحر اجدر  
 واخري اصابني النفس عنها وانها لهورد حزم ان فعلت ومصدر  
 فرشت لها صدري فزل عن الصفا به جوجو عبل ومنن مخصر  
 فخالط سهل الارض لم يكده الصفا به كدحة وآموت خزيان ينظر  
 فابت الى فهم ولم اك ابيا وكم مثلها فارقتها وهي تصفر

If a man uses no cunning in emergencies he is a loser; and although he endures hardships, he retreats,

He however is a prudent man on whom no peril alights, but he sees what he is to do,

He is the stallion of the period, prudent as long as he lives. When one of his nostrils is obstructed he uses the other.<sup>24</sup>

I said to the Lehyanites when my water-skin appeared empty to them, and my day was narrowness of exit, exposed to calamities,

There are two cases:—Either captivity with obligation, or blood. But death is more worthy of a freeman,

<sup>24</sup> The hero is compared to a stallion camel which cannot be tamed by stopping one of its nostrils.

And another, which I consider in my mind and prefer ; if I act accordingly it will be the beginning and end of prudence.<sup>26</sup>

I spread out my breast to it ; thus slid from the rock the strong breast and the tender sides

Till they commingled with the smooth plain, the rock not having even scratched them, whilst death was looking on disappointed.

I returned to the Fahmites, but had hardly returned ; and how often have I thus escaped when they whistled.<sup>26</sup>

*By the same poet.*<sup>27</sup>

The poet courted a woman of the A'bs tribe, belonging to the Beni Káreb and obtained her assent ; but when he came again he found that she had changed her mind. On asking her who had alienated her affection from him, she replied :—" By Allah ! Your descent is noble, but my people asked me what the use of a husband could be, who may be killed any day, and leave me a widow ? " Then he left her saying :—

وقالوا لها لا تنكحيه فإنه لأول نصل أن يلاقي مجدهما  
 فلم تر من رأي فتدلا وحاذرت تايها من لابس الليل اروعا  
 قائل غرار النوم اكبر همه دم الثار او يلقي كيدا مصفا  
 يماصه كل يشجع قومه وما ضربه هام العدى ليشفعا  
 قليل ادخار الزاد الا تعلقه فقد نشز الشرسوف والتصق ادمعا  
 بيت بمغني الوحش حتى الفته ويصبح لا يحمي لها الدهر مرتعا  
 علي غرة او نهزة من مكانس اطل نزال القوم حتى تسعفا  
 ومن يقربا لاعداء لا بد انه سيدلني بهم من مصرع الموت مصرعا

<sup>26</sup> The simile is taken from the *Mawrid* and *Maqdar*, the spots where the camels descend to and come up from the watering place ; hence the beginning and end, the sum of prudence.

<sup>26</sup> When I escaped to my tribe, my pursuers whistled discomfited.

<sup>27</sup> Same metre as the preceding. Text p. 214c.

رايـن فـتـي لا صـيد و حـش يـهـمـه فـلو صـافـحـت انـما لا عـاقـبـتـه مـعـا  
 و لا كـن اربـاب المـخـاض يـشـفـهـم اذـا اقـتـفـروه و احـدا او صـديـعـا  
 و انـي و ان عـمـرت اعـلم انـي مـالـقـي سـنـان الـمـوت يـبـرق اصـلـعـا

They said to her:—Marry him not! For he will belong to the first  
 dart when he meets a battle.

She shows not a whit of sense, who apprehends being widowed by a  
 daring <sup>28</sup> strong man.

Who sleeps but little, whose greatest care is blood-vengeance, or to  
 encounter a begrimed warrior.

With whom every one fights to be considered brave by his tribe, but  
 who does not strike the skulls of foes in order to be considered  
 brave;

Who gathers food to appease hunger only, whose ribs are promi-  
 nent, and bowels shrunk together.

Who spends the nights in the lairs of wild beasts which get used to  
 him, and who prohibits them not from the meadow in the morning.

Lazy or expecting the foe from the lair, but delaying the attack un-  
 til weary.

But who is addicted to fight with enemies, surely meets a place  
 where he will be prostrated in death.

They have seen a knight who cares not for hunting beasts; could these  
 shake hands as friends they would certainly do so with him.

But he cares for the owners of pregnant camels which they ema-  
 ciate; they follow him whether he be alone or in company.

And verily I know that if I am granted life, I shall meet the bared  
 and flashing spear of death.

*By the same poet.*<sup>29</sup>

The following poem is by some attributed to Khalf Allahmar;  
 among other reasons also the circumstance is adduced that Tábbet

<sup>28</sup> The expression لا بسى الليل "who puts on the night like a garment" im-  
 plies one who courts danger, hence daring.

<sup>29</sup> The metre is the first species of Madyd; twice فاعلن فاعلن  
 فاعلن Tab. Metr. Ham. Freyt., p. 137. Text., p. 382

Sherrá was very far from mount Sal', which is situated near Mady nah ; he having been slain in the country of the Hodaylites ; but the Arabs themselves differ whether the mountain was there, or whether that near Mady nah is meant. His corpse was thrown into a cave bearing the name of Rakhmán.

اِنِّ بِالشَّعْبِ الَّذِي دُونَ مَلْعٍ لِقَتِيلِكَ دَمُهُ مَا يَطْلُ  
 حَلْفِ الْعَبَّاءِ عَلَيَّ وَوَلِيِّي اَنَا بِالْعَبَّاءِ لَهُ مُسْتَقْتَلٌ  
 وَوَرَاءَ الثَّارِ مِنِّي ابْنِ اَخْتِ مَعِ عَقْدَتُهُ مَا تَجَلُّ  
 مُطْرَقٌ بِرَشْحٍ سَمَا كَمَا اطْرَقَ اَفْعِي بِنَفْتِ اسْمِ عَلِ  
 خَبْرُ مَا نَابِغًا مُمَمَّئِلٌ جَلُّ حَتَّى دَقَّ فِيهِ اَلْاَجَلُ  
 بَزْيِ اَلدَّهْرِ وَكَانَ غَشُومًا بَابِي جَارُهُ مَا يَذَلُّ  
 شَامِسٌ فِي الْقَرِّ حَتَّى اِذَا مَا ذَكَتِ اَلشَّعْرَى فَبُرْدٍ وَظِلُّ  
 يَابِسِ اَلْجَنْبَيْنِ مِنْ غَيْرِ بَرَسٍ وَنَدِي اَلْكُفَيْنِ شَهْمٌ مَدَلُّ  
 ظَاعِنٌ بِالْحِزْمِ حَتَّى اِذَا مَا حَلَّ حَلُّ اَلْحِزْمِ حَيْثُ يَحَلُّ  
 فَيْتُ مَزْنِ قَامِرٍ حَيْثُ يَجْدِي وَاِذَا يَسْطُو فَوَلِيْتُ اِبْلُ  
 مُسْبِلٌ فِي اَلْحَيِّ اَحْوِي رِفْلٌ وَاِذَا يَغْزُو فَمَسَّعٌ اَزَلُّ  
 وَهُوَ طَعْمَانِ اَرِي وَشَرِي وَكَلَّ اَطْعَمَيْنِ قَدْ ذَاقَ كُلُّ  
 يَرْكَبُ اَلهَوْلَ وَحِيدًا وَلَا يُصْحَبُهُ اِلَّا اَلْاِيْمَانِي اَلْاَقْلُ  
 وَفَدْرُ هَجْرُو ثُمَّ اسْرُو اِيْلَهُمْ حَتَّى اِذَا اَلْاَجَابُ حَلُو

كل ماضي قد تردى بماضي كسنا البرق اذا ما يسل  
 فادركنا اثار منهم ولما ينج مل حيين الا لاقل  
 فاحسرو انقاس نوم فلما هو هو رعتهم فاشعلو  
 فلوئن قلت هذيل شجاع ايما كان هذيل يفل  
 وبما ابركها في مناح جعجع ينقب فيه الاطل  
 وبما صبحها في زراها منه بعد القتل نهب و شل  
 صليت مني هذيل بخرق لا يمل الشر حتي يملو  
 ينهل المعدة حتي اذا ما نهلت كان لها منه عل  
 حات الخمر و كانت حراما و بلاي ما اومت نحل  
 فاستغنيها يا سواد بن عمر ان جسمي بعد خالي لخل  
 فصحك الضبع لقتلي هذيل وتري اذيب لها يستهل  
 وعناق الطير تغدو بطانا تلخطاهم فما تستقل

Verily there is a man slain in the defile beneath mount Sal'; his blood will not remain unavenged.

He left me the burden and departed. I shall carry the load he imposed on me.

After vengeance by me there is the sister's son, brave, whose knot is not dissolved.<sup>30</sup>

With downcast eyes, exuding venom, as the silent viper exhales poison.

The terrible message we received was so great, that in comparison to it the greatest is small.

<sup>30</sup> A tough fellow.



Fortune has despoiled me, it was iniquitous to deprive me of one  
whose neighbour is not to be despised.

He was like the sun in winter, but cool and shady when Sirius burnt.<sup>31</sup>  
His sides were lean but not from want ; he was liberal, acute in mind,  
self-confident.

Firm in prudence, so that wherever he abode, prudence also dwelt.  
He was the large rain from a cloud, overwhelming when spending,  
and a brave lion when attacking.

Trailing long black hair among his people, clad in loose garments,  
but in assault he was a wild beast ; the progeny of a hyena and  
of a wolf.

He had two flavours :—of honey and of colocynth ; both known to  
all.

He confronted terrors alone, accompanied only by his well notched  
Yemany blade.

How many youths started at noon, travelled throughout the night,  
and halted when the light dawned.

Each passing by, girt with a sword passing through, and resembling  
a flash of lightning when drawn out.

We took vengeance on them so that of the two families but few  
escaped

They drew the breath of sleep, and when they nodded thou hast ter-  
rified them to flee ;

And indeed if the Hodaylites broke his lances<sup>32</sup> it was because he had  
broken the Hodaylites before,

And because he had made them lay down in a rough place, where  
the internal part of the hoof is wounded,

And because he afflicted them in the morning in their own refuge  
after slaughter, and pillage of animate as well as of inanimate things.

The Hodaylites were on my part afflicted by a liberal man, not tired  
by evil until they got tired.

Who leads the spear to the first drink, and after it has drunk, he  
quenches its thirst again.

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<sup>31</sup> Meaning :—To those who had recourse to him in winter he afforded warmth  
and in summer cold.

<sup>32</sup> Literally :—Stings of scorpions.

Wine became licit but was illicit, and scarcely became licit with difficulty.

Then give me to drink of it, O Sawád, for my body is emaciated after my uncle [was slain]<sup>33</sup>

The Hyena laughs on account of the slain Hodaylites, and thou seest the wolf rejoicing

And noble birds have big bellies in the morning, they walk on them,<sup>34</sup> and are unable to soar up.

IX.—*Jah̄dar B. Dubya'h* جحدربن ضبيعة<sup>35</sup>

The poet obtained the name *Jah̄dar* on account of his dwarfish stature, and recited the following verses in a battle called *Yaum Al-Taḥúlek*, “the day of shearing.” In the war between the *Beni Bekr B. WáyI* and the *Beni Tagh'lib*, which lasted forty years, the former assembled on a certain occasion, and *Ḥáreth B. U'bad* said to *Ḥáreth B. Ḥumínám* :—“Wilt thou obey me, O *Ḥár*, in what I intend to do?” and after obtaining the assent of the latter, he continued : “Our foes are superior in numbers to our people, which emboldens them in war; therefore you must attack them also with your women as well as with your men.” Hereon *Al-Ḥáreth B. Ḥummám* asked :—“How is the fight with women?” And he continued :—“Gird every woman with a water vessel and give her a stick. Station a number of them in your rear, which will increase your numbers and importance; inform them of the signs how to distinguish between foes and friends, so that when any of the latter come near them, they may give them water to drink, but if the former do so they will strike and kill them with their sticks.” This was done, and all the *Beni Bekr* cut off their hair for the sake of distinction, excepting only *Jah̄dar*, who although short of stature was an excellent rider, and a brave warrior. He begged his long and beautiful hair to be spared, which was granted on condition of his distinguishing himself in the forthcoming battle by valour, and that in the contrary case it would be cut off, as was done when freedom was given to a slave. He promised to display such bravery as to fall in battle,

<sup>33</sup> On account of this verse some believe that the piece was not recited by *Tábbet Sherra*, but by his nephew.

<sup>34</sup> On the corpses.

<sup>35</sup> p. ۲۵۲ *Rajaz* metre, six times *مصنوعان* *Tab. Metr. Ham. Freyt.*, p. 742.

with a view to which event he recited the following verses, considering it as already accomplished:—

قَدِ بَدَتْ بِنْتِي وَآمَتْ كُنْتِي	وَشَعَثَتْ بَعْدَ الرَّهَانِ جَنْتِي
رَدُّوْا عَلَيَّ الْخَيْلَ إِنْ أَمِتْ	إِنْ لَمْ أَنْجِزْهَا فَيَجْزُوا لَهْتِي
قَدِ عَلِمْتُ وَالِدَةَ مَا ضَمْتُ	مَا لَفَفْتُ فِي خَرْقٍ وَشَمْتُ
إِذَا الْعِمَامَةُ بِالْكَعَامَةِ أَكَلَتْ	أَمْحَدِجُ فِي الْحَرْبِ أَمْ أَمِتْ

Verily my daughter has become an orphan, my wife a widow, and my hair dishevelled after anointing.

Turn on me the riders if they come! If I fight them not cut off my hair.

Already my mother knew whom she embraced, wrapped in swaddling clothes, and whom she smelt.

Whether when warriors meet he would be accounted of short stature in war, or whether she had a perfect man.

X.—*Hazáz B. A'mr* حَزَا زَيْنَ عَمْرٍ <sup>36</sup>

The poet seems to have been fond of wine; he blames his wife for bewailing a young camel the value of which he drank, and mentions several persons whose loss it would be more suitable to deplore:—

تَبْكِي عَلَيَّ بَكْرٍ شَرِبْتُ بِهِ سَقَمًا	تَبْكِيهَا عَلَيَّ بَكْرٍ
هَلَّا عَلَيَّ زَيْدُ الْفَوَارِسِ زَيْدُ اللَّاتِ	أَوْ هَلَّا عَلَيَّ عَمْرٍ
تَبْكِينَ لَا رِقَاتِ دُمُوعِكَ	أَوْ هَلَّا عَلَيَّ سَلْفِي بَنِي نَعْمِرٍ
خَلُّوْا عَلَيَّ الدَّهْرَ بَعْدَهُمْ	فَبَقِيْتُ كَالْمَنْصُوبِ لِلدَّهْرِ

She deplores a young camel for which I drank wine; her weeping for a young camel is folly.

Why not for Zayd Al-Fawáris, Zayd Al-Lát, or why not for A'mr?

<sup>36</sup> p. ٣٥٥ Kámel, twice متفاعان متفاعان متفاعان Tab. Metr. Ham. Freyt., p. 741.

Thou weepst ! May thy tears never cease ! But why not for the  
two ancestors of the Beni Naḥr ?

The departed left the time upon me after them, and I remained like  
a target set up for time !

XI.—*Hassán B. Nushbah* حسان بن نضبه <sup>37</sup>

The poet boasts that his tribe had defeated the Hemyarites.

لَحْنُ اجْرِنَا اَلْحَى كَلْبًا وَقَدْ اَنْتَ لَهَا حَمِيرٌ تَزْجِي اَلرَّشِيحَ اَلْمَقْرَمَا  
تَرْكُنَا لَهُمْ شَقَّ اَلشَّمَالِ فَاَصْبَحُوا جَمِيْعًا يَزْجُوْنَ اَلْمَطَى اَلْحَزْمَا  
وَلَمَّا دَنُوْا صَلْنَا فَفَرَقَ جَمْعُهُمْ صَحَابِنَا تُدِي اَسْرَتَهَا دَمَا  
فَقَادَرْنَ قِيْلًا مِنْ مَقَاوِلِ حَمِيْرٍ كَانَتْ بِحَدِيْبَةٍ مِنْ اَلدَّمِ عِنْدَمَا  
اَمْرًا عَلَى اَنْوَرٍ مِنْ ذَاقِ طَعْمِهَا مَطَاعِنًا يَبْجِيْنَ صَابًا وَعَلْقَمَا

We protected the Kalbites, and verily the Hemyarites had come at-  
tacking them with erect lances.

We abandoned to them the sinister side, whilst they urged in the  
morning the cattle having rings in their nostrils.

When they approached, we attacked them, and our cloud the centre of  
which dripped with blood, dispersed them.

And they left a prince of the princes of Hemyar, as if his eyelids  
were tinged with dragon-blood.

Bitter is our food in the mouths of those who tasted it, as when they  
suck colocynth and bitter fruit.

*By the same on the same subject.*<sup>38</sup>

اِنِّى وَاِنْ لَمْ اَقْدَحْ حَيَا سَوَاهِمُ فِدَاعٍ لَلْتِيْمِ يَوْمَ كَلْبٍ وَحَمِيْرَا  
اَبُو اِنْ يَبْلُجُوْا جَارَهُمْ لِهَدُوْهِمْ وَقَدْ نَارُ نَفْعِ الْمَوْتِ حَتَّى تَكُوْنُوْا

<sup>37</sup> p. 165 Tawyl, twice مفاعِلن فَعولن مفاعِلن Tub. Metr.  
Ham. Freyt., p. 736.

<sup>38</sup> p. 166 The metre is the same as of the preceding piece.

سَمُو نَحْوَ قَيْلِ الْقَوْمِ يَبْذُرُونَهُ بِأَصْيَانِهِمْ حَتَّى هَوِيَ فَذَقْتُمْ  
وَكَاذِبَ الْإِيْتِ لَا شَمَّ مَرَعَمًا وَلَا نَالَ قَطَّ الْيَمِيدِ حَتَّى تَعْفُرَا

Although I redeem no clan except them, there is redemption of the  
Taym for the day of the Kalbites and Hemyarites ;

They refused to surrender their clients to their foes, when the dust  
of death rose high till it was abundant ;

They hastened to the prince of the people, quickly attacking him  
with their swords, till he fell down on his side ;

They were like the lion's nose, who snuffs no vileness, and grasps  
his prey only when soiled by dust.

XII.—*Dorayd B. Al-Qimmaḥ.* ٥٥ دريد بن الصمه

He was a brave warrior as well as a great poet, and lived to see  
Islām promulged, but refused to accept it. He marched forth with his  
tribe to the battle of Honeyn, as an ally of the Prophet's foes, but his  
presence was of no avail. His name appears to be a diminutive of *Adrad*,  
with the omission of the first letter to facilitate pronounciation ; it means  
a person whose teeth have fallen out from old age, and who chews  
with his gums :—

نَصَحْتُ لِعَارِضٍ وَأَصْحَابِ عَارِضٍ وَرَهْطِ بَنِي الْوَدَاعِ وَالْقَوْمِ شَهْدَى  
فَقُلْتُ لَهُمْ ظَنُّوا بِالْفِي مَدَجِّجٍ صِرَانِهِمْ قِي الْفَارِمِيِّ الْهَسْرِدِ  
فَلَمَّا عَمَرُونِي كُنْتُ مِنْهُمْ وَقَدْ أَرَى غَوَايِدَهُمْ وَانْتِي غَيْرَ مَهْتَدِ  
أَمْرَهُمْ أَعْرَى بِمَنْعَرَجِ اللَّوَى فَلَمْ يَسْتَبِينُوا أَلرُّشْدَ إِلَّا ضَعْفَى أَلْقَدِ  
وَ هَلْ أَنَا إِلَّا مِنَ غَزِيَّةٍ أِنْ غَوَتْ غَوَيْتُ وَإِنْ تَرُّشْدَ غَزِيَّةٍ أَرُّشْدِ  
تَنَادُوا وَقَالُوا رَدَّتِ أَلْخَيْلُ فَارِمًا فَقُلْتُ أَعْبَدُ اللَّهَ ذَلِكَ أَلرُّدَى  
فَجِئْتُ إِلَيْهِ وَالْأَرْمَاحُ تَنْوُشُهُ كَوَقْعِ الْوَصِيَامِيِّ فِي أَلنَّبِيحِ أَلْمَهْدِ

٥٥ p. ٣٧٧ The second species of Tawyl, twice فعولن مفاعيلن فعولن  
Tab. Metr. Ham. Freyt., p. 736.

وَكُنْتُ كَذَاتِ الْبُرِّ رِيْعًا فَاقْبَلْتِ اِلَيَّ جِلْدًا مِنْ مَسْكٍ مَقْبٍ مُتَدَدٍ  
 فَطَاعَتُ عَنْهُ الْخَيْلَ حَتَّى تَنْقُصَتْ وَحَتَّى عَلَانِي حَالِكِ الْاَلْوَانِ اِسْرَدِي  
 قَتَالَ اَمْرِي اِسى اَخَاهُ بِنَفْسِهِ وَ يَعْلَمُ اِنْ اَلْمَرْءُ غَيْرُ مَخْلَدٍ  
 فَاِنْ يَكُ عَبْدُ اِلٰهِ خَلِيٍّ مَكَانَهُ فَمَا كَانَ وَقَافًا وَلَا طَابِشَ اَلْيَدِ  
 كَهَيْشِ الْاَزَارِ خَارِجٍ نِصْفِ سَاقِهِ بَعِيدٍ مِنَ الْاِثَانِ طَلْعِ الْجِدِ  
 وَ اِيْلِ التَّشْكِيِّ الْمَعِيْبَاتِ حَافِظٍ مِنَ الْيَوْمِ اَعْقَابِ الْاِحَادِيْثِ فِي غَدِ  
 نَرَاهُ خَيْدِيْبِ الْبَطْنِ وَالزَّادِ حَاضِرِ عَيْنِي وَ يَغْدُوْنِي الْقَمِيْحُفِ اَلْمَعْدَدِ  
 وَ اِنْ مَسَّ الْاَقْرَاءُ وَ اَلْجُهْدُ زَادَهُ سَهَابًا وَ اَتْلَانًا لَمَّا كَانَ فِي اَلْيَدِ  
 مَبِيًّا مَا صَبَا حَتَّى عَلَا الشَّيْبُ رَاسَهُ فَمَا عَلَاهُ قَالَ لِلْبَاطِلِ اَبْعَدِ  
 وَ طَيِّبْ نَفْسِي اِنِّي لَمْ اَقُلْ لَكَ كَذِبًا وَ لَمْ اَبْخُلْ بِمَا مَلَكَتْ يَدِي

I advised A'arid with his companions, and the family of the Beni  
 Alsaudá, the people being my witnesses.

And said to them :—Suppose 2,000 men perfectly armed, whose  
 leaders are clad in Persian chain armour [present]!

But when they contradicted me I was of them ; though I saw their  
 error and that I was not well guided.

I gave them my orders on a sandy hillside, but they knew the direc-  
 tion only about next noon.

Am I anything but a Gházzyah ; if the Gházzyah tribe errs I err,  
 and if it be well directed so am I.

They shouted to each other saying :—“The riders slew a rider !” I  
 asked :—“Is that A'bd-Allah the slain man ?”<sup>40</sup>

Then I came to him pierced as he was by lances, as the weaver's  
 thistles fall on the extended cloth

<sup>40</sup> This he asked because he supposed the slain man to be his own brother.

I being like a frightened she-camel, approaching the skin of the  
slaughtered foal, brought stuffed to her.\*<sup>1</sup>  
I warded off the riders from him with my spear, till they dispersed  
and I was covered with black blood.  
Fighting like a man who imitates his brother, and knows indeed that  
man is not immortal  
Although A'bd-Allah is dead \*\* he was neither dilatory nor weak in  
battle.  
With tucked up garment, bared leg, free from blemishes, scaling  
heights  
Caring little for difficulties, observing to-day the rumours that  
will ensue after what is done on the morrow.  
You see him eating sparingly \*\* although food is present, ready.  
But he is in the morning covered by a ragged tunic.  
If poverty and want threaten him his liberality increases, whilst he  
loses what he possesses.  
He played whilst he was young, but when his hair became grey he  
bade farewell to vanities  
I congratulate myself that I never accused him of lying, and that I  
was not avaricious in what I had.

*The same poet recited. \*\**

تَقُولُ إِلَّا تَبْكِي إِخْضَاكَ وَقَدْ أَرَى مَكَانَ أَلْبَاكَ لِأَنَّ بَنِيَّ عَلَى الْأَعْبَرِ  
وَقُلْتُ أَعْبَدُ اللَّهَ أَبُوكِي أُمَّ الذِّي لَهُ أَلْجِدْتُ أَلَا عَلَى قَتِيلِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ  
وَعَبْدٌ يَفُوتُ نَحِيلَ الطَّيْرِ حَوْلَهُ وَعِزُّ الْمَصَابِ جَثْوُ قَبْرِ عَلَى قَبْرِ  
أَبِي أَلْقَتَلُ إِلَّا أَلَّ صَمَةً أَنَّهُمْ أَبُو غَيْرَةٍ وَالْقَدْرُ لِيَجْرِي إِلَيَّ الْقَدْرُ

\*<sup>1</sup> This and also other devices were resorted to, in order to induce a camel to yield milk, which she refuses when her foal has been slaughtered.

\*\* Literally : Has left his place empty.

\*\* Literally : With a slender belly.

\*<sup>1</sup> p. ٣٨٠ First species of Tawyl, twice فعولان مفاعيلن فعولان مفاعيلن فعولان Metrorum Tabula. Ham. Freyt., p. 735.

فَأَمَّا تَرِينَا لَا تَزَالُ دَمَاوْنَا لَدِي وَاتْرُ يَسْعَىٰ بِهَا الْآخِرُ الْآدِهْرُ  
فَانِ لِلْحَمِّ السِّيفِ غَيْرِ نَكِيرَةٍ وَنَلْحَمِهِ حِينَا وَلَا يَسُ بِيْذِي نَكْرُ  
يَغَارُ عَلَيْنَا وَاتْرِينِ فَيَسْتَقْفِي بِنَا اِنْ اَصْبَحْنَا اَوْ نَقِيرُ عَلَىٰ وَتْرُ  
قَدَمْنَا بِذَاكَ الْآدِهْرِ شَطْرَيْنِ بَيْنَنَا فَمَا يَفْتَقِصِي اِلَّا وَنَحْنُ عَلَىٰ شَطْرُ

She said :—Bewailest thou not thy brother ? There is occasion for weeping. But I am of a patient nature

And said :—Is A'bd-Allah to be deplored, or he whose tomb is high, and whom Abu Bekr slew ?

And A'bd-Al-Yagh'úth.<sup>45</sup> Around whom birds are hopping ; and a grave raised near another is a great calamity.

Slaughter befell only the Çimmah tribe which wished for no other thing, and one matter predestined will reach the other.

But if you perceive that our blood is always coveted by our foe who endeavours to take it till the end of all time,

It is because we refuse not to be fleshed by the sword, and also flesh ours which refuses not.

When we are foes we are invaded and hatred abates<sup>46</sup> when we are hit ; or else we attack our foe.

Thus time into two parts we divided among us, nor does it lapse but we our share receive.

### XIII.—*A man of the Hemyarites recited.*<sup>47</sup>

This piece was also translated into Latin by Schultens in his “ Monumenta vetustiora Arabiæ.” It relates to a battle in which the tribes A'bd-Manat and Kalb were victorious against the Hemyarites :—

<sup>45</sup> Yagh'út was much worshipped in Yemen, and men called themselves his slaves, one of whom is here represented as left unburied after the battle, so that the birds, satiated by a repast on his corpse, were not able to fly, but hopped about as if their legs were shackled.

<sup>46</sup> Literally :—Health is recovered.

<sup>47</sup> p. 193 First species of Munsarih :—مستفعلن مفعولات مستفعلن  
مستفعلن مفعولات مستفعلن Froytag, p. 744.



من راي يومنا ويوم بني التيم اذ اذلف صيقه بدمه  
 لما راوا ان يومهم اسب شدوا حيازيهم على الهمة  
 كانوا الاسد في عربتهم ونحن كالليل جاش في قومه  
 لا يسامون الغداة جارهم حتى يزل الشراك عن قدمه  
 ولا يخيم اللقاء فارسهم حتى يشق الصفوف من كرمه  
 ما برح التيم يعنزون وزرق الخط تشفى السقيم من سقمه  
 حتى تولت جموع حمير والفل سريعا يهوي الى امه  
 وكم تركنا هناك من بطل تسفى عليه الريح في لومه

Who has seen our day and the day of the Beni Taym, when his dust was commingled with blood?

When they perceived that their day was heavy, they compressed their breasts for grief

As if they had been lions in their dens, and we the night fretting in the dust.<sup>48</sup>

They surrender not in the morning their clients, until the thongs fall from the feet.<sup>49</sup>

Their cavalier is not timid to attack, but breaks the ranks by prowess.

The Taymites ceased not to challenge their foes while the blue lauces cured the sick of sickness.

Until all the Hemyarites were put to flight; and a fugitive quickly proceeds to a place

And how many braves have we left there, whose hair the wind begrims with dust?

<sup>48</sup> Night chaffing in its own dust, is the darkness caused by the dust which rises in the confusion of a battle.

<sup>49</sup> By over-exertion and much struggling.

XIV.—*Tarafah B. Al-A'bd* طرفه بن العبد<sup>٥٥</sup>

He was the author of one of the seven celebrated poems suspended in the Ka'bah. He flourished between A.D. 560 and 570, and it appears that neither he nor his friend, Mutalammis, was able to read; at any rate they could not read, or perhaps decipher, the letter they had received from A'mru, the king of Hyrah, as they asked another man to read it to them. This letter contained an order to the governor of Hijr to kill the bearers. Mutalammis believed the contents to be true, and warned Tarafah to return; the latter, however, being under the impression that the king would not act in so dastardly a manner, and that his companion had been imposed upon, continued his journey, and was slain.

The poet reproaches here a man on account of whose lies three men separated themselves from their family :

فَرَقَ مِنْ بَيْتَيْكَ سَعْدَ بْنَ مَالِكٍ وَعَمْرًا وَعُرْفًا مَا تُشِي وَتَقُولُ  
 وَأَنْتَ عَلِيُّ الْأَدْنِيِّ شَمَالَ عَرَبِيَّةٍ شَامِيَّةٍ تَزْوِي الْوَجُوهَ بَلِيلُ  
 وَأَنْتَ عَلِيُّ الْأَقْعِيِّ صَبَا غَيْرِ قَرَّةٍ تَذَابُ مِنْهَا صَرَزْغٌ وَمَسِيلُ  
 وَأَعْلَمُ عِلْمًا لَيْسَ بِالظَّنِّ إِنَّهُ إِذَا ذُلَّ صَوْلِي الْمَرْءِ فَهُوَ ذَلِيلُ  
 وَإِنْ لِسَانُ الْمَرْءِ مَالِمٌ تَكُنْ لَهُ حَصَاةٌ عَلِيٌّ عَوْرَانَهُ لَدَائِلُ

What thou hast willed and said, has separated Sa'd B. Málik, and A'mr and A'wf from thy two houses.

Thou art towards thy next kinsman a cold Syrian wind, contracting the faces, moist;

To the remote thou art no cold zephyr, bringing from all sides torrents of rain and mud

I know for a certainty and not by conjecture, that when the patron of a man is vile, he is himself vile.

For verily the tongue of a man who is void of reticence indicates his foibles.

<sup>50</sup> p. ٩٣٢ Third species of Tawil; twice فعولن مفاعيلن فعولن مفاعيلن  
 p. 737. Metr. Tab. Ham. Freytag

٤٧.—*A'árek of the Tayi tribe* طارق الطي<sup>٥١</sup>

The above is an epithet meaning "gnawer," which the poet is said to have obtained when he uttered the last verse of the following piece, of which it is the last word. His real name was Kays B. Jirwah. From the following verses it appears that he paid a visit to the king of Hyrah, A'mr B. Mundir B. Má-al-samá, who was, according to Caussin de Perceval's "Histoire des Arabes," born A.D. 510, and reigned about the year 562. It also appears from these verses that although the art of writing may not have been common in those times, it was used in public documents; the character was most probably the Syriac, which gradually transformed itself during the lapse of the two next centuries into Kufic, whence the present shape of the letters originated.

الاحي قبل آيين من انت عاشقه و من انت مشتاق اليه وشايقه  
 ومن لا تواتي دارة غير فيته و من انت تكي كل يوم تفارقه  
 نخب بصحرا اللويه ناقتي كعد و رباغ قد اصحت نوايقه  
 الي آلهذرا الخير بن هذد تزوره و ليس من الفوت الذي هو سابقه  
 فان نساء غير ما قال قائل غنية سوء وسطهن مھارق  
 و لو نيل في عهد لنا لحم ارنب و فينا و هذا العهد اخذت مھارقه  
 اكل خيس اخظا آلقنم مرة و صادف حيا دنيا هو سابقه  
 و كذا انما داينين بغيطه نجيل بنا تلح الهلا و ابارقه  
 فاقسمت لا احتل الا بصهوة حرام عليك رعله و شتايقه  
 حلفت بهدي مشعر بكراته نخب بصحراء آلنبيط درادقه  
 لين ام تغير بعد ما قد صنعتم لالنحين للعظم ذوانا عارقه

<sup>٥١</sup> p. ٧٥٩ Second species of Tawyl, twice فعولن مفاعلن فعولن مفاعلن  
p. 736. Metr. Tab. Ham. Freytag.

Wilt thou not, before separating, salute him whom thou lovest, for  
 whom thou longest and inspirest longing,  
 And him whose house thou canst approach only occasionally, and  
 who thou deplorest every day thou art separated?  
 In the desert of Alththawiyyah my she camel gallops, like a young  
 horse whose leg bones are full of marrow,  
 To the good Al-Mundir, son of Hind, to visit him, and that can be  
 repaired what he has done before,  
 For verily, females among whom his diploma of security is, are con-  
 trary to what some one has said; bad plunder.<sup>53</sup>  
 Had hare's flesh been taken in our compact, we would have fulfilled  
 it; but the keeping of this compact thou hast imposed on thyself.  
 Will any army once disappointed for booty and finding a subject  
 tribe become its persecutor?  
 We were men glad to obey, floating about the piebald watercourses  
 in security.<sup>54</sup>  
 I swore henceforth to live only on the ridge, whose sands and sandy  
 tracts are interdicted to thee.  
 I swore by the victim whose young camels are marked, when her  
 little ones run about in the desert of Al-Gh'abyt.  
 Indeed, if thou changest not, after what you have done, I shall attack  
 the bone of which I am now the gnawer.<sup>55</sup>

*By the same.* <sup>56</sup>

When the above verses were brought to the notice of A'mr B. Mundir, Zurarah informed him that the last contained a threat of vengeance. Hereon A'mr upbraided Thurmalah that Kays B. Jirwah,

<sup>53</sup> These two verses allude to the circumstance that Mundir had on a certain occasion, when he returned from an expedition without booty, at the instigation of a man that they were good plunder, captured some women of the Tayyi tribe, in spite of the alliance which subsisted between them. The word *مهرق* is Arabised from the Persian *مهرک* diminutive of *مهر* in the sense of royal diploma; it occurs thus also in the *Moa'llakah* of Hareth.—Ed. Sir W. Jones, *Distich* 42.

<sup>54</sup> "Deserted valleys containing water floated with us." *تسيل بنا تلح الماء* probably intended to imply a careless, unconcerned life.

<sup>55</sup> This conveys the meaning that after having unburdened his mind, and merely laid it bare like a bone, the poet will, unless A'mr changes his behaviour, "chaw" him up, as the Americans would say.

<sup>56</sup> p. ٦٣٥ Second species of *Kāmel*; six times *متقاعن*, p. 740. *Met. Tab. Ham. Freytag.*

his cousin, had thus insulted him ; this the former denied, and said the verses insinuated that if Ebn Jafnah had been in the place of A'mr he would have treated the Beni Tayyi more unjustly, and were as follows :—

والله لو كان ابن جفنة جاركم لكسا الرجوة غضاضة وهوانا  
وسلا سلا يثيين في اعناقكم واذا لقطع منكم الاقرا  
ولكان عادته على جارته مسكا وربط رادما وجفانا

By Allah! Had Ebn Jafnah been your protector, he would have clothed your faces with abasement and vileness.<sup>86</sup>  
And chains bending round your necks, but on severing your connections  
It would have been his custom to offer to the women under his protection, musk scented cloaks and salvers.

*By the same.*<sup>87</sup>

In this piece the poet hurls defiance at A'mr B. Mundir, of whose intention to slay him he had obtained information :—

من مبلغ عمر بن هذيل رسالة اذا استحققتها العيس تضا من البعاد  
ايو عدني والرمل بيني وبينه تزين رويدا ما امامة من هذيل  
ومن اجاء حولي رعان كانها قنابل خيل من كيدت ومن ورد  
غدرت باعر نكت انت دعوتنا اليه وبئيس الشبهة القدر بالعهد  
وقد يترك القدر القتي وطعامه اذا هو اوصى حلبة من دم الفصد

Who will convey the message to A'mr B. Hind ; though white camels bearing him on a cushioned saddle get emaciated by the distance ;

<sup>86</sup> Your faces may also stand as a metaphor for " your chiefs," who are often called thus.

<sup>87</sup> p. ٧٤٥ First species of Tawyl : twice فعولن فعولن فعولن فعولن  
p. 735. Metr. Tab. Ham. Freytag.

Does he threaten me though sandy tracts separate us? Gently! What  
is the difference between Omúmah and Hind?<sup>68</sup>  
Whilst the summits of mount Ajá encircle me like flocks of chest-  
nut and tawny steeds?  
Thou hast betrayed us in a matter to which thou hadst called us!  
And wicked is perfidy; treachery, in a covenant!  
Verily a knight abstains from treachery, although his evening meal  
may be blood milked by venesection.<sup>69</sup>

XVI.—*A'bd-Allah B. Domaymah* عبد الله بن ديمه ٥٥

The poet describes his disappointment in a love-intrigue on a jour-  
ney:—

ولما لحقنا بالحمول ودونها خديص الحشا توهى القديص مراثقه  
قليل قذي العينين يعلم انه هو الموت ان لم نعر عنا بواقفه  
عرضنا فسلمنا فسلم كارها علينا وتبريح من الغيظ خانقه  
فسايرته مقدار ميل وايتنى بكرهى له ما دام حيا ارافقه  
فلما رات ان لا وصال وانه مدي الصرم مضروب علينا مرادقه  
رمتنى بطرف او كدما رمت به لبل لجمعا نجرة وبناقفه  
ولمع بعينيهما كان وميضه وميض الحيا تهدي لئجد شتاقفه

When we reached the camel howdahs defended by a thin-bellied  
fellow whose shoulders however burst his tunic,  
Who had no mote in his eyes, was known to be death, should his  
calamities not be averted from us.  
We passed to the side, then saluted. He saluted us unwillingly, his  
throat being strangled by wrath.

<sup>68</sup> The mention of the king's mother would have been very offensive, but the poet's doing so in connection with his own was intended as the greatest insult.

<sup>69</sup> Great distress is meant, because the Arabs bled their camels for want of food in such a case, and bandaged the vein after a quantity of blood had been obtained, which was then put into an intestine, roasted and eaten.

<sup>70</sup> p. ٥٥٦ Second species of Tawyl; twice مفاعلن فعولن مفاعلن  
p. 736. Metr. Tab. Ham. Freytag.

I travelled about a mile with him. Would that I, altho' a stranger to him, might accompany him all his life !

When she perceived that no meeting was possible, and that as a limit of separation, his tent was pitched against us,

She shot a glance at me ; had she cast it at a man covered with armour, blood would have dyed his neck and collar.

And a wink with her eyes, as if their lightning had been the lightning of the vivifying shower the streaks of which point to Najd.<sup>61</sup>

XVII.—*A'bd Allah Al-Kattál* عبد الله القتال<sup>62</sup>

There is a difference of opinion about his name ; according to some it was A'bd-Allah, and according to others O'bayd B. Muzyb. The occasion for these verses was as follows :—Kattál was conversing with his uncle's daughter, whose brother Zyád was absent. On his return he took notice of Kattál, and swore that if he saw him again with his sister he would kill him ; accordingly he took a sword when Kattál paid his next visit to the girl, and when Zyád perceived him he intended to make use of it, but Kattál ran, and being closely pursued, adjured him by Allah and by their consanguinity to spare his life ; when, however, Kattál was almost within the man's grasp, he observed a spear leaning against a house, which he snatched up and at once killed him :

نشدت زياد و أله قامة بيننا و ذكرته ارحام صعر و هيثم  
 فلما رايت انه غير منته املت له كفي بادن مقوم  
 ولما رايت اني قد قذاته ندمت عليه اى ساعة مندم

I adjured Zyád in the presence of the assembly, reminding him of the kinship of S'ir and Haytham.

When I saw that he would not cease [to assault me] I bent my hand to him with the slow straight [lance]

And when I saw that I had indeed slain him, I repented, and what hour of repentance !

XVIII.—*U'rwah B. Al-Ward* عروة بن الورد<sup>63</sup>

U'rwah is the name of a tree which does not wither in the cold season, and yields food to camels in years of scarcity. He is surnamed

<sup>61</sup> The wink may be an allusion to another meeting.

<sup>62</sup> p. 95 Second species of Tawyl ; twice فعولن مفاعيلن فعولن مفاعيلن  
 p. 736. Metr. Tab. Ham. Freytag.

<sup>63</sup> p. 207 The same metre.

“U'rwah Al-Ça'alyk,” the U'rwah of paupers, and lived to see Islâm promulgated, but was exiled from Madynah by Muḥammad:—

لِحَالِهِ صَعْلُوكًا إِذَا جَنَّ لَيْلُهُ مُعَانِي الْمَشَائِ الْفَاكِلِ مَجْزِرٍ  
 يَدُ الْغَنَى مِنْ نَفْسِهِ كُلَّ لَيْلَةٍ أَصَابَ قَرَاهَا مِنْ صَدِيقٍ مُبِيرٍ  
 يَنَامُ عِشَاءً ثُمَّ يَصْبِحُ نَاعِمًا نَحْتِ الْحَصَا عَنْ جَنْبِهِ الْهَتْفُورِ  
 يَعْينُ نِسَاءَ الْحَيِّ مَا يَسْتَعْنَهُ وَيَسِي طَلِيحًا كَأَبْعِيرِ الْحَسْرِ  
 وَلَا كُنْ صَعْلُوكًا صَفِيحَةً وَجْهَهُ كَضْرَاءِ شَهَابٍ الْقَابِسِ الْهَتْفُورِ  
 مَطْلًا عَلَيَّ أَعْدَائِهِ يَزْجُرُونَهُ بِسَاحَتِهِمْ زَجْرَ الْهَنْبِخِ الشَّهْرِ  
 إِذَا بَعْدُوا لَا يَأْهِنُونَ أَقْتَرَابَهُ تَشَوَّفُ أَهْلَ الْغَايِبِ الْهَتْفُورِ  
 فَذَلِكَ إِنْ يَلْقَى الْمَيْتَةَ يَلْقَاهَا حَمِيدًا وَإِنْ يَسْتَقِرُّ يَوْمًا فَاجِدِرٍ

Allah has debased the pauper who when the dark night sets in,  
 being greedy for marrow-bones frequents every butchering place.  
 He considers himself rich every night when he is hospitably enter-  
 tained by this opulent friend.  
 He sleeps in the evening and gets up drowsy in the morning to rub  
 the gravel from his dusty side.  
 He aids the women of the camp in whatever they ask, and is tired  
 in the evening like an exhausted camel.  
 But he is a pauper whose face is bright, like a shining brilliant  
 flame.  
 Obtruding himself to his foes when they curse him in their vestibules,  
 as a gaining arrow without a portion is cursed.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup> The first of the three arrows Manyh, Safyh and Wagh'd, to which no portion belongs, is mentioned in the text. The total number of arrows amounted sometimes to 10, and sometimes to 20. This game of casting lots, called Maysir, was afterwards prohibited in the Kurán ii., 216. A camel being the stake played for, was either bought for that purpose by the players themselves, or



Those who retreat from him are not secure of his approach. The family of the absent, the expected one, are looking out. If this man meets death, he meets it laudably, and if he gets rich one day, it will be more laudable.

XIX.—*d'ntarah*. عنترة<sup>65</sup>

He is *Antarah B. Sneddád*, the author of one of the *Moallaqát*,<sup>66</sup> and recited the following lines on the occasion when *Ward B. Hábes* slew *Naḍlah the Asdy* in a feud he had with him:—

بذِيبٍ وَرَدَ عَلَيَّ اَثْرُهُ وَاعْمَكَنَهُ وَقَعَ مَرْدِي خَشْبٌ  
 قَتَّاعٍ لَا يَدْنُقِي غَيْرَهُ بِاَبِيْنُ كَالْقَبِيْسِ اَلْمَلْتَهَبِ  
 فَمَنْ يَكُ فِي قَتْلِهِ يَمْتَرِي فَاَنْ اَبَا نُوْفَلٍ قَدْ شَجِبَ  
 وَغَادِرُنْ نَضَلَتْ فِي مَعْرَكِ لِحْجَرِ اَلْاَسَدِ كَمَا لِحْطَبِ

presented to them by some rich man. This is mentioned also in the *Moallaqah* of *Lebid*, distich 73, as follows:—

وَجُزُورِ اِيَّارٍ دَعَوْتُ لِحْتَفِهَا  
 بِمِغَالِقِ مَشَابِهِ اجْسَامِهَا

“ Oft have I invited a numerous company to the death of a camel, bought for slaughter, to be divided by lot with arrows of equal dimensions.”—(Transl. Sir W. Jones).

The arrows had no points, and were made of *Naba* wood of yellow colour, used also for bows. (*Chadava tenex*. *Freytag iv.*, p. 232.) Above, the names of the three portionless arrows have just been given, but each of the remaining seven gaining ones had also its own, and all gave forth a peculiar sound when thrown. According to their number, from one to seven, each winning arrow had 1, 2, 3, &c., portions assigned to it, up to the last, which gained seven parts. Camels being divided into 10 shares, appear to have been gambled for only with two arrows, namely, the third gaining 3, and the seventh winning 7 shares. The arrows were kept in a bag, and a man called *Mufayḍ*, whose hand was covered by the leather called *Rehábah*, to hinder him from distinguishing the arrows by the touch, drew them out. The flesh gained by thus drawing lots, was distributed among the poor, for which reason it was considered an honour to participate in the game, and a man out-casted for his bad morals could not do so. The winning arrows were praised, and the losing ones cursed, hence the above simile.

<sup>65</sup> p. ۲۰۶ *Mutaḳáreb*, seven فَعُولِيْنَ and one فَعْلٌ 3rd species. *Darstellung*, &c., p. 281.

<sup>66</sup> *Freytag's Hamasah*, p. 385, Note 1.

Ward hastened after him, and the fall of hard hoofs overtook him,  
He rushed on, looking for no other man, with his bright sword  
shining like a flame.

Let him who doubts of his murder be aware that Abu Naufal <sup>67</sup>  
has indeed perished.

They abandoned Naḍlah on the battle field, dragging darts, <sup>68</sup> like  
a collector of wood.

*By the same.* <sup>69</sup>

The poet boasts of an exploit:—

تُرِكَتْ بَنِي الْحُجَيْمِ لَهُمْ دَاوِرٌ إِذَا تَمَضَى جَمَاعَتُهُمْ تَمُودُ  
تُرِكَتْ جَرِيَّةُ الْعَمْرِي فِيهِ شَدِيدٌ أَعْيُرُ مَعْدَدَلٌ سَدِيدُ  
فَإِنْ يَبْرَأَ فَلَمْ أَنْفُتْ عَلَيْهِ وَإِنْ يَفْقَدُ فَحَقٌّ لَهُ الْفَقْدُ  
وَمَا يَدْرِي جَرِيَّةٌ إِنْ نَبَلِي يَكُونُ جَفِيرَهَا أَلْبَطْلُ الْفَجِيدُ

I left the Bani Al-Hujaym; they had an idol <sup>70</sup> to which one of  
their squadrons went when another returned.

I left Jurayyah Al-A'mryi with a hard, straight and well-directed  
arrow in him.

If he gets well, I have not blown on it; <sup>71</sup> and if he perishes he gets  
his due.

But Jurayyah does not know that the quiver of my arrows is brave,  
strong. <sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> This was the cognomen of Naḍlah.

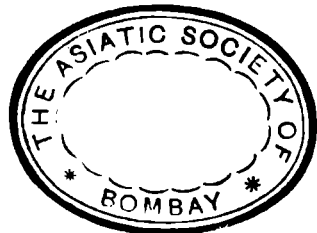
<sup>68</sup> Transfixed by many spears, which broke off, and left their points in his  
body.

<sup>69</sup> ٢٠٩ First species of Wāfer, twice مفاعلتن مفاعلتن مفاعلى Metr.  
Tab., p. 739.

<sup>70</sup> The scholiast observes that a slain man is here compared to an idol, be-  
cause they walked around him as if he had been one. People still walk around  
idols in India devotionally.

<sup>71</sup> The Arabs bewitched an arrow with an amulet, and blew on it when they  
desired it to be lethal, but omitted to do so in the contrary case alluded to in  
the text.

<sup>72</sup> This unusual locution is explained by considering the whole body of a  
warrior who shoots the arrows to be the quiver.



XX.—*Gh'allāk B. Merwān.* <sup>73</sup>

Gh'allāk means the locker-up of pledges, the celebrated pre-Islamic war arising from a horse-race between the tribes A'bs and DUBYÁN has already been alluded to <sup>74</sup>; in the following piece the poet blames the former and accuses the instigators:—

هم قطعوا أراحام بيني وبينهم واجرو إليها وأسكلوا أعمارها  
 فيا ليتهم كانوا لأخرى مكانها ولم تلدي شيئا من التوم فاطمها  
 فما تدمى من خير عدوة داحس ولم تنج منها يا ابن وبرة سالما  
 شامت بها حبي بغيض وغربت اباك فاردي حيث والى أاعاجما  
 وكانت بذو ذبيان عزا واخوة فطرتم وطارو يضربون أاعاجما  
 فأصحت زهير في الحنين أنتى مضت وما بعد لا يدعون إلا ألا شايما

They burst the bonds of kinship between me and them, they persevered; and made licit illicit things.

Would that they had been kinsmen to others, and thou, O Faṭimah,<sup>75</sup> hadst given birth to no one.

What good pretendest thou to have resulted from the gallop of Dāhis? And thou O Ebn Wabrah hast not escaped from it safely. You brought misfortune by it on two of the Bagh'yḍ clans; it has driven thy father into exile, and he perished whilst living among barbarians.

The Banu DUBYÁN were noble and brothers; but you flew and they flew to break skulls.

The Zuhayr were in years past and in later times called only infamous.

<sup>73</sup> ٢٢٤ Second species of Tawyl, twice فعولن مفاعلن مفاعلن  
 Metr. Tab., p. 736.

<sup>74</sup> See vi. Bishr B. Oyayī.

<sup>75</sup> Faṭimah was a celebrated woman, the mother of four sons, and a contemporary of Kays B. Zokyr, some of whose verses will be given immediately under xxi.

XXI.—*Ḳays B. Zohayr* قيس بن زهر<sup>76</sup>

Faṭimah, the mother of the sons of Zyád, who are addressed in this piece, has been mentioned in the preceding piece, and enjoyed the title of Munjabah, granted only to few women who had given birth to noble sons. In fact each of them became the father of a tribe. Ḳays B. Zohayr was not only a poet, but a celebrated chief whose stallion Dáḥis had become the cause of an atrocious war during the time of No'mán B. Al-Mundir, king of Ḥyrah, as has already been mentioned. The poet recited the following verses to praise the sons of Zyád, but especially with reference to Rabyi', to whom he wished on a certain occasion to sell a cuirass, he being on foot, and the former riding. When Rabyi' had placed the cuirass on the saddle knob in front of him to examine it, the horse shied and ran away with him; hereon Ḳays B. Zohayr took hold of the bridle of Faṭimah, the mother of Rabyi', intending to retain her as a pledge for his cuirass, but when she said:—"Where has your prudence gone astray, O Ḳays? Do you want peace between you and the sons of Zyád, after wandering with their mother to the right and left, and the people will say what they like, &c. Ḳays knew that she had spoken the truth; therefore he let her go, but made a raid on Rabyi's camels, and when Ḥudayfah Málek B. Zohayr, the brother of Ḳays, was slain, Ḳays, thought that Rabyi' would on account of the just mentioned estrangement, not aid him to avenge his brother, but when he did so, Ḳays said:—"Rabyi' purchased my love, &c., and the Beni Gh'aleb were a branch of the A'bs tribe to which Ḳays himself belonged.

لَعْرَبُ مَا اضَاعَ بَنُو زِيَادَ ذَمَّارِ اَيُّهُمْ فَيَمُنْ يَضِيعُ  
 بَنُو جَنْبِيَّةٍ وَلَدَتْ سَيُوفًا صَوَارِمَ كُلِّهَا ذَكَرَ صَنِيعُ  
 شَرِي وَدِي وَشُكْرِي مَنِ بَعِيدٍ لَا اَخْرَ غَالِبِ اَبْدَا رِبِيعُ

By thy life! The sons of Zyád have not forfeited the honour of their fathers among those who lose it.

They are sons of a demoness;<sup>77</sup> she gave birth to sharp blades, all are cutting swords of hardened steel.

<sup>76</sup> p. ۲۳۱ First species of Wáfir; twice مفاعلتن مفاعلتن مفاعلى p. 739.

Metr. Tab. Ham. Freytag.

<sup>77</sup> Any very clever and remarkable woman was by the old Arabs distinguished by the name of fairy or demoness; some however think that the word

Rabyi', although estranged from me, has purchased my love and gratitude for ever till one of the Gh'áleb branch remains.

*By the same.* <sup>78</sup>

The poet deploras the death of the Tezarites Hudaifah and Hamal :—

تَعْلَمُ أَنَّ خَيْرَ النَّاسِ مَيِّتٌ عَلِيٌّ جَفِرُ الْعِبَاءِ قَدْ لَا يَرِيمُ  
 وَلَوْلَا ظَلَمَهُ مَا زِلْتُ أَبْكِي عَلَيْهِ أَلَمْ هَرَمَا طَلَعَ النُّجُومُ  
 وَلَا كُنَّ أَلْفَتِي حَمَلُ بْنُ بَدْرِ بَقِيٍّ وَأَلْبَقِيٍّ مَرْتَعُهُ وَخِيمُ  
 أَظُنُّ أَلْحَمَّ دَلَّ عَلِيٍّ قَوْمِي وَقَدْ يَسْتَجِهُلُ الرَّجُلُ أَلْحَلِيمُ  
 وَمَارَسْتُ أَلرِّجَالَ وَمَارَسُونِي فَمَعُوجٌ عَلِيٌّ وَ مُسْتَقِيمُ

Know that the best of men is dead near the well Al-Habát, he budges not.

Were it not for his injustice<sup>79</sup> I would never cease to weep for him as long as the stars rise.

But the knight Hamal B. Badr acted unjustly and the pasture of injustice is noxious.

I think [my] meekness instigated my people against me, and verily a meek man is considered a fool.

I dealt with men and they dealt with me; some were crooked to me, some straight.

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*Jinniyah* ought to be altered to *Hunnayyah*; these being a nation of demons of an inferior kind, to which also jet-black dogs belong, or weak demons, or their dogs, or creatures occupying an intermediate place between men and demons; the scholiast also mentions that the Hunn are a branch of the Ku'áa'h tribe.

<sup>78</sup> p. 210. Same metre as the preceding.

<sup>79</sup> The injustice committed by Hamal, the owner of the mare Gh'abrá, was that when the race took place he stationed men to drive away the horse of Kays in case it should arrive first. He is also said to have refused to pay the stake to the victor in the race; but the worst injustice was that he slew Málík B. Zohayr for his brother B. Badr after having accepted blood ransom from him.

XXII.—*Ka'b B. Zohayr* كعب بن زهير<sup>90</sup>

The poet deplores the murder of Juway, and says that it will be avenged. The occasion for these verses was that Juway, who belonged to the Muzaynah, went over to the tribes Aws and Khazraj whilst they were fighting, and joined the former because an alliance subsisted between them and the Muzaynah. When he was pierced by a dart, and on the point of death, Thábet B. Al-Mondir passed by and said:—"Brother Muzaynah, who has thrown thee into this calamity. By Allah! thou belongest to a tribe which will not defend thee!" Juway, who was dying, raised his head and said:—"I swear by Allah that fifty of you will be slain, among whom there will be neither a monocular nor a lame man." In the contest which ensued Thábet was captured, and Mocarrem swore not to release him except for a black, hornless goat, which the people of Madynah at first refused, but were afterwards compelled to do:—

لَقَدْ وُلِّيَ الْيَتِيمَ جُوي مَعاشِرَ غَيرِ مَطْلُوبِ اخْرَها  
فَإِنْ تَهْلِكُ جُوي فُكِّلَ نَفْسِ سَيَجْلِبُها لَذَلِكِ جالِبُها  
وَإِنْ تَهْلِكُ جُوي فَاِنْ حَرَبًا كَطَنِكَ كَأَنَّ بَعْدَكَ مَمُودُها  
وَمَا سَأَلَ ظَنُونُكَ يَوْمَ تُولَى بِأَرْمَاحِ وَفِي لِكِّ مُشْرَعُها  
وَلَوْ بَلَغَ الْقَتِيلُ فِعْالُ قَوْمٍ لَسَرِكَ مِنْ سَيُودِكَ مَتَنَضُّها  
لَغَدْرِكَ وَالنَّدُورُ لَهَا وَفَأَيُّ إِذَا بَلَغَ الْخِزْيَاءُ بِالْقَوِها  
كَأَنَّكَ كَدْتَ تَعْلَمُ يَوْمَ بَزَّتْ ثِيَابُكَ مَا سَيَلْتَنِي سَالِبُها  
فَمَا عَدَّتْ الظَّبَايِ بِحَيِّ كَعْبٍ وَلَا الْخَمْسُونَ قَعْرَ طَالِبُها

Verily Juway appointed by his oath a company which will not delay to avenge its brother.

<sup>90</sup> p ١٤٤ First species of Walir; twice مفا عاتن مفا عاتن مفا عاتن

If thou hast perished, Juway, every soul will some time be dragged to death.

And if thou hast perished, O Juway! war, as thou didst believe, has verily been kindled after thee.

Thy belief was not wrong on that day, when thou swore by the lances; for those who wield them have verified it.

Could the act of the people be made known to a slain man; thy drawn sword would have gladdened thee

For thy vow! And vows attain fulfilment, but those whom they concern are ashamed.

It seems thou knewest on the day thy clothes were taken, what will befall their robbers.

The antelopes were not slain in the camp of Káb, nor were those who wanted them satisfied with less than fifty.

XXIII.—*Ma'dán B. Jawwás the Kindite.* الكندي معدان بن جواس الكندي<sup>81</sup>

King No'mán desired to invade the Beni Tamim, who obtained information which the king suspected had been furnished by the poet. Hence the following verses; the Mundir alluded to in them was the poet's brother, and Haut his son:—

ان كان ما بلغت عنى فلا منى مد يقي وشلت من يدى الا نامل  
وكفنت وحدى منذراني ردا عيه وصادف حوطا عن اعادى قائل

If it be true what has been reported to thee concerning me, may my friend blame me, and the fingers of my hand wither.

And I alone shall shroud Mundir in his cloak, and let an assassin from among my foes attack Haut.

XXIV.—*Ma'dán B. Al-Muḍarrab the Kindite.* الكندي معدان بن مضرب الكندي<sup>82</sup>

صفا ود لياى ما صفا ثم لم نطع عدوا ولم نسمع به قويل صاحب  
ولما تولى ود لياى اجانب وقوم توينا لقوم و جانب  
وكل خليل بعد ليلى يخافني على الغدر او يرضى بود متئارب

<sup>81</sup> فعولن مفاعيلن فعولن مفاعيلن; twice Second species of Tawyl; twice

<sup>82</sup> ٥٨٢ Same as the preceding.

Whilst the love of Layla was pure, we obeyed no foe and listened  
to no friend concerning one,  
But when Layla's love turned to one side and to one people, we  
turned to another side and to another people,  
And every friend after Layla either dreads me for my treachery or  
is content with moderate love.

XXV.—*Halál B. Razyn.* هلال بن رزين

The record of a battle between the Hemyarites and the Kalbites  
was also translated by Schultens in his "Monumenta Vetustiora  
Arabiae," which I have not seen:—

وبالبيداء لما ان تلاقى بها كلب وحل بها الذور  
فكانت حمير لما التقينا وكان لهم بها يوم عير  
وايقنت القبائل من جناب ومامر ان سيمنعها نصير  
اجادت وبل مدجنة فدرت عليهم صوب سارية درور  
فولو نحت تطقها سراعا تكبهم الهندقه الذكور

And in Albaydá where the Kalbites met their foes and where the  
vows were paid,

Then the Hemyarites perished when we met, and they had there an  
arduous day.

Also the tribes Jenáb and A'ámer knew for certain that a helper  
will defend them

Torrents [of warriors] poured, rushing from a dark cloud, shedding  
on them copiously the nocturnal rain [of death]

They turned under the hail [of darts] quickly, but were prostrated  
on their faces by hard Indian scimitars.



After this battle however the Hemyarites again rallied and vanquished the Taymites, whom they partly slew and partly captured; of the latter some they made slaves and some they castrated. Jaryr commemorates this bondage of the Taymites among the Hemyarites in the following lines (Básit metre) :—

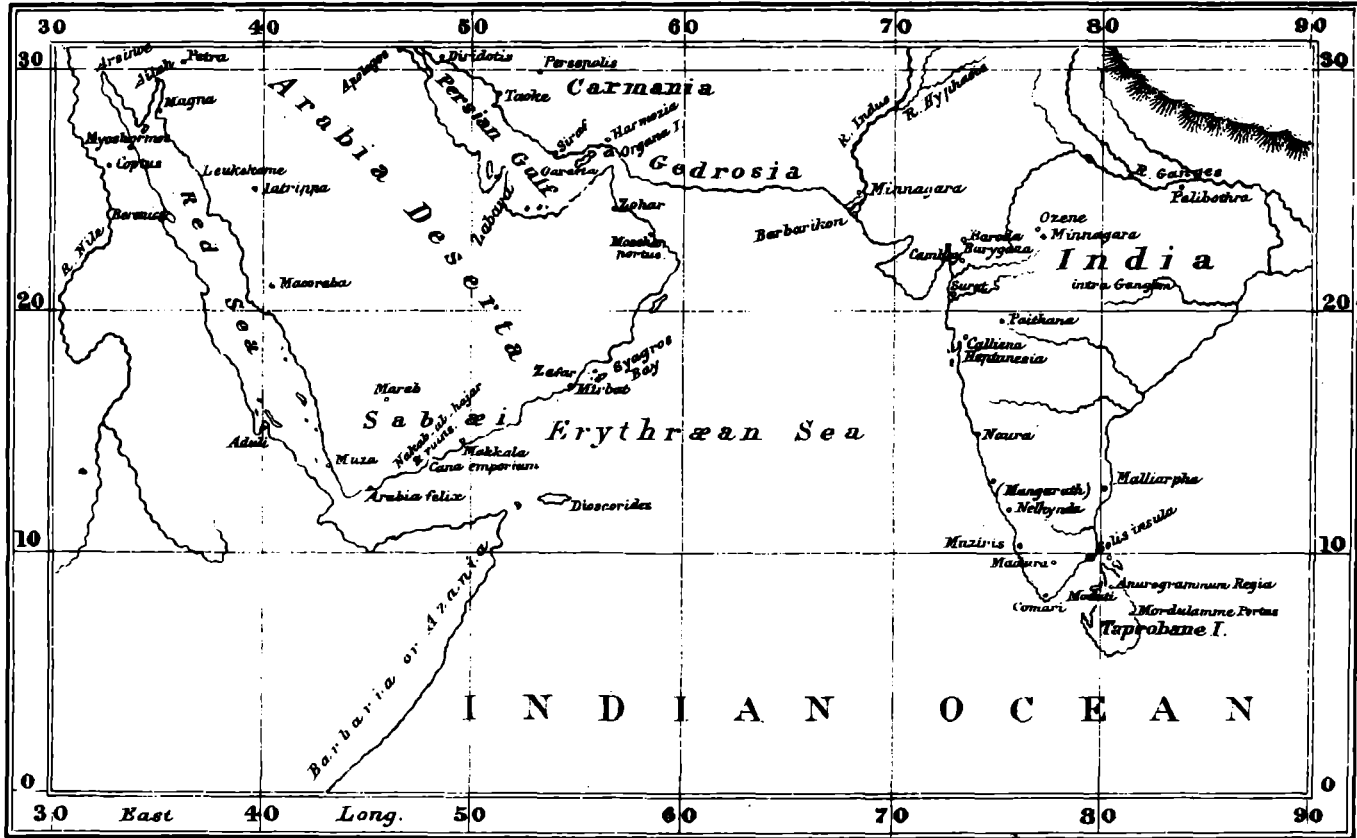
يدعوك تيم و تيم في قري سبأ قد عض امناقهم جلد الجواميس

The Taym tribe calls thee, but the Taym are [captive] in the villages of Saba, and verily collars of buffalo-leather have bitten their necks.

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# EMPORTIA

Chiefly Ports of Arab and Indian international commerce before the Christian Era.



ART. V.—*Emporia, chiefly ports of Arab and Indian international commerce, before the Christian era. (With a small map.)* By E. REHATSEK.

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[Read 26th May 1881.]

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The geographical configuration of Arabia is such that it favours navigation not only by its large extent of coast—because it is, roughly speaking, a quadrangle, three sides of which are bounded by the sea—but also by the proximity of the shores of Africa across the Red Sea, and of Persia across the gulf of that name, so that in very early times intercourse with the adjacent countries took place; that intercourse extended to India as soon as the nature of the monsoons became known, which enabled the Arabs to undertake voyages to it without venturing into the open ocean, and if we are to believe the tales of the “Thousand and One Nights,” they sailed from port to port, along the coasts, and from island to island, as far as China. “Before 1500 B. C. the commerce of the Arabs brought the products and manufactures of India, especially their silks, to Babylon. The Babylonians required the perfumes of Arabia and India to prepare their ointments.”—(Duncker’s *Hist. of Ant.*, v. i., p. 305.) The Arabs were the first navigators of the Indian Ocean and carriers of Indian produce, which then found its way to Europe through Egypt and Syria; they traded with the Phœnicians, the Assyrians, the Greeks, and the Romans; lost their monopoly, but again recovered it when the power of the latter declined, and retained it till the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route by Vasco da Gama, since which time the Arabs have ceased to be the chief carriers between India and Europe, and their ports lost all their importance.

The products of India became known in Europe long before the country itself had been discovered, and philological researches have abundantly proved the great antiquity of the commerce of the East with the West, by demonstrating that the Sanskrit names of certain articles of trade had in the remotest times found their way into the most ancient Hebrew and Greek writings. Thus, for instance, the Hebrew or Phœnician name for cotton is taken from Sanskrit (Heb. *Karpas*,

Sansk. *Karpasa*, Gr. *Karpasos*), and has with a somewhat altered signification passed also into Latin; thus Q. Curtius viii., 9, says that the Indians veil their bodies down to the feet, “*corpora usque pedes carbasa velant.*” Although no direct testimony on the subject exists, it is probable that the Phœnicians were the first who brought cotton cloths to the west; Herodot knew that they came from India (iii., 106), as well as that they were in use among the Persians and Egyptians (vii., 181). The mummies of Egypt were in the most ancient times wrapped in cotton bandages, but the plant itself was not known, as Herodot, when he travelled there, did not mention it, although he knew it to be indigenous in India by the name of *Sindon byssina* as coming from the river Sindus or Indus. Hence it appears that cotton which was cultivated only in Pliny’s time had been imported very early into Egypt, although it is not known in what manner. The silk-worm and silk had in Alexander’s time become known from India to Aristotle (*Histor. Animal*, lib. v., cap. 19), but a more accurate knowledge of the insect and of its product was obtained in Constantinople not earlier than the reign of Justinian, A. D. 530. Although since the period of the Middle Ages silk had been exported to Europe principally from China, where it had begun to be cultivated 2500 years before the Christian era, it can be shown that silk weaving dates also in India from high antiquity. The great mart of Nilcunda (Νελέκύνδα) in Mangalore was remarkable for its trade in *silk textures* (*othonia serica* Οδοια Σηρικὰ—*Arr. Peripl.*, p. 32, ed. Hudson), in the time of Ptolemy and Pliny it sent probably much more Indian than Chinese silk to Babylon, Media, Tyrus, Ethiopia, Arabia, Egypt and Rome, where its weight was paid in gold (Procopius de bello Persico, Venet. 1729, L. i., c. 20, p. 254; *apud Ritter*; p. 438; *Erdk. Ind. Welt*, B. iv. Abt. i.)

It is also remarkable that tin, *Kassiteros* (Homer ii., xviii., 474, 612, xx. 271, &c., and Hesiod’s *Theogon*, v. 862) is well known to have been a monopoly of the Phœnicians, who brought it from the tin-islands of Britain (Cornwall, Scilly islands,) as a precious metal to other nations, bears in India the Sanskrit name कस्तीरं (Kastiram), as well as in Arabic (قندس). Although tin was imported also from Egypt into the celebrated emporium of Cana on the south-coast of Arabia, as also into Muza,<sup>1</sup> the truly Indian origin of its name and of its export re-

<sup>1</sup> In illam vehitur ex Ægypto.....as, stannum et reliqua quæ etiam in Muzam.—*Arr. Perip.*, pp. 15, 16.

mained unknown to Europeans, because they knew nothing about the tin-island of Jung, Ceylon or Salung (from 7° 46' to 8° 9' N. lat., and 98° 20' E. long., Greenw.), which belongs now to Siam, but where in ancient times the Sanskrit language was current. When the mercantile Phœnicians found the metal which had become well known to them in the East, also in the West, they called it by the same name. That the Phœnicians or Arabs exported oriental tin already in early times from India, appears also from another Sanskrit name of this metal, namely, *Yavanashita*, i.e., tin coveted by Yavanas. (Lassen. *Comm. de Pentapotamia Indica*. Bonnæ, 1827, p. 57.)

*Pepper*, from the Sanskrit *Pippali*, had through the Greek *πέπερι* already before the Christian era penetrated into Latin,<sup>2</sup> and afterwards into all the European languages. According to Hippocrates, the Greeks obtained the name and the article from Persia. As the Arabs imported it from the Malabar Coast, they called it the *pepper country* بلد القلقل Beled-ul-fulful; the native term on the coast is pimpilim.<sup>3</sup> Thus two names came in very early times from India to the west.

*Sugar* (Sansk. *Sarkara*), although known to Pliny only as a medicinal drug, was an article of export from Broach to the Red Sea.<sup>4</sup> The just mentioned articles were exported from India probably in the remotest times, and to them also rice, medicines, rhubarb, betel-nuts, opium, and rose-oil must be added. Arrian mentions even collyrium as an article of Indian export.

In his translation of the Çatrunjaya Mahatmyam, Prof. A. Weber has in Ch. xiv., v. 191—201, pointed out that Javada, the king of Saurashtra-mandala was during the last portion of the second century of the Christian era sending ships with cargoes to Mahâcina, Cina and Bhota. (Ueber das Çatrunjaya Mahatmyam. Abhandl. D. M. G. 1858, Band i., Nr. 4, p. 43.)

In ancient as in our times the trade of the west with India was chiefly carried on by foreigners, although not exclusively. They brought goods to India, which they exchanged for others, and again returned. Indians, however, also travelled, and even settled in foreign

<sup>2</sup> *Arr. Per.*, p. 29, supra:—"Piper longam," a kind of long pepper mentioned among the articles of export from Barygaza (Broach).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Vincent's *Paripl.*, Part. ii., Appendix, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> *καλύμνον τό λεγόμενον σάκχαρι* mel arundinum quod saccharum dicitur.—*Arr. Per.*, p. 9.

countries. In the Code of Manu (viii., 157,) persons acquainted with sea-voyages are alluded to ; there is no doubt that many Indians were settled in the commercial ports of Arabia, to which they brought muslins with other textile fabrics, spices, rice, &c., and even tortoise-shells. At that time Socotora, which is at present chiefly known for its guano, was from its vicinity to the frankincense-coast, an island of some importance, and more in communication with the mainland, by the foreign merchants settled in it, there being no native inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> When Vasco da Gama circumnavigated Africa for the first time in 1498, he found at Melinde, not very far from Socotora, Indian merchants whom he called Banicani (J. de Barros, Asia Dec. i., L. iv., c. 6) ; they were Banians from Cambay, whom he assumed to be Pythagoræans, because they abstained from animal food ; they had brought cloves, pepper with all kinds of spices for sale. On paying a visit to the ship, they perceived an image of the Madonna, which they respectfully saluted, no doubt believing her to be a representation of Krishna's mother with the infant in her arms.

Herodotus (iii., 98-106) gave 460 years before the Christian era the first information about India to the Greeks, and after him (in 404 B. C.) Ktesias, who had for 17 years been physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, the king of Persia ; but the expedition of the great Macedonian conqueror himself made India more known, although the original accounts of that gigantic undertaking have been lost. Arrian's history of the expedition (he flourished about A. D. 140), compiled from the accounts of Ptolomæus Lagus and Aristobulus, two companions of Alexander, and his *Historia Indica*, according to the statements of Onesicritus and Nearchus, are valuable, as well as the information scattered in the writings of Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny, &c., and even the exaggerating accounts of Q. Curtius Rufus. The just mentioned authors utilised the information of Agatharchides, who flourished in the second century before the Christian era, but the references made in this paper to him, to the *Periplus* of the Erythrean sea, and to the *Parapulus* of Nearchus, are taken from Dodwell's edition of these authors, which was published A. D. 1698 in Oxford, under the title of "*Geographiæ veteris scriptores*" in Greek, with the ancient Latin translation. It is not certain who the author of the *Periplus* was ; he also bears the name of Arrian, but is quite different from the above named Arrian

<sup>5</sup> *Habitantes advena sunt ex Arabibus, Indis, Græcis quoque nonnullis mercaturæ faciendæ causa eo confluentibus conflati.*

of Nicomedia, who wrote the history of Alexander and left us the *Parapulus* of Nearchus; he must have written 30 or 40 years before the Nicomedian.<sup>6</sup> The most valuable aid and information was obtained from Ritter's "Erdkunde"; although, of course, our older classical knowledge of India terminates with the second century of our era; because even Kosmas Indicopleustes (who wrote about A. D. 530), who might have given valuable information, narrates, besides some good details, also many absurdities.

Canals uniting the Nile, and therefore the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, existed in the remotest times, and, according to Herodotus, 120,000 Egyptians perished in the reign of Nero when digging one of them. Both Diodorus and Pliny mention a canal in the reign of Ptolemy II., and when our lamented friend, Dr. Wilson, was in Suez in 1843, Mr. Davidson, the Agent of the P. and O. Steam Navigation Company, pointed out to him the site of the ancient canal leading from the Nile to the gulf of Suez, which runs north of the town for about 10 or 12 miles, and then turned to the north-west, and at last reached the Nile.<sup>7</sup> During the time of the Ptolemies and of the Romans, the chief merchants resided in the celebrated Mediterranean port of Alexandria, whence communication was kept up with Myosshormos and Berenice, two harbours on the Egyptian, *i. e.*, western coast of the Red Sea, by means of the Nile, on which goods were forwarded to Coptus (now Koft), whence caravan roads branched out to Myosshormos—founded 274 B. C. by Ptolemy Philadepos, who selected it as the chief port of Indian trade in preference to Arsinoe, near Suez—and Berenice, in lat. 24°, much less than the 225 English miles south of it given in the *Periplus*. Ships sailed from these two great emporia along the coasts to Arabia and India. Further to the south, Aduli, (Azule or Zula, the modern Thulla, in lat. 15° 12' and 39° 36' E. long., Greenw.,) is also mentioned in the *Periplus* as an emporium, but could on account of the shallow harbour probably never attain any great importance. It is remarkable that Indian iron as well as muslins, cotton and other textile fabrics, gum, lac, &c., were imported to this coast, although only indirectly from Arabia.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Vincent gives a long article in his *Preliminary Disquisitions on the "Age of the author of the Periplus,"* p. 46—57.—*Peripl. Part. i.*

<sup>7</sup> *Lands of the Bible*, vol. i., p. 47, *seq.*

<sup>8</sup> *Præterea ex penitioribus Arabicis locis affertur ferrum Indicum, et acie temperatum, othonium Indicum latius, quod nouache appellatur, &c.—Arr. Periplus*, p. 5.

Ailah (Elath, Deut. ii. 8), in the northernmost corner of the gulf of Aqabah, near the pilgrim station of that name, although a thousand years before our era the celebrated port of Solomon, is at present only a heap of rubbish. He allied himself with Tyre for the purpose of maritime commerce, which he carried on from Elath and Eziongeber to Ophir (1 Kings ix. 26, *seq.* x. 11, 22), where the "Tarshish ships" are to be taken in the sense of the now obsolete expression "East-Indiamen" in English, but according to Duncker (Hist. of Ant., v. ii., p. 85) Ezekiel meant by "ships of Tarshish" (xxvii. 25,) those which came to Tyre from the valley of the Guadalquivir, named by the Phœnicians Tarsis. These commercial voyages ceased again immediately after Solomon, and Josaphat (B. C. 914—899) endeavoured in vain to revive them (1 Kings xxii. 48; 2 Kings xiv. 22; xvi. 6). Commerce must, however, have greatly flourished in the kingdom of Israel under Jeroboam II. (B. C. 825 till 784—Hos. xii. 8 *seq.*). Strabo xvi., 759, 768, mentions this place, and it was known to Edrisi (transl. Jaubert, t. i., p. 332,) who wrote A. D. 1150, and before his time to Istakhri, who wrote A. D. 950, but as a very small town.

This is the *Makaa Máxva* of Ptolemy, given by him under lat. 28° 45,' but situated 28° 30' N. lat. according to the British Survey. Rùppel found here a numerous permanent colony of Beni Ogba Arabs. Quite near to their habitations, on a hill to the south, scanty ruins of walls with cut stones occur, which Rùppel considered to be the remnants of a convent of the 6th Christian century; also a tradition has survived that this place is the ancient Midian, which appeared to Rùppel to be only a monkish legend, but yielded a title to a recent book by Capt. R. Burton (The Gold Mines of Midian, 1878), who found scoræ and extensive traces of smelting works, overlooked by former travellers. Nearly 10 years after Rùppel, in 1833, Capt. Moesby surveyed the gulf of Aqabah. Excursions to Magna are generally undertaken by travellers from Qala't Moilah, which is, according to the English Survey, in 27° 40' N. lat.

At present no longer any doubts are entertained that Hauara (see Leukekome. Col. Chesney's or Kiepert's map of Arabia) is the ancient Leuķekome (λευκῆ Κώμη *i. e.*, Albus pagus) of Ælius Gallus. It was the southernmost emporium and port of the Nabatæans, whose caravans travelled constantly between it and Petra. Strabo, however, speaks only in a general manner



of the riches and great commerce in wares of India and Arabia passing through Petra. He adds, that his friend, the philosopher Athenodorus, who had visited Petra, was surprised to find there Romans and other strangers (Strabo xv., 779).

The island Hassanich, 25° N. lat., conspicuous by its *white* appearance, according to Wellsted, is just opposite the port of Hauara, which is a pilgrim station on the Egyptian Haj route, called Dár-ul-a'shryn, *i. e.*, 20th station. The Haura of Ptolemy (29° 40' lat., 66° 10' long.) in the gulf of A'qabah is not called Leukekome, or *white town*, which also the word Hauara means, and is a different locality. The present seats of the Thamudites, whose ancestors are mentioned in the Qorán as having been destroyed (xxix. 36, and vii. 76), are the same as in the time of Ptolemy and Diodorus; also Agatharchides mentions on this coast no other tribe than the Thamud (p. 59), so that we can draw no line of demarcation between the Arab and the Nabatæan possessions to which Leukekome, *i. e.*, Hauara, belonged. There is however no doubt that Madayn Çáleh was a Nabatæan town, although it is in the territory of the most primitive Arab tribe of Thamud; for Mr. C. Doughty, the first European traveller who visited it, declares that the sepulchral chambers, which alone remained, were "formed after one Petra fashion." (See Journ. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc., vol. xiv., p. 162.) Also Ritter has collected some imperfect notices about this once mysterious town, now known as a paltry thoroughfare, see his *Erdkunde; West Asien* iv. Abth., § 79, *i. e.*, vol. xii., p. 442 *seq.* The supposition of some that the port El-U'yún in the gulf of A'qabah marks the site of ancient Leukekome is of course no longer tenable. Our site is pretty well defined also by Arrian.<sup>o</sup>

*Yambo* was not known to Istakhri as the port of Medinah; he mentions it only as a castle (Mordtmann, p. 11). He knew only *Djar*, three stations south of *Yambo*, as the port of Medinah, but much smaller than *Jeddah*, the port of Mekkah. The *Iambo Vicus* of Ptolemy (24' 0" lat., 68° 22' long. Ἰαμβία κόμη) means very likely the inland *Yambo-en-nakhl*, not far from the present harbour.

<sup>o</sup> A sinistris Beronicis post muris portum (*i. e.*, the mouse-harbour Myoshor-mos already mentioned above) duorum aut trium dierum intervallo ad ortum, finitimum sinum navigantibus alius occurrit portus, atque castrum quod Albus vicus (namely white town Leukekome) nominatur, per quem in Petram ad Melicham (ملك) Nabatæorum regem aditus patet. Atque hoc ipsum castrum emporii loco est iis qui ex Arabia in magnis navibus in illud deferuntur.—*Arr. Per.*, p. 11.

*Zabid*, an inland mart, which became important only after the time of Istakhri, is not mentioned by him, but extolled by Abulfeda, who wrote A. D. 1331. Edrisi (Jaubert's transl., t. i., p. 49,) praises the surrounding country as well populated and full of villages, which are not big, but much frequented by merchants. The town was very large, populous and rich, a rendezvous of foreigners of all kinds, especially merchants from the Hejáz, from Abyssinia and Upper Egypt, who arrived there with ships from Jeddah to purchase in *Zabid* *spices from India and Chinese goods*. *Zabid* is, according to Niebuhr's observation, situated in 14° 12' N. lat.

Mokha (13° 19' N. lat., according to Niebuhr) had during the past century become to Europeans the best *Muza* emporium, *Mokha*. known port in Yemen, because it was the largest coffee-mart. Arab geographers do not mention it among the towns of Arabia before the time of Abulfeda, and even Ebn Batuta, who wrote in 1354, knows nothing about Mokha, although he embarks from Aden, the largest emporium of his period, for India. Also in 1513, during the time of Albuquerque, it is mentioned only once incidentally among other unimportant harbours, by the name of Meca (De Barros, Asia Dec. ii., Lib. viii., cap. 1). Mokha acquired some importance only after Aden had been desolated by the attacks of the Portuguese, and transmuted into a solitude by the conquest of the Turks.

There is no doubt that Mokha is the *Muza emporium* of Ptolemy (placed by him in 14° N. lat.) and of the Periplus, according to which it was about 12,000 stadia south of Berenice. It was inhabited by Arabs acquainted with navigation, and full of merchants, who traded not only in the Indian wares that arrived from Barygaza, but also in the products of their own country. On Kiepert's map *Muza* appears inland of the present port of Mokha, from which it is about 20 miles distant. Niebuhr, who visited and identified the place, ascribes its present position to the accretion of the coast. The *imports* of *Muza* were, according to Arrian, as follows:—Purple cloth, and other kinds; saffron, cyperus, an aromatic rush, muslins (*ὀθόμιον*), cloaks, quilts, perfumes, specie for the market, all in considerable quantity; wine and corn, not much, as the country produced both. *Exports*:—Myrrh of the best quality, stacte or gum; white stones, alabaster, &c. According to some, Mokha may have been only the port of *Muza*, the famous emporium of the Hemyarite and Sabæan kingdom of which Agathar-

chides entertained somewhat exaggerated notions, and to which he attributed even the production of cinnamon and other products of India, which the Greeks received from Arabia, and erroneously believed to be indigenous to it.<sup>10</sup>

The author of the *Periplus* mentions Okelis (Ὀκελίς) within the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, which, he says, Arabia Felix, Aden, is not so much an emporium as a harbour, a watering station, and the first meeting place of traders.<sup>11</sup> After Okelis, where the sea is again opened out towards the east, at a distance of about 1200 stadia, comes *Arabia Felix*, a maritime town subject to the kingdom of the same Charibael. This town was called *Felix*, because when voyages were not yet made from India to Egypt, nor anybody dared to sail from Egypt to the interior of India [*i. e.*, before the discovery of the monsoons by Hippalus], all proceeded only as far as this town, which received the merchandize both of the Indians and the Egyptians, in the same way as Alexandria receives foreign goods as well as those which come from Egypt. "But Cæsar destroyed it [*i. e.*, Arabia Felix] shortly before our times." Concerning the account of the *Periplus* just given, Dr. Vincent (ii., p. 294) says:—"Every circumstance in this minute description directs us to Aden, the distance, the harbour, and the name, all correspond;" he continues:—"The capture also and destruction of this village by the Romans, a short time previous to the author's age, would be a natural

<sup>10</sup> Sabæorum doinceps gens adhæret per Arabiam omnium maxima, et nullius non generis felicitatem in potestate et arbitrio habens. Namque tellus omnia fert quæ ad comoda vitæ apud nos proveniunt: et corpora sunt spectabiliora quam alibi: pecorum multitudo innumerabilis suppetit: æmœnitas et fragrantia totam hæc oram obtinens, voluptatem præbet visu et dictu majorem. Nam ad ipsas littorum crepidines largum nascitur balsamum et casia: longe alia quam alibi habetur, recens nimirum: ideoque jucundissimam oculis voluptatem exhibens, quæ postea longinquitate temporis prorsus exolescit, dum stirpis usus hebetatur, priusquam vis ejus ad nos transmitatur. In mediterraneis frequentes et magnæ se attollunt sylvæ. Nam arbores præcelsæ, myrrhæ ac thuris, necnon cinnamoni et palmæ, et calami, et id genus aliorum exsurgunt. Adco ut nulla ratione explicari queat voluptas illorum qui sensibus suis periculum de his fecerunt.—(Ex. Agatharchide de Bubro Mari. Oxon. 1698, p. 61.)

<sup>11</sup> Okelis cannot be identified with any place existing in our times, but Capt. Haines discovered about Jebel Mauhali (12° 41' 10" N. lat., 43° 32' 14" E. long., Greenw.) several shallow bays, still used as landing places by boatmen crossing over from Abyssinia; near to the east is Jebel Heika, and the dark mountain Turbah, with some ruins on the top of it.

consequence of the progress and extension of the Roman commerce from the Red Sea to India ; and, as Claudius collected a tribute from the maritime towns of Arabia, it is natural to suppose that he was the Cæsar mentioned in the Periplus, who ordered this place to be destroyed," &c. The campaign of Ælius Gallus, the first Roman who invaded Arabia, took place 24 years before the Christian era. In course of time the number of Roman merchants increased so much that the emperor Constantine (reigned A. D. 337 till 369) sent an embassy to the mighty king of the Hemyarites or Sabæans, to request permission for the free exercise of the Christian religion by the Roman merchants, and the building of churches in Arabia Felix (Yemen), which being granted, Bishop Theophilus, the head of the embassy, remained in the country and preached the gospel to the Hemyarites likewise.<sup>12</sup> The ancient fame of Aden as an emporium of the world-trade survived also during the Muhammadan period, for although Istakhri mentions it only as a small town, he says that no other in Yemen is so celebrated as a port where many ships call, and that pearl-fisheries exist in its vicinity. According to Edrisi, the port of Aden was frequented by ships from Sind, Ind, and Chin, the latter brought from China iron, damascened blades, prepared hides, musk, aloe-wood, saddles, crockery (porcelain), fragrant and not fragrant pepper, cocoanuts, the Harnouf (perfuming grain), cardamom, cinnamon, galanga (an aromatic herb), mirobolans, ebony, tortoise shells, camphor, cloves, cubebs (fragrant grains from Java), cloths plaited from plants, velvet, ivory, tin, rattangs and other kinds of bamboos, and the greatest portion of the bitter aloes which reach the trade. The information added to these important data by Abulfeda concerning the time when the whole India trade necessarily passed through the Red Sea, till the discovery of the Cape route by the Portuguese, is not of any moment.

The remark in the Periplus at the conclusion of the notice of Leukekome that a centurion with troops is stationed there and that duty is levied on goods<sup>13</sup> certainly implies that it was a Roman possession, especially if it be taken into consideration that the Nabatæan kingdom was destroyed in the time of Trajan, A. D. 105. Although no express statement to that effect occurs anywhere, and the Romans are not named

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<sup>12</sup> See Journ. Bomb. Br. B. As. Soc., vol. xii., p. 195, *seq.*, where this embassy to the Hemyarite king Marsad A'bd Kellâl is mentioned, as well as the building of a church in Zafar, another in Aden, and a third in the Persian Gulf.

<sup>13</sup> *Att. Periplus*, p. 11, *col. 1st.*

till we come to the abovementioned destruction of Aden during the reign of the emperor Claudius, which means that their influence had penetrated also to the southern ports of Arabia; especially as Pliny informs us (H. N. vi., 24,) that Annius Plocanus had farmed the custom-house duties on the Red Sea from the government; his Libertus, who was collecting them, must very likely have gone out of the Red Sea, also to Aden, because adverse winds actually carried him to Ceylon, which he discovered, described, and even brought four Indian ambassadors from it to Rome.<sup>14</sup> This direct intercourse of the Romans with the Indians, in connection with the discovery of the south-west monsoon by the steersman Hippalus, whose name was transferred to it to commemorate the event (Arr. Peripl., p. 32), afforded to the Romans—to whom it must have been of the highest importance to gain as much as possible from Indian commerce—the next opportunity for monopolising the trade of Aden and asserting their supremacy, and in the jealous rivalry with Arab merchants, which no doubt often resulted in hostilities, the Romans found an easy pretext for destroying the friendly port of Aden. As Charibael, the king of the Hemyarites and of the adjoining Sabæans, was a friend of the Roman emperors, to whom he often sent embassies and presents (*ibid.*, p. 13), the blow was not aimed at him, but probably at some Sheikhs of the coast of Aden, at whose humiliation by the Romans he may even have connived.

The only passage occurring in Pomponius Mela about southern Arabia,<sup>15</sup> but more particularly the towns of the Sabæans, makes no mention of Aden, unless we consider the Arabia of the last line to de-

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<sup>14</sup> Some deny that Aden had been destroyed by the Romans, on the ground that ΚΑΙΣΑΡ may be a corruption of ΕΛΙΣΑΡ, the name of a king of the country; as well the correctness of Pliny's assertion that Plocanus farmed the revenues due to the Roman treasury, which they call a mere conjecture. (See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. viii., p. 106.) Be that however as it may, the early Roman intercourse with India and Ceylon is also proved by discoveries of coins. (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 241-2.)

<sup>15</sup> Alterum latus ambit plagam quæ inter utramque pelagus [namely, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf,] excurrit. Arabia dicitur cognomen Eudæmon, angusta verum cinnami [*sic*] et thuris aliorumque odorum maximo ferax. Majorem Sabæi tenent partem ostio proximam et Caramanis contrariam Macæ Frontem quæ inter ostia ostenditur, silvæ cautesque exasperant. Aliquot sunt in medio insulæ sitæ. Ogyris, quod in ea Erythræ regis monumentum est, magis clara quam cæteræ. Ab ea parte quæ introantibus dextra est, urbes sunt, Canæ, et Arabia, et Gandamus.—(Pomp. Mela. Lib. iii., cap. 8.)

signate it, as Arrian did, by calling it Arabia Felix. Ogyris is evidently the Okelis of the Periplus, and Canæ will be described further on. We have already alluded to the exaggerated ideas of Agatharchides about the Sabæans (see footnote 10), but he also does not mention Aden, although he points out a locality where the sea is white like a river, and speaks of the fortunate islands in the vicinity, with snow-white hornless cows, where the merchant ships of the country arriving from the river Indus and not a few from Persia and Caramania land.<sup>16</sup> Agatharchides represents the country of the Sabæans as a terrestrial paradise, and admires its fertility. He mentions *Saba* as the capital which gave the name to the whole nation, as one of the handsomest towns of the country. He knew the Sabæans as skilled navigators, brave warriors, dexterous agriculturists and merchants, who sent out colonies. No nation, says he, appears to be more wealthy than the Sabæans and Gerhæans (*Ex. Agath.*, p. 64, 65), who dispose of every thing by trade which can be transported from Asia and Europe. They enriched the Syria of Ptolemy with an immense quantity of gold, and provided the industrious Phœnicians with most lucrative commercial business, not to mention 600 other things. They themselves spend large sums not only on works of art and admirable sculptures, but on a variety of drinking vessels, tripods and other things usually displayed also in our edifices, and testifying to great magnificence; indeed, many private individuals make royal expenses. Hereto is to be added that they possess gilded columns, and entirely of silver; they moreover adorn their doors and the ceilings of their houses with numerous phials composed of gems and precious stones. Their halls with colonnades likewise presented a fine aspect. The principal thing however is, that whatever may be considered wealth in other countries, is here displayed in great variety.

The Sabæans sent out colonies (*colonias deducunt. Ex. Agath.*, p. 64), and unwieldy, large Indiamen, as well as Chinese junks, loaded with foreign goods, frequented their ports, even as late as the fifth cen-

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<sup>16</sup> Præter hanc regionem mare conspicitur album ad fluvii speciem, ita ut effectus hujus causam quis non sine stupore demiretur. Adjunctæ autem sunt insulæ fortunatæ, in quibus niveo sunt colore pecora universa, nec ulli sominarum cornu adnascitur. In his mercatorias accolarum naves stationem habere videas, plerasque inde profectas, ubi juxta Indum omnem navale instituit Alexander: nec paucas e Perside et Carmania, et tota continente finitima—(*Ex. Agath.*, p. 65-66.) The white cattle alluded to may be the cows which Indian Banians still import and cherish in their Arab homes.

ture of our era, when Cosmos Indicopleustes wrote, who states that ships from Ceylon sailed to the Hemyarites and to Adule (Erdk. v., p. 30), and still later in the ninth, and according to Masudi (*ibid.* viii., p. 774-776), large junks with decks sailed as far as Siraf in the Persian Gulf with their cargoes, and even to the mouths of the Euphrates, where they had brought them for the king of Hira (*ibid.* x., p. 64); but the colonies of mercantile agents sent to India in the time of Agatharchides plainly imply that a close intercourse must have existed between the Arabs and the Hindus in early times, but even a thousand years before our era, in the time of Solomon, the port of Aden must, on account of the frankincense trade, probably have played an important part; and Lassen (Alterth. B. ii., p. 729), who observes that among the Hindus the word Yavana, which designates the remotest nations, meant at first very likely only *Arabia*, because the frankincense coming from it is also called *Yavana*; in his investigations about Ophir, he has identified it with Abhira, *i. e.*, the mouth of the Indus, and has derived a number of Hebrew words, denoting Indian products, from Sanskrit, *e. g.*, *Kopi*, ape, from *Kapi*; *Shenhubbin*, ivory, is the tooth of the elephant *Ibha*; *Tukhi-im*, peacock, from *cikhim*; *Algumim*, sandal-wood, from *valgum*; the derivations of the Hebrew names for *nard*, *bdellium*, *cotton*, &c., are similar.

At present there are several places called Zafar; the one is situated, according to Niebuhr, to the east of mount Zafar. Sumara on the road to Çana'û, half a day's journey to the south-west of the town of Ycirim (14° 17' N. lat., according to the Obs. of Nieb.) and about 30 or 40 German miles distant to the north from Aden, in the interior. The other Zafar, a sea-port in the district of Mahra, is situated north of the island of Socotora, and 30 marches distant from Aden, which is to the south-west of it. It is doubtful whether in this second Zafar the Christian church was built (see foot-note 12), because there are yet three more places of the same name in Southern Arabia, one of which it might be, *e. g.*, the *Saphar regia* (Pliny vi., 3), the same as the *Saphar* of Ptolemy (14° 30' lat., 88° long., Lib. vi., fol. 156), and the *Aphar Metropolis* of Arrian (Peripl., p. 13). In the time of Ptolemy the three capitals of the Yoktamides, namely *Sapphar Metropolis* (88° long.), *Mariaba Metropolis* (76° long., 18½° lat.), and *Sabe Regia* had yet retained their separate names, although also several Mariabas already existed.

Nevertheless the existence of the sea-port Zafar in Mahrah reaches up to high antiquity, since it is mentioned after the enumeration of the

seats of the sons of Yoktan, thus :—" And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto *Sephar*, a mount of the east."—(Gen. x., 30.) By this expression the celebrated *frankincense mountain* is designated, which every author mentions who describes the frankincense coast. This Zafar no longer exists in our days as a port, although it is generally found on maps ; the district, however, from Mirbat till Ras-el-Ahmer and Bandar Resut is called Zafar.<sup>17</sup> Ebn Batuta (p. 59) says :—" Only half a day's journey from Zafar, El-Ahkaf, the home of the people of Aad, is situated. In this place there are many gardens with the great sweet plaintain-fruit, which weighs ten ounces, as well as the betel and the cocoonut, which are generally found only in India. The betul-nut-tree is planted by the side of the cocoa, only for the sake of its leaves," &c. There appears to be no doubt that the plaintain, the betel, and the cocoa tree were all brought from India.

The capital of the Sabæans, the present Mareb, the *Mariaba Metropolis* of Strabo, and *Regia omnium Mariaba* of Pliny, is known ; but the site of the capital of the Minæans, in the district of which also the large town *Mariaba Barmalcum*, which had 14 Roman miles in circumference according to Pliny, is not yet ascertained. On the position of Mareb in Yemen, and its identity with Saba in the country of the Sabæans, all oriental authors agree. Its climate is said to be most excellent, and the assertion is confirmed by Cruttenden's measurement, who found the adjoining town of Çana'á to be 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. (Journ. Bom. Geogr. Soc., vol. viii., 1838, p. 284.)

Niebuhr, Cruttenden and Seetzen reached Çana'á, the present residence of the Emám of Yemen, from which ancient Mareb was said to be only two or three days distant ; they actually collected information about the ancient ruins of Mareb, but could not reach them, and a great deal of what they heard from the Arabs concerning the brilliant epoch of their ancient civilisation, appeared to be fabulous. Arnaud was the first who actually visited Mareb in 1843, and sent copies of 60 Hemyaritic inscriptions to the Asiatic Society of Paris, but recently Halévy went to Southern Arabia, copied, published and translated nearly 700 of them.

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<sup>17</sup> J. Cruttenden's Excursion from Morebat to Dyrecz.—(Bom. Geogr. Soc. 1837, p. 70-74.)



To judge from its remnants, the ancient town of Saba occupied a circular space, measuring a quarter of an hour's walk in diameter. The surrounding wall consisted of cut square stones, but its dimensions could, on account of the surrounding heaps of rubbish, which also filled out depressions, not be ascertained. The square stones of these walls, as well as of all the other ruins, were of unequal size. In some parts yet two or three courses of the wall could be seen above the rubbish, and covered with inscriptions. Nothing else can be seen on the ruins as they now appear, but excavation might no doubt lead to important results. Nothing meets the eye except heaps of rubbish, broken cut stones, and baked bricks, which however fall to pieces at the least touch. On isolated spots, especially on the south side of the town, fragments of sculptured prismatic columns, from 3 to 4 feet above the rubbish, and sometimes also entire columns, from 12 to 15 feet long, which are monoliths, may be seen. They are calcareous, and the Arabs asserted that they had belonged to an old mosque. Among the ruins great quantities of yellowish white small pieces of polished marble are scattered about. In the old town walls, towards the east and west, the remnants of two ancient gates are yet distinctly recognizable. The modern village on the site of the ancient town has retained the name *Mareb* for its eighty houses, which cover an entire hill of rubbish, situated against the eastern gate. Between this village and the just named gate there is a very deep well, the only one which still contains water at the present time. The ancient citadel was certainly on this spot. Several houses of the village, though built of bricks, are erected on ancient foundations of square stones, from 3 to 4 feet high above the masses of *débris*. These modern buildings have a conic shape, as similar ones in Egypt, and from their tops a magnificent view, not only of the ruins of the ancient town, and of the remnants of the broken dam, but also of an immense plain, appearing to be covered with sepulchral monuments, may be enjoyed. This perspective view appears just as beautiful also from another direction, namely, on issuing from the Dana valley and turning a few minutes afterwards to the north-east, when a mountain of *débris* is soon reached, from which at the same time the ancient town of *Saba* and the modern village *Mareb* are perceived in the centre of a desolate and almost boundless plain. This aspect of a desert, says Arnaud, the end of which is unknown, impresses the mind with a feeling of awe which cannot be described in words.

Arnaud's account of Saba from his dictation to Fresnel in Jeddah as communicated to and published by J. Mohl.

The present Mareb is enclosed only by a bad wall, consisting mostly of burnt bricks; in some places the backs of the houses themselves do duty for the town-walls, which have two gates, the one to the west and the other to the north-east. To the north of the western gate, on the declivity of the hill, there is a building almost quadrangular, of cut-stones, covered by a terrace, and at present called the mosque of Solomon, because he is said to have prayed there, but it is certainly a modern construction. But five minutes beyond the bed of the torrent which laves the ancient enclosing wall during the rainy season, the ancient hippodrome *Meydún-ul-Khayl* of the Sabæans may be seen.

Half an hour towards the E.N.E. stands a building called by the inhabitants *Harem Balkis*, the gynæceum and palace of Queen Balkis or Balkis. It is of an elliptical form, and according to Arnaud's estimate, about 300 paces in circumference. The axis minor of the ellipse is about one-third of the major; at both ends of the axis minor are two portals facing north and south. The half of this elliptic wall, which alone is yet standing, presents outwards a perfectly uninjured form as far as the cornice; it is the half facing the west. Of the west side scarcely one-third is yet standing. Everything within is demolished, and the area so filled with sand that absolutely nothing can be ascertained concerning the interior arrangements of the building. On the exterior wall five inscriptions occur, the characters of which are a span high; many others are covered with sand, and even of those just mentioned, two could not be copied because they were concealed by sand.

To the left of the north gate of this building, at a distance of about ten paces from it, eight pilasters are yet standing, from east to west, each a monolith, but without a capital. Each side of a pilaster is about four spans broad, and so is each interval between them. Arnaud believed that he had, among the accumulations of sand, found in the same direction, traces of several more pilasters of the same series, which fronted the north side.

Not far from this building the *bone mountain*, said to have been heaped up from the remnants of the monthly sacrifices offered in the temple in ancient times, was situated. If this tradition of the Arabs is to be believed, observes Arnaud, the above building would not have been a gynæceum, but a temple, which the word *Harem* may likewise designate, as it simply means a place set apart, and is applied even to Mekkah, where it designates the *sanctuary*; nothing, however, without nor within the elliptical structure allows of a conclusion

concerning the destination of it. At a distance of a quarter of an hour from the *Harem*, the *columns of Bilkis* may be seen; they are five monoliths, but with square capitals; they stand in the same direction as those from east to west. Whether the capitals have also been hewed from the same block of stone, Arnaud was unable to ascertain; their proportions are the same as those of the pilasters which stand nearer to the *Harem* or temple. They appeared to him to be 28 spans high. The intervals between them are the same as their own thickness. Two square stones are in the same line, one still erect, but the other prostrate. Both have inscriptions, which Arnaud copied, except one which was illegible. Here the description of these ruins ends, because Arnaud's sickness interrupted his dictation to Fresnel.

The celebrated dam called Al-A'rem, or Sadd Mareb, in its ruined state may yet be seen between the two mountains called Balak, which it connected in order to form with them an immense reservoir; it had thirty apertures, one above another, a cubit in diameter, which were one by one opened to let out the water for irrigation, according to demand. The mountains are 600 paces distant from each other, and give passage to the torrent Dana, which is generally dry, but impassable during the rainy season. The remnants of this enormous dam, which fertilised the country around Saba, are yet 300 paces long and 175 broad. According to tradition the dam was built 2361 years before the Christian era by Loqman, but its destruction took place in the second century after it,<sup>18</sup> and the catastrophe is alluded to also in the Qurán.<sup>19</sup>

According to Agatharchides, Saba was a most beautiful town; but the king, who was elected by a popular assembly and presided over it, is absurdly stated to have had no permission to come out of the palace in spite of all his authority, and that if he did so, he was stoned by the people, such being the injunction of the ancient oracle.<sup>20</sup>

The *Kuriba* of Kiepert's map, west of Mareb, is no doubt the *Caripeta* of Pliny, where the expedition of *Aelius Gallius* came to an end in 24 B. C.<sup>21</sup> It is only a day's journey from Mareb, and the ruins of it, named *Kharibah*, were discovered by Arnaud, probably in the same

<sup>18</sup> *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, par C. Perceval, t. i., p. 18.

<sup>19</sup> xxxiv., 14 and 15.

<sup>20</sup> Ex. Agatharchide, p. 63 and 64. In the *Periplus* no mention is made of Saba, except on p. 15, after the description of Cana, (thus: *Supra hanc Sabbathu metropolis mediterranea sita est, in qua rex sedem suam habet.*

<sup>21</sup> VI., 32. Item *Caripeta* quo longissime processit.

condition in which the Romans had left them. He saw colossal remnants of enclosures or ramparts, and copied some Hemyaritic inscriptions. As is usual in many parts of the East, so also here, the buildings were by the Arabs attributed to magic and to giants. Immediately to the north of Kharibah, the Bedouins pointed out another locality full of ruins and inscriptions, but Arnaud could not visit it.

Although Çana'á is believed (Duncker's *Hist. of Ant.*, v. i., p. 313,) to be the ancient Uzal (Gen. x. 27), always contained and still contains among its inhabitants some thousands of Jews, we cannot find any clue either to its ancient or its present name in classic authors; but it became remarkable as the capital of Yemen during the Abyssinian occupation, especially during the time of Abrahah Allashram, who had been appointed governor of it by the Najáshy or Negus of Abyssinia, and who reigned from A. D. 537 to 570. At that time Christianity was dominant, and Abrahah so powerful that he actually marched to Mekkah with an army of 160,000 men for the purpose of destroying the sanctuary of it, which attracted as many pilgrims from other parts of Arabia before the time of Islám as it does at present. The episode of Abrahah's defeat by the miraculous *Ababil* birds, which dropped stones from their claws upon the bodies of the Christian army, is alluded to in Surah cv. of the Quran, and is a collateral evidence to the reality of this expedition, although the miracle is set aside by those who explain it on the historical ground that the small-pox, which committed great ravages, was the real cause of Abrahah's retreat. But although the classics do not mention Çana'á, both Istakhri (Mordtmann's *Transl.*, p. 13) and Edrisi (Jaubert's *Transl. t. i.*, p. 50) praise its beautiful climate, site and buildings. According to Cruttenden's observation, who had visited Çana'a in 1836, its position is 15°22' N. lat., 44°31' 4" E. long., Greenw. He saw in a walk through the town several tablets of white marble, which had been brought a distance of two days' journey from Mareb, and contained Hemyaritic inscriptions; they had been utilised in new buildings, as the stones of Babylon are used in the houses of Baghdad. In the Emám's garden, where Cruttenden had been quartered, there was a marble-head from Mareb, the fragment of a statue three feet high, which had been broken by order of the Emam as the remnant of the ancient idolatry. This marble head Cruttenden took to England as a unique specimen of Sabæan sculpture. His project of visiting Mareb could not be carried out on account of the jealousy of the Emam, who kept his guests like prisoners and feared disturbances.

The position of Çana'á is on the west side of mount Nikkom, the top of which is crowned by the ruins of a castle said to have been built by the patriarch Sem, but the modern fort is situated in front of the said mountain, on the celebrated lower hill Ghomdán, about the ancient palace of which many traditions are current, although not a trace of it is left. Niebuhr had not been favourably impressed by the appearance of the town, nor Cruttenden; but Seetzen, who was there in 1810, perhaps yielded to the charms of the favourable season of the year, and declared Çana'á to be the handsomest town he had seen in the east. The houses, says he, are indeed very much crowded together, but are massive, high, whitewashed, or coloured with various pigments. If the streets were paved and clean, and if the people had the taste of enclosing the thirty large gardens in the town with nice railings, Çana'á would even in Europe pass for a handsome town. The three larger gates, guarded by cannons, and many small towers, are intended for the defence of the town. Niebuhr counted in Çana'á 10 minarets, with many mosques, 12 public large baths; numerous caravanserais, among which the high Simsereh el Mahádi was the handsomest; he describes, moreover, several other large buildings and some palaces, the architecture of which however he could praise as little as the generally prevalent one. He could perceive no remnants of ancient edifices; the town being thickly populated and closely built, the ground as well as the stones expensive, the materials of ancient structures were constantly used in the erection of modern ones.

The emporium Cana *καπη* (Arr. Per., p. 15.) east of Arabia Felix, and 2,000 stadia distant from it, was situated in the frankincense region; above it in the interior was *Sabbatha metropolis*, where the king held his court (coll. footnote 20). To Cana the frankincense (*λίβανος*) which grows in that region was conveyed as to a general mart, partly on camels, partly on rafts made of inflated skins, and partly in other vessels, in order thence to be shipped to the more distant emporia of O'mán, and the adjacent Persian ports. From Egypt corn and wine were imported to Cana, although but sparingly as to Muza; but also garments for the Arab market, and other clothes; also brass, tin, koralion (? corals), styrax and other things as to Muza. To the kings chased silver vessels, statues, robes of honour, &c., were brought. Indigenous products, such as frankincense, aloe, and other articles of trade were exported. Cana is mentioned by Ptolemy

*Cana emporium*, the present  
Hisn Ghoráb.

(vi., 7, fol. 153,) as situated in  $12^{\circ} 30'$  lat. and  $84^{\circ}$  long.; it traded with India, but especially with Barygaza, and its name occurs even in Ezek. xxvii. 23 (תַּרְשִׁישׁ), which chapter is worth perusing also in other respects, but particularly as exhibiting a most curious account of a number of localities with which the Phœnicians of Tyre maintained commercial intercourse in those early times.

Immediately after the discovery of Ḥiṣn Ghorab by Capt. Haines and Wellsted,<sup>22</sup> the examination of that extraordinary locality suggested the idea that it must have been suitable for a large emporium, wherefore Wellsted declared it to be the *Cana* of the Periplus. The fort, accessible only on one side, and almost insular in its position, made strong by its site, and fortified by art, offered a secure magazine for wares on a coast always infested by pirates. The two harbours on the sides presenting a favourable anchorage in all seasons, the extensive view commanded from the mountain of the fort along the distant coasts and the open sea, with the whole dominating position, all concurred to point the locality out as the *chief emporium* of the international trade between India and Egypt, where ships from both these countries met and traded.

Wellsted says<sup>23</sup> :—" On the morning of the 6th of May 1834, we anchored in a short and narrow channel, joined on the one hand by a low rocky islet, and on the other by a lofty black-looking cliff, to which our pilots applied the designation of *Ḥiṣn Ghoráb*." As some ruins were perceived on the top of the mountain, the decision was come to to climb it. To avoid the violence of the surf a landing was effected in a little bay to the north, where the water was calm. On stepping out upon a sandy tongue of land, the ruins of many houses, walls and towers were perceived immediately on the shore. The houses were only small, one-storeyed, and generally consisting of four rooms; the wall however ran in several parallel lines and of various heights, along the front-side of the gently sloping hill, and was provided with towers at equal intervals. The entire lower space of the hill was covered with ruins of buildings, but of no large size, and without any columns, arches or ornaments. The walls were of rubble-masonry, cemented with mortar, probably of calcined corals, as is still customary. The castle-mountain, which is 500 feet high (according to Capt. Haines only 464 feet, and situated in  $13^{\circ} 59' 20''$  N. lat. and  $48^{\circ} 24' 30''$  E. long., Greenw.,)

<sup>22</sup> *Memoir, &c.*, Roy. Geogr. Soc., London, vol. ix., 1839, p. 146.

<sup>23</sup> *Travels*, vol. ii., p. 421.

has a base of dark-grey firm lime-stone, and appears formerly to have been an island, which was afterwards connected with the mainland by an isthmus of conglomerated sand; some rocks with caves scooped out by the sea, and formerly laved by it, are at present too distant to be reached by it. In the rear of two dilapidated towers, which must once have guarded the entrance, an artificial zigzag road, hewn into the rock, presented itself (meandering along steep precipices, and allowing often only two persons to pass side by side) and led up to the mountain. The trouble of climbing was amply rewarded by the discovery of inscriptions on the smooth surface of the rocky wall on the right side, when about two-thirds of the whole ascent had been accomplished. To avoid the possibility of omission or error, three separate copies were taken by different individuals, all of which have been subsequently examined and compared.\* Further on the top of the mountain almost as many houses could be seen as below; walls and other works of defence were scattered at various distances from each other on the side of the mountain, and on the uppermost brim of the slope there was a massive quadrangular tower, which may have done excellent service as a look-out or lighthouse, as it could be perceived at a distance of many miles from the sea. The steps leading up are partly very roomy, but the windows and doors simple, without any arches. At a distance of a few hundred feet from this tower the water-reservoirs, cut with great trouble in the rock, and internally lined with cement, may be seen. The whole aspect bespeaks the importance of a place so strongly fortified, and a locality so favourable for oceanic navigation and extensive commerce with India.

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\* The largest inscription consisted of ten lines, and was printed also in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1834. It was translated by Rödiger, but Münzinger afterwards again made a copy, from which Lévy produced the following translation in the *Z. & M. G.*, xxvi., p. 436:—"Samaiqa' Aswa und seine Söhne u. s. w. haben geschrieben dieses Denkmal in dieser Festung, als ein Denkzeichen dass hierhin zusammenkamen ihre Umgebungen und ihre Bevölkerung und ihre Thalschluchten und ihre Bergwege, dass sie sich in ihr verschanzten, dass sie fest behaupteten dieses Land Abessinien, und dass die Abessinier Truppen zu Hülfe sandten in das Land von Himjar, dass sie tödteten den König von Himjar und seine Vasallenfürsten, die von Himjar und die von Bahb. Der Monat hier ist von Du-Higgat des Jahres 640." To what era the year here given belongs has not been ascertained; but the year must be one in which the Abyssinians were struggling for supremacy in Yemen. Mr. Reinaud was of opinion that the era is the Seleukidæan, therefore 640 = A.D. 328.—(See *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. viii., p. 333.)

The extensive fortifications of the castle mountain, planned on a grand scale for the protection of the town lying to the east, and the excellent harbour, bear sufficient witness to the former importance of this emporium, which appears to have been perfectly protected by them. No traditions reaching to ancient times exist among the Arabs, and the tales narrated by them to Wellsted about a tribe called Beni Ghoráb, are not deserving of much reliance. It may be that this *fort-crow* was so named from its being perched high, and of a black colour.

At the distance of a couple of days inland, to the north-west from Hişn Ghoráb, Wellsted discovered the Monumental ruins of Na-kab-ul-Hajar. he says<sup>25</sup>:—"Naķab-ul-Hajar is situated north-west, and is distant 18 miles from the village of A'in [on the sea-shore], which is marked on the chart 14° 2' N. lat. and 46° 30' E. long., nearly. It stands in the centre of a most extensive valley, called by the natives Wadi Mcifah, which, whether we regard its fertility, population, or extent, is the most interesting geographical feature we have yet discovered on the southern coast of Arabia. Taking its length from where it opens out on the sea-coast to the town of Abbán, it is four days' journey, or 75 miles."

Although Naķab-ul-Hajar does not stand on the shore, it was, on account of its proximity to the coast which was formerly so noted for its flourishing trade with India, closely connected therewith, and an investigation of the locality naturally induces a lively perception of the early state of this coast, which had hitherto attracted no interest, and had been considered almost deserted. The monuments and inscriptions of Naķab-ul-Hajar also present many analogies to those of Hişn Ghoráb, so that they may be considered as having flourished at the same time, and formerly aided each other in promoting the great commerce of the world; the one as a sea-port for oceanic trade, and the other as the nearest inland emporium or depôt for caravans, by which the wares of the east were forwarded by the overland route through the countries of the Yoktanites, Himyarites, Minaeans, Ismaelites, and Israelites up to the Euphrates, and the emporia of Tadmor, Tyre, and Sidon. The ancient designation of Naķab-ul-Hajar has been totally lost, as this name is only a general one, meaning mountain-pass, or a

<sup>25</sup> Travels in Arabia, vol. i., p. 435-6.



cut through stones ; it may, however, be the *Maphat vicus* of Ptolemy, 13° lat., 84° 20' long.

The hill on which the ruins are situated is 800 yards long by 350 broad ; it is encircled at about one-third of its height by a massive wall, in some parts well preserved, from 30 to 40 feet high, with quadrangular towers at equal intervals. This enclosure shows only two entrances opposite to each other, north and south, situated on the boundary of the upper flat valley, but no traces whatever of gates could be perceived on them, although the fortifications are visible enough, at any rate, at the northern entrance, where the wall has yet remained in perfect preservation ; on both sides of it a hollow quadrangular tower rises, having each side 14 feet long, and the base greatly prominent beyond the other portions of the wall. Between the towers, about 20 feet above the adjoining plain, there is an oblong platform, passing about 18 feet over the adjoining plain, and as many over the interior of the town-wall ; to this platform no doubt flights of steps were once leading. These have however altogether disappeared, although the platform itself is still paved by its large stone flags. Within this entrance, and ten feet above the platform, Wellsted discovered on the smooth surface of the wall an inscription of two lines. The entire enclosing wall, together with the towers and several of the edifices within, have all been built of the same strong greyish marble. The square stones are very carefully cut, and are in the lower strata of the wall from five to seven feet long, two to three high, and from three to four feet thick. The thickness of the wall decreases as it rises ; it amounts below to ten but above only to four feet. The layers of stone are perfectly horizontal, and the mortar which cemented them has become as hard as the stones themselves, as may be seen from the blocks of wall which have remained compact even after tumbling down. The wall has no apertures nor crenulations whatever, which is a sign of high antiquity, but here and there buttresses occur to resist torrents of rain-water.

Within the inner enclosure there is an oblong quadrangular edifice, facing the four cardinal points, measuring 27 yards from south to north and 17 from west to east. Also this is built of square stones, all of equal size, very beautiful, accurately joined, and yet bearing chisel-marks on the outside, which the Bedouins pretended to be inscriptions. This edifice, which Wellsted considered to be a temple, has fallen to pieces within, but no marks pointing to religious observances could be discovered on it, and many other buildings stand round it.

In the centre of the town between the two entrances there is a circular well, ten feet in diameter, sixty feet deep, lined with rubble masonry, and surrounded by a parapet wall fifteen feet high. On the southern hill only a confused mass of *d'bris* could be seen. At the south entrance there is on the same level with the platform a gallery fifty yards long and four feet broad, with a strong parapet wall towards the outside, no doubt intended as a special defence of the gate. In these ruins no traces of columns, arches, or other ornaments could be seen, and not even fragments of crockery, glass, or metals, which occur everywhere in the ruins of Egypt and about the Euphrates. Neither could any traces of violence be discovered, and the stones were so well preserved that they had the appearance of being new. The Arabs could say nothing about the ancient inhabitants of this locality, except that they were unbelievers, who had legions of demons at their service; the hopes of the Arabs to partake of the treasures which the English strangers were, according to their opinion, expecting to find, were disappointed. The art, perfection, and dimensions of these structures made not the least impression upon the Arabs, but Wellsted was surprised at their analogy with those of *Hisn Ghorab*, with which he had shortly before become acquainted. The inscription showed sufficiently that the place had been in the occupation of the *Hemyaritics* as an emporium from which merchandize was forwarded to the interior by caravans, and transported by sea to other countries after being conveyed to *Hisn Ghorab*, to which this *Mæphat vicus* of Ptolemy, or whatever else its name may have been, appears to have stood in the relation of an inland emporium to a sea-port town, just as *Mareb* formerly stood to *Aden*, *Çana'á* to *Muza*, &c., and in our times *Medinah* to *Yambo*, *Mekkah* to *Jeddah*, &c.

The name of *Makkala* has not undergone any change since almost 2,000 years; it is the *Μάκκαλα* of Ptolemy in  $14^{\circ} 29' 40''$  N. lat. and  $49^{\circ} 14' 20''$  E. long. of Greenwich. And *Shehr* (*Σύχλη*) to the north-east of it, at a short distance, likewise still exists.

*Mirbat* (*Morebat*) on the frankincense coast, and formerly the seaport of an inland emporium *Zafar*, has at present so little commercial importance, that its whole trade is in the hands of two or three merchants, who have to pay duty to the *Bedouins* for their exports, and have only 3 *bughlas* in the harbour for trading with *India*. They export frankincense, myrrh and hides, as in the time of *Agatharchides* and *Ptolemy*.

The Greek corruption in Ptolemy and in the Periplus of the bay of  
 Syagros. Sawkirah, Saugra, and the cape of that  
 name—according to Captain Owen's ob-  
 servation in  $18^{\circ} 9' N.$  lat., and  $55^{\circ} 18\frac{3}{4}' E.$  long.—is *Syagros*.  
 According to the Periplus (p. 17) the largest cape of the bay of  
 Syagros fronts the east, and is crowned by a fort ; this is undoubtedly  
*Ras l'artak*,  $15^{\circ} 39' N.$  lat.,  $52^{\circ} 15' E.$  long., Greenwich. It has also  
 a port which is the depository of all the frankincense collected in those  
 regions. Between this cape and the promontorium Aromatum (Cape  
 Guardafui) there is an island opposite (*i. e.*, to the south), named *Dios-*  
*corides* (corrupted from Sokotora, Sanskr. *Sukhādāra* the *fortunate*),  
 which is very large, but deserted and marshy ; the inhabitants are all  
 strangers (see footnote 5). This island formed in the 2nd century  
 B.C. the centre of trade between Egypt, Arabia and India.—(Duncker's  
 Hist. of Ant., vol. i., p. 319.)

The *Moscha portus* of Ptolemy in  $14^{\circ}$  lat.,  $88^{\circ} 30'$  long., on the  
 Moscha. frankincense coast, is mentioned also in the  
 Periplus as a depôt of that article of com-  
 merce (p. 18) called *Sachalitic* frankincense—*ساحل* simply means  
*coast* in Arabic—which is carried away in ships arriving from Limy-  
 rica and Barygaza (Canara and Broach), the merchants giving for it to  
 the officers of the king in exchange cotton, corn and oil ; when the  
 season has too far advanced (*i. e.*, if the counter-monsoon has set in)  
 they spend the winter there.

The entrance into no gulf awakens memories of classic times and  
 stupendous undertakings, like that from  
 Entrance into the Persian the Indian into the Persian sea ; these me-  
 Gulf. mories lead us back to the navigation of  
 this part of the ocean by the first Macedonian fleet under the command  
 of Nearchus and Onesieritus, but, above all, to the march of Alexander  
 the Great by land to Hormozia on the shores of this entrance, after he  
 had discovered a new world,—the world of India.

When Wellsted entered this gulf in a British vessel on the 11th  
 June in 1840,<sup>26</sup> he was seized by these memories, and recorded that  
 few spots on the globe can excite a higher interest than these. In front,  
 to the north, rose the mountains of Karamania, their tops still covered  
 with snow, at their feet was the celebrated Ormuz ; by its side, to the

<sup>26</sup> Travels to the City of the Caliphs, vol. i., p. 59.

west, Gambrun (*i. e.*, Bandar A'bbás) as grand as ever, and on the other side, to the east, the present Minan on the river, where formerly Hormozia stood, where Alexander with his land-army met Nearchus, the admiral of his fleet, again. The Persian and Arabian shores, the passage between which can be accomplished in three hours, present a desolate aspect, without forests, but rise high. A fresh wind carried the ship soon to the two rocky islands, in front of the immense promontory called by Nearchus Maketa, whence, he says, cinnamon and similar aromatic substances were shipped to the Assyrians (*Nearchi Paraplus*, p. 22). When the Macedonian fleet reached this locality and cast anchor, Onesicritus, who perceived the unknown entrance, desired, in order to avoid its dangers, to sail further along the external side of Arabia, which would have led to the circumnavigation of the Sabæan country, to the Red Sea, and to the discovery of Egypt from that direction. Nearchus however, faithful to the injunction of Alexander, to investigate the coasts, opposed this intention in the consultation held on the subject, steered the fleet courageously through the dangerous and tempestuous straits, sailing close to the Persian shore, and landed at Neoptana (*ibidem*, p. 23), which Kempthorne considers to be the present fishing village Karrun.

The next morning the fleet left Neoptana, sailed 100 stadia, and reached the river Anamis. The place itself was called *Harmozia*. This region was fertile in everything except olives, and the people leaving the ships rested from their labours. Some who had gone further from the seashore, met to their surprise a straggler from Alexander's army, who informed them that he himself was encamped with it at no great distance; this news was received with the greatest joy, and led to the meeting of Nearchus and Alexander, which is described at some length. The people of this country were the Armozæci of Pliny (H. N. vi., 28), and the locality became afterwards the seat of a flourishing kingdom. The Sultans, however, transferred their residence from the mainland to the adjoining island, which was in Ebn Batuta's time still in their possession. Edrisi, who has so much to say of the pirate dominions of the master of Kcish, against whose depredations it had become necessary to build forts even on the coast of India, *e.g.*, at Cambay, mentions only this old Ormuz on the coast of Kermán as a large well-built town, to which ships were conveyed by a canal. It had many date-groves, and especially important indigo plantations, which, as well as its sugar-manufactories, the produce whereof was exported to foreign

countries, had become a source of considerable wealth. It is the present Bandar A'bbás, *i. e.*, Gambrun, which began to flourish only after the expulsion of the Portuguese (1622) from the island of Ormuz, their great emporium since the victories of Albuquerque, but it again decayed with the rise of Abushehr (Bushire).

In Nearch's time the island of Ormuz, which he calls *Organa*, had no inhabitants (p. 30), and also Ptolemy (vi., 7) calls it by the same name. Once the brilliant emporium of a commercial and maritime state, this island has long been a bone of contention between Persia and the Emám of Maskat, and may be considered to belong more to Arabia than to Persia. After the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, a number of Zoroastrians had found a refuge in this island, where they remained 15 years; then they departed to the island of Diu, where they dwelt during 19, but increased so much in numbers, that they again sought another home, and found it in Guzerat, in the town of Sanján (20° N. lat.), called by the English St. John, where they became the subjects of the Hindu prince Jadu Rana.

The Oracta of Nearchus, the largest island in the Persian gulf, 800 stadia in length, is the present Kishm (Jishm), the chief or sheikh of which Mazenes (? Mazdiasna) received him in a very friendly manner, and offered to become a companion to Nearchus, as well as the leader of the navigation as far as Susa. The island was fertile in corn, dates and vines. According to the statement of the natives, the tomb of Erythras, the first chief of the island, still existed in the island. It is not certain whether Ormuz or Kishm is meant by the Ogyris of Strabo (xvi., 766), but Pomponius Mela has the bare name only (see footnote 14).

The mountain Tcharak (26° 25' N. lat., 51° 50' E. long., Paris,) presents the best landmark to seamen, and the place of the same name at its foot was by Dr. Vincent and Kinneir considered to be the identical *Siraf*, the most important emporium of those shores during the ninth century. Opposite to this celebrated Siraf, the small island of Keis, Keish, or Kem, the Kataia of the ancients, is situated, which however is mentioned as deserted (Arr. Hist. Ind., c. 37, *καταίην, νήσον ἐρήμην*). This island is said to have obtained its name from a youth named *Keis*, the son of a poor widow at Siraf, who went with his only property, a cat,

to India, whence he returned with great treasures, which he had obtained from a king of that country for the services of his cat in the extirpation of mice, so that we have here the counterpart of the story of Richard Whittington.

Ebn Haukal bears testimony to the great prosperity of Siraf in the 10th century, for he says (*Orient. Geogr.*, pp. 104, 115, 133,) that this place has abundance of merchandise brought by sea, such as aloe, ambergris, camphor, pearls, ivory, and ebony. On the other hand, pepper, sandal-wood, all kinds of spices and medicines, were exported from Siraf, which was as large as Shiraz, to all parts of the world. We moreover know that Chinese junks frequented the now deserted Siraf in the 11th century, but did not proceed further west. (Reinaud's *Anciennes Relations*. Paris. 1718, pp. 10, 142. Pref., p. vii.) In Ebn Batuta's time Siraf was still known, although deserted as an emporium, and he sailed from it over to Bahrain on the Arabian coast, which has till our days kept up its reputation for its pearl fishery. Unfortunately Ebn Batuta gives no data by which the position of Siraf might be ascertained, and the locality near mount Tcharak, pointed out by Dr. Vincent and Kinneir, contains no ancient remains whatever. Morier looked a little further north at *Tahrieh*, for the site; and as his assumption has been confirmed by the researches of Kempthorne (*Bombay Geogr. Soc.*, 1837, p. 11-12), it would be better to look in this locality for the position of the ancient Siraf. Tahrieh is ten miles distant from the very populous town Konkun, immediately under the Barn-hill of the charts, which the natives call *Jebel-serai*. Here Kempthorne discovered, at a good half hour's journey from the town, the ground to be covered for some distance with shapeless heaps of demolished walls and house foundations, consisting of large square cut stones. The extent of these ruins, two miles in length and one in breadth, points to the existence of a large town. On the top of the mountain the ruins of a modern building may be seen, the walls of which are well preserved. The entrance from the north leads through a portal, with a pointed arch, into a great hall, and then by flights of steps into subterraneous passages, giving admittance to vaulted chambers in the rocks, which appear to have served as water-cisterns. Numerous tomb-stones with Kufic inscriptions are scattered about. Apertures and shafts lead into the mountain; they were the orifices of aqueducts conveying the water from it to the buildings. On the west side of the perpendicular rocks there are as yet inaccessible catacombs,

grottoes, and excavations of all kinds, which Kempthorne compares to those of Petra in the country of the Nabatæans as described by Irby and Mangles.

The Oman of Ptolemy (Ὀμανον ἐμπόριον, 19° 45' lat., 77° 40' long.) was by some considered to be Zohár, and by others Maskat. The Portuguese called it *Soar*. In Istakhri's time it was the chief emporium of O'mán, had 40 bughlas (native ships) of its own for trade with Persia and India; its commerce with China, however, had already ceased.

The peninsula jutting out with the promontory of Ras Rekkam from the mainland of Arabia to the east of Bahrain, contains the ruins of the large town *Zabarra*, which cover the ground for several English miles, and are said to have been those of an old emporium, which was formerly the sea-port of El-Ahsa (Lahsa), from which the interior of Arabia was provided with the merchandize of India and Persia. This was no doubt also a mart of the pearl fisheries of Bahrain.

Taoke, situated on the peninsula of Mesambria (Nearch., p. 33), the harbour of Persis, of which no traces exist, was near Abushehr, Bushehr, Bushire (29° N. lat., 48° 36' E. long., Paris). It would at present be impossible to point out the exact site of Taoke (Ταοκη, Hist. Ind. xxxix., 3; Ptol. vi., 4), although it could scarcely be another than that of the present Bushire. W. Ouseley was of opinion that the name is the Arabic *Táq* طاق, which may then, as now, have designated a dome or palace. On the peninsula and on the entirely deserted shore, vestiges of a former thick population, and of civilization, such as numerous wells, aqueducts, and subterraneous chambers have been discovered, as well as bricks, vases, gems and ancient coins. (W. Ouseley's *Travels* i., 94.) Such vestiges have been discovered also at Abadah, a day's journey from Abushehr. (See *Transact. Lit. Soc. of Bombay*, vol. i., p. 206, *seq.* of Mandlik's new edition, *Observations on Two Sepulchral Urns found at Bushire*.)

Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander's Indian fleet, had sailed as far as the frontier-river of Persia and Susiana, the Arosis (Oroatia), which is on our maps the Hindyan and Tab river. After this place Nearchus writes that he can no longer give any great details, because the sea had become shallow and rocky, so that no harbour could be entered from the sea

without danger (Nearchi Parapluſ, p. 35, *infra*). After coasting two days he reached the mouths of the Euphrates, where he caſt anchor at a certain town of Babylonia, called *Diridotis* (*ibid.*, p. 37; Teredon of Strabo ii., 80; Ptol. v., c. 20, f. 145; and Pliny vi., 32), where merchants bring frankincenſe and other aromatic ſubſtances produced in Arabia, for ſale.

How very ancient Teredon actually was appears from a fragment of the Babylonian author Abydenus and diſciple of Berouſus,<sup>27</sup> who ſays:—“Nebuchadnezzar [about 600 years B. C., preceding the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire by Cyrus] executed a conſtruction on the mouth of the Tigris, to dam up its water; he built the town of *Teredon* to ward off the incuſions of the Arabs, and opened the *Naharmulkha*, a canal of the Euphrates, which united this river with the Tigris.” Thus we obſerve that Herodotus (i., 93) could juſtly ſpeak of a *royal canal* of the moſt ancient times.

The building of Teredon as a *port on the Euphrates*, which remained ſo conſiderable a commercial town till the time of Alexander, ſhows, in connection with the above quotation, that already three centuries before his time, Nebuchadnezzar had been deſirous to open a route to the trade of the world through his dominions by the Euphrates. As neither the Egyptians, nor the Perſians, nor the Indians appear to have been great voyagers, the moſt ancient navigators and merchants who forwarded the merchandize of India and Arabia from the eaſt to the weſt could only have been the Arabs (Idumæans) and their kiſmen the Phœnicians, who were ſince the higheſt antiquity domeſticated on the Perſian gulf (according to Herodotus i. 1 and vii. 89), in the gulf of Aqabah, and in Petra, and laſtly from Heroopolis in Egypt, as far as Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus in Phœnicia. The Babylonians were yet after their ſubjugation by the Perſians provided with their ſpices and aromatic ſubſtances by the Arabs from India, as appears from the above quoted remark of Nearchus who ſaw thoſe merchants in Teredon. But even before their ſubjugation by Cyrus, the Babylonians, although not a ſeaſaring nation—they had not even timber for building ſhips—muſt nevertheless have navigated their rivers and profited by the commerce with foreign traders, who had perhaps become powerful enough to induce Nebuchadnezzar to counteract their influence by building Teredon. After the conqueſt of the Aſſyro-Babylonian empire by

<sup>27</sup> Bitter's *Erdkunde*, B. vii. Abth. i., p. 49, *ſeq.* Scaliger *Emend. temp. fragm.*, p. 13 in *Dr. Vincent's Commerce and Navig.*, vol. ii., p. 271, Note 44.



Cyrus, the cities along the Euphrates and Tigris, such as Babylon, Niniveh, Opis, &c., lost their importance because the Persians of the continent were never navigators. The Gerrhæans, reinforced by a sect of Chaldean fugitives, being encouraged and protected by Persian supremacy, returned to the mart of Teredon, which appears to have maintained itself down to the time of the Macedonian conquest, and even after it till the period of Augustus, because the protégé of that emperor, the poet Dyonisus Periegetes, who had himself pretended to have been born at the mouth of the Tigris, in Charax Pasinus (Pliny H. N. vi., 31), had sung of this place as situated on the foamy embouchure of the Euphrates into the Persian sea. Charax Pasinus took as an emporium the place of Teredon just as Bosrah (below which it was situated) took the place of Obollah.

When Alexander, who had in India itself been made aware of a possible connection of it with Europe, returned to the Euphrates-country, he perceived its commercial importance, and initiated various works on the Euphrates and Tigris, projected an expedition to Arabia, &c.; all of which plans would have been realized within a brief period of time, if his premature death had not put a stop to them. The gain which he had intended should enrich Alexandria on the mouth of the Tigris was enjoyed by the city of that name on the Nile, where the Ptolemies continued the work he had begun. Thus it happened that neither Teredon, nor the two Alexandrias, the one near the Pallacopas marshes, and the other at the mouth of the Tigris, could attain the prosperity for which the great conqueror had destined them, because after his death the struggle for dominion was far too great and too passionate in that part of the world to allow the rival combatants to pay the least attention to the well-being of nations and to the prosperity of commerce. Teredon, which could not flourish under such circumstances, although it remained for a few centuries an emporium of the Arabs, appears to have been entirely abandoned, when the mouth of the Euphrates was neglected, and the ancient embouchure on the Khor Abdullah became entirely sanded up; but instead of Teredon, another emporium further up the river, on the new mouth, which had shifted itself towards the east, the Bosrah river of our times, rose to considerable importance, namely, Apologos.

In the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, written in the 2nd century of the Christian era, Apologos is mentioned as a celebrated emporium on the Euphrates,

Apologos, Obollah.

opposite to the Pasinus district (p. 20), *i. e.*, to Alexandria on the Tigris, where purple and cloths were manufactured, where wine, gold, and slaves in great numbers were sold. Apologos became in the mouths of Persians and Arabs Obollah, by which name it was yet known A. H. 12 (A. D. 633), when Kháled Ben Walid conquered it, since which time it has remained under Moslem dominion.<sup>25</sup> It is mentioned by Masudi in the 11th century as a flourishing emporium, with a canal, *Nahr Obollah*.

#### INDIA.

When the Periplus was written, the wide tract watered by the river Minnagara and Barbarikon. Indus in the lower parts of its course, was called Indoskythia; the Skythian tribes namely, passed after the overthrow of the Græco-Baktrian empire, gradually southwards to the coast, where they established themselves about 120 years before our era, and occupied all the region between the Indus and the Nerbudda. They were however driven out by the Parthians after an occupation of nearly two and a half centuries. Hence it is not surprising that according to the Periplus *Minnagara*, the metropolis of Skythia, was governed by Parthian princes perpetually at strife among themselves and expelling each other. The river Indus had seven mouths, all of which were shallow, except only the middle stream, on which *Barbarikon*, a trading harbour, was situated; there the ships anchored, and the cargoes were conveyed up to the metropolis, where the king resided. According to Reinaud *Minnagara* is only a contracted form of Bahmanagara, the Bahmana near Tatta.

Cambay is situated 22° 21' N. lat., 72° 48' E. long., Greenwich, due west of Baroda, in the innermost corner of Cambay. the narrow but long gulf from which the town receives its name. The river called Mais in the Periplus is the Mhai (Mhye), and the Namnadios, which leads to Barygaza, the Nerbudda. Cambay was formerly a large emporium, and the flourishing sea-port of Ahmedabad, which however is itself not yet five centuries old, as it was founded in 1426 by Ahmed Shah, who made it his capital, but in more ancient times Naharwarah, *i. e.*, Patan, was the capital of Guzerat, which, says Edrisi, was the residence of a great prince, who took the title of Belhara, wore a golden crown on his head, and was

<sup>25</sup> According to some Obollah was taken from the Persians only two years afterwards, A. H. 14, during the Kbalifate of O'mar. (See Journ. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc., vol. xi., p. 151, *Moslem Conquest of Persia*.)

called king of kings. *Baroda*, north-east of Broach, in 22° 21' N. lat. and 73° 23' E. long., Greenwich, is a rich and ancient commercial town on the Nerbudda.

Barigosha became with Arrian and Ptolemy *Barygaza*; it was originally called Bhrigu-gacha, Bhrigu-pura, or Bhrigu-kshetra, after the ancient Rishi of that name, it being the capital of the district of Guzerat which bore it. Greek drachms of Apollodotos and Menander were current in Barygaza when the Periplus was written; and the proper time for sailing from Egypt to this port was the month of July. The imports into Barygaza were:—Wine, principally Italian; brass, copper, tin and lead; coral and yellow stone; cloth of all sorts, storax, sweet clover, melilot; white glass, gum sandarach; collyrium for the eyes; gold and silver coins exchanged with profit for native money; cheap perfumes, as presents for the king; also costly silver vases, musical instruments, handsome young women, superior wine and costly apparel. The exports were:—Spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, onyx-stones, porcelain, box-thora (probably for tooth-picks), cottons of all sorts, silk and silk thread, long pepper, and articles supplied by the neighboring ports. Barygaza received its goods not only from the interior, and the Nerbudda, at the mouth of which it was situated (in 21° 4' N. lat., 73° 14' E. long., Greenwich), but also from the coast-ports which the Arabs called as far down as Cape Comorin by the name of Maa'ber (Trajectus), not to be confounded with the native designation Malabar (Malayala), as it applies only to the southern portion.\*<sup>9</sup> According to the Periplus, the country from Barygaza stretches to the south, and is called Dakhinabades, because *Dakhan* means south in the language of the country.

The westernmost group of spurs of the Satapura range between the Tapti and the south banks of the Nerbudda, a wild mountain region, called the Turkasir district, belonged to the Rajah of Râjpiply, which gave its name also to the

Cornelian mines in the Râjpiply mountains, and the gem-trade of Barygaza.

\*<sup>9</sup> The strictly so-called Malayala or Malabar coast begins only in 12° 30' N. lat., at the Chanârâghiri mountain and river, with the port of the same name, but is sometimes considered to extend also several degrees further north. Ebn Batuta, who travelled after A. D. 1340 from Delhi to Cochin, always calls the whole western coast of India Malabar, which is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Malayavara*, mountain-country, originally applied to it, but at present only to the southern portion.

group of mountain-spurs. They have not been very closely examined, but their surroundings towards Broach have often been visited as a hunting ground, because the Bhágdungur, *i.e.*, Tiger-mountain, is very rich in game. On the western slopes of these mountains, towards the Nerbudda, the cornelian mines are situated, from which already in the most ancient times onyx and murrhina stones (*lapides onychini et murrhini*, *Arr. Per.*, p. 28,) were carried to Barygaza, whence they were exported to the west, to the marts of Egypt and Rome. At present these stones are polished and set in Cambay; they come from several districts of the frontier mountains of Guzerat, but the best from the Rajpipli mountains. Sailing five hours up the Nerbudda with the tide, the island Kubir Bur, near the village of Nimudra, is reached, which is situated only a good hour's distance from the southern bank of the river; and a few miles further on, the cornelian mines may be seen, the workers of which dwell in Nimudra.<sup>30</sup>

According to Arrian, Ozene (Ujjain) was formerly the capital where the king resided. It must have been a great manufacturing town, because it sent to Barygaza every commodity for the supply of the country as well as for export to Arabia, Egypt and Italy; especially onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-coloured muslins, and no small quantity of ordinary cottons. From the upper country Ozene received for exportation to Barygaza and to the coast, several kinds of spikenard, costus and bdellium.

Mentioning the inland portion of Skythia, named Aberia (the coast of it being called Surastrene), Arrian informs us that it produced in abundance corn, rice, and oil of sesamum; it also manufactured muslins as well as coarse cotton-cloth, had numerous herds of cattle, and produced butter. The metropolis of this district was *Minnagara*, from which a great deal of cotton was exported to Barygaza. This metropolis was situated to the south of Ujjain, probably very near the present Indore; but we are at a loss to understand how, according to the *Periplus*, memorials of the expedition of Alexander, such as old temples, foundations of camps, and large wells, could be seen in this part of the country, which the Macedonian conqueror had certainly not even passed through in his march down to the mouths of the Indus from the Punjab.

<sup>30</sup> *Bom. Lit. Soc.*, vol. i., p. 313, *seq.* *Account of the Cornelian Mines in the neighbourhood of Baroach.*

According to the Periplus (p. 29), two most excellent and celebrated emporia in the Dekkan were situated towards the south at a distance of a journey of 20 days from Barygaza. From one of these, at an interval of nearly ten days, was the very large town Tagara. From these emporia goods were conveyed to Barygaza on carts, through pathless and very difficult localities; from *Plithana*, namely, very many onyx-stones, and from Tagara a great deal of ordinary cotton-cloth, all kinds of muslins, and similar wares which were brought there from the coasts. *Plithana*, spelt *Paithana* in C. Müller's Paris edition, is *Baithana*, *i. e.*, *Pyton* on the Godavery, nearly due south of Aurungabad; and *Tagara*, a corruption of *Deogur*, abode of the gods, was near the famous caves of Ellora, making allowance for a little inaccuracy of Arrian; others would however place it at Junner as likewise having been an *abode of gods* with caves and inscriptions.

The district around the gulf of Surat—Sanskrit *Beauty*—was already by Ptolemy called *Larike* in the west, and he adduces the Sanskrit *Surashtra*, *i. e.*, beautiful country, as *Συράστρη*, which is in the Periplus called *Synrastrena*. Ptolemy's name of the district is confirmed by the *Lar* dynasty, mentioned on coins and inscriptions. At Surat, near the mouth of the Tapti, in 21° 11' N. lat. and 73° 7' E. long., Greenwich, ships of all nations, from India, Arabia and Persia cast anchor, loaded and unloaded all kinds of goods of the east and of the west. It attracted in course of time the whole commerce of Broach, and became the capital of the British settlements in India; but its period of glory has long passed away, although at the end of the last century the number of its population is said to have still amounted to 600,000 or 800,000 souls.

*Calliena* was, according to the Periplus, a celebrated and much frequented emporium during the the time of Saraganes the elder; its trade suffered however greatly and long when Sandanes got possession of it. If perchance any Greek ships entered one of those ports, they were conveyed to Barygaza in the custody of a guard. *Calliena* is now *Kallián*, near Bombay, and was an important place; it is named in the Kanheri Baudha Cave inscriptions, and *Kaliani* (καλλιάνη) means in Sanskrit *the beautiful one*. There were several places of this name in India.—(*Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii., p. 310.)

Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Periplus all agree that the pirate coast was between Bombay and Goa, but none of them mention these places, or allude to them in such a way that they may be recognized with certainty. The kingdom of *Mumbaros* is indeed alluded to, but it was evidently north of Bombay, the true name of which is even now *Mumba*,<sup>31</sup> in the vernacular Marathi, after the goddess of that name. It is situated in 18° 56' N. lat., 72° 57' E. long., Greenwich; its splendid harbour well fitted it for a great emporium, but its importance was inferior even to Surat before it became a British possession. The expression Heptanesia (Ptol. vii., 195,) but vaguely designates the locality. Lassen, however, was of opinion that it applied to Bombay, the harbour of which may be said to be formed by seven islands, namely, Colaba, Bombay itself, Salsette, Butcher's Island, Elephanta (Gharipuri, grotto-town), Caranja, and lastly a sandbank to the west of the latter. It would appear that Bombay was, in spite of its magnificent harbour, not an emporium, and isolated.

After Calliena some emporia are mentioned which cannot have been of much importance, as merely their names are given, and they are called local (*τοπικά*); of these Semylla has been identified with Chaul,<sup>32</sup> Aigidion with Goa, &c. *Naura* and *Tyndis* are however of more consequence, as they are called the first marts of Limyrica (*λιμυρική*, Ptol. vii., 1), the former is the present Honahwar or Onore, and the latter Tundi. *Muziris* and *Nelkynda* are however still more important, because they were the seats of government; in the Hebrew translation of the Tamil document, granted A. D. 774 to the Jewish colony of Cochin, the Tamil Muyiri (Muyirikoddú) is rendered by *Cranganore*, which is the Muziris of Ptolemy and of the Periplus.<sup>33</sup> Dr. Vincent was of opinion (ii., p. 404,) that Muziris occupied the site of Mangalore, which however was in the 6th century called Mangaruth by Cosmas. Nelkinda (Sansk. Nelakhandā, blue country) was about twelve miles distant from the coast, on the banks of small river, and its harbour was Barake or *Bákare*, which is, according to

<sup>31</sup> Dr. J. G. da Cunha's "Words and Places in and about Bombay."—*Ind. Antiquary*, iii., p. 247, seq.

<sup>32</sup> *Idem*. "Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein." Bombay, 1876.

<sup>33</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, vol. iii., p. 333, seq., where Dr. A. C. Burnell's trans. of the document is given.

Müller, *Markari* (12° N. lat.) ; the chief imports to this emporium were :—Great quantities of specie, topazes (chrysoliths, gold-stones), cloth, collyrium, coral, glass, brass, tin, lead, some wine, cinnabar, orpiment (arsenic). Exports :—Large quantities of pepper, growing only in one place and called pepper of Canara (λεγομενον Κοττοναρικόν), superior pearls, ivory, fine silks, Gangetic spikenard, betel, all sorts of transparent stones, diamonds, hyacinths, amethysts, tortoise shell from the golden islands, and another sort from the islands off the coast of Limyrica.

Calicut did not exist as a sea-port before the commencement of the ninth or tenth century of our era, and is therefore not mentioned by the ancients. It rose very quickly to such importance that it became and remained the chief emporium of India till the arrival of the Portuguese. Sheikh Ebn Batuta speaks of Calicut as a great emporium, where he waited for three months for the season to set sail to China, from which country, says he, vessels of three descriptions arrived, “ the greatest is called *junk*, the middling size *zaw*, and the least *kakam*. The sails of these vessels are made of cane-reeds woven together like a mat, which when they put into port they leave standing in the wind. In some of these vessels there will be employed 1,000 men, 600 of these sailors and 400 soldiers.”<sup>34</sup> Soon after the Portuguese made their appearance, the Chinese vessels ceased to visit Indian ports, as they could in no way compete with their rivals.

Comari, which is still the Tamil pronunciation, designates the cape of the southernmost extremity of India, so called from the Sanskrit *Kumārî*, a virgin, one of the names of the goddess Durga, the presiding divinity of the place, which is in 8° 4' N. lat. and 77° 45' E. long., Greenwich. This goddess is said to have bathed once a month in the place (Arr. Per., p. 33), which was not only celebrated for its sacredness, but also as an emporium importing all the commodities which reached Limyrica for commercial purposes, and absorbing nearly every species of goods brought from Egypt. The capital of Pandion, to whose kingdom Nelkynda belonged according to the Periplus, is by Pliny and Ptol. vii. 1, fol. 175, called *Modura*, and scarcely differing from its modern name, was likewise a sacred city and an emporium like Comari. The island of *Ramisseram* is also considered to pertain to the continent of India ; it is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, and from it Rama (an

<sup>34</sup> Travels of Ebn Batuta, p. 172.

incarnation of Vishnu) embarked to conquer the island of Ceylon (Lanka). Romissarem Kori is mentioned by Pliny as a sanctuary of the sun, and he called the island of it, *solis insula*. All these regions belonged in remote times to the empire of Pandion.

The existence of Ceylon was not known in Europe much earlier than the times of Alexander the Great, Taprobane, Ceylon. whose companions called it *Ταπροβάνη, Taprobane*. Although the words of Pliny (Taprobanem alterum orbem terrarum esse diu existimatum es antichthonum, vi., 24) would imply that Ceylon had long been considered as another southern world and therefore known, he nevertheless also says that Onesicritus, the ship captain of Alexander, and Megasthenes, were the first to recognize that country to be an island, probably to refute Hipparchus (lived in 150 B. C.), who, being fond of criticising the statements of Eratosthenes, was still inclined to consider Taprobane to be the beginning of another part of the world,<sup>35</sup> because its circumnavigation had not yet been effected by any one. Although Ptolemy, who lived in the 2nd century of our era, would make the area of Taprobane about ten times larger than it is (from  $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  N. lat. to  $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  S. lat.), he gives very accurate and valuable information about many ancient localities, some of which only we shall now proceed to mention, although he gives the names and positions of not less than 7 distinguished promontories, 13 littoral towns, 5 ports, 2 large emporia, a so-called royal residence, besides a metropolis, with 6 localities of the interior, and several on the shore:—

*Anurogrammum Regia* (now Anarajapura), the grand ruins of which are well known, and have been described by various authors, is placed by Ptolemy in  $8^{\circ} 40'$  N. lat., which is only 20' more than the actual position. *Mordulamne Portus* is very probably the present harbour Batacola, in  $7^{\circ} 4'$  N. lat., and *Spatana Portus* Trincomule, given under  $8^{\circ}$  N. lat., but in reality  $8^{\circ} 30'$ .

After *Spatana Portus* comes *Nagadiva Civitas*, the *Pati Sinus*, *Anubingara Civitas* and *Moduti Emporium*, whereon the mouth of the river *Phasis* is mentioned. A river of greater importance, flowing like the Phasis on the coast of Ptolemy towards the north, cannot be found on our present maps of Ceylon, and probably never existed. The name

<sup>35</sup> We have also of the time of the emperor Claudius, *Pomponius Mela*, "De Situ orbis, &c., iii., 7 Ed. Gronovius, 1696 :—Taprobane aut grandis admodum insula aut prima pars orbis alterius Hipparcho dicitur," &c.



Phasis, designating a sacred water, coming from a sanctuary of *Helios* in the east, leading to another, namely, Ramisseram Kori (*Solis insula* of Pliny), and at the mouth of which a third Kori Emporium, namely, *Talakori*, is situated, might after all not be a river, but the straits which there separate the northern extremity, the present *Jaffnapatam*, from the main island in the south. That two emporia so near to each other are mentioned at the mouth of the Phasis, must be considered as an evidence how important that coast was in early times to the commercial nations which traded there. The name *Talakori* has entirely disappeared, but Mannert was of opinion that the present Maladive, or Moletivo, in 9° 10' N. lat., is on the site of *Moduti*. We may however observe that on the western side of Ceylon—opposite to Maladive, which is on the eastern coast—near to the island Manaar, a little modern town, *Mantotte*, is situated, in the vicinity of which an extensive tract is covered with the ruins of an old town of this name, in which great quantities of Roman coins have been dug out. In fact, the whole province where the ruins are bears this name, and in Ptolemy's time the whole of northern Ceylon was no doubt inhabited by *Modutis*, *i. e.*, *Mantotis*.

Cosmas, a merchant who afterwards became a monk and wrote his book A. D. 560, was surnamed Indicopleustes, or Indian traveller, although he had never reached that country, but obtained his information about Ceylon from his kinsman, Sopater. He states<sup>36</sup> that many ships from the whole of India, Persia and Ethiopia congregate in the island of Ceylon (*Σελεδιβα*), because it is situated in the centre of all countries, and likewise despatches vessels in several directions. They bring from the *further* waters, as well as from Sina, and from other emporia, silk, aloe, cloves and Tzandana<sup>37</sup> for barter. Also yet other goods which they send to the nations of the *anterior* seas, namely, to Male (Malabar), where the pepper grows, to Caliani (near Bombay), where brass is procured and sesam (no doubt sandal) wood.

But Sind is the commencement of India, because the Indus separates this country from Persia. The more celebrated emporia, continues Cosmas, are Sindus (the mouth of the Indus), Orrhota (Surat), Caliana (near Bombay), Sibor (?) and Male (Malabar), wherein 5 empo-

<sup>36</sup> *Cosmæ Ægyptii Monachi Christiana Topographia, &c.*; in Montfaucon's *Collectio nova Patrum et scriptorum Græcorum*. Paris 1707. Vol. ii., fol. 336, 338.

<sup>37</sup> Probably Agila-wood, usually considered to be sandal.

ria :—Parti, Mangaruth (Mangalore), Salopatana, Nalopatana, Puda-patana. Beyond these, at a distance of a journey of five days and of as many nights, is Salediba, that is, Taprobane. Then further on the mainland is Marvello (Manaar), where the (pearl) shells are fished, and further Caber (Cavery), where the Alabanden (a gem?) is found. In the rear of it the region which produces cloves, and lastly Sina, which furnishes silk; but further on there is no more any land, only the ocean surrounds the east there.

The population of Ceylon was governed by two kings. The sovereign of the central mountainous country, where cinnamon was cultivated and precious stones came from, waged war with the other king, or probably several princes who held sway over the shores with the ports and emporia. Sopater mentions a Christian colony from Persia, with an ordained presbyter as well as a deacon; these were no doubt Persian, Nestorians and merchants, but in those parts also other foreigners, chiefly Arabs, sojourned. Also Ethiopian merchants from Adule bartered their gold for Indian goods, as well as the Hemyarites from Aden in Yemen, who sailed like the Persian merchants along the shores as far as Sind, and thence to Ceylon, where also Chinese arrived in their junks.

It is certain that the original home of the cinnamon tree was Ceylon, whence it was in course of time introduced into some other tropical countries, but the most perfect cinnamon is still grown in that island. As coming from the south of the inhabited earth, from Arabia, Herodotus adduces frankincense, myrrh, cassia, and with other spices also *Kinnamonon* as the most precious article which the Arabs brought, but knew not in what country it grew, supposing it however most probably to come from the country where Dionysius had spent his youth. Accordingly he had obtained from the far East also the name with the article, which we however do not know of having been the present cinnamon of Ceylon, or whether his so-called cassia was the coarser sort of cinnamon produced from the *Laurus cassia* on the continent of India. The name however, as well as the article itself, may have arrived from the country of Indian nations.

The conch or chank-shell—*concha* of the Romans, and *sangala* of Sanskrit writers—has been from the earliest times one of the chief products of Ceylon, and probably a source of revenue. When the island was in the possession of the Dutch, they organized a fishery of

this shell at Jaffnapatam, which has been considerably neglected. At present the most important chank-banks are on the north side of the island Manaar, at the north-western extremity of Ceylon. Chank fishing differs however from that of the pearl-oyster. When the sea is calm, and the fisherman perceives in the limpid water such a chank moving in the depth, he follows its track, and is sure to be led to a large chank-bank, where he can obtain a rich find. Not only the farming out of this fishery was a considerable source of revenue to the government of Ceylon, but the export-duty placed on the shells yielded another. The shell is exported in great quantities from Jaffnapatam to India, where it is sawn up into rings of all sizes to form bracelets, anklets and toelets for Hindu women; the chief market however is in Bengal, where many thousands of whole shells are purchased, and play a part in funeral ceremonies. The chank—spelt شق by Albyrany and شنگ by Persian authors—is one of the attributes of Vishnu, and the blowing of it is one of the chief features of temple-music, but more particularly among Buddhists.

Fishing for the pearl-oyster (*Mytilus margaritiferus*, or *Melagrina margaritifera*.) takes place now, as in ancient times, in the gulf of Manaar, on the banks of the Coudatchi, as far as Aripo, near Tuticorin, and is a great source of revenue as well as of trade.

In the Periplus, *Kolkhoi*, *i. e.*, Tuticorin, is mentioned where the fishing for pearls is carried on, but condemned criminals are employed in this service; another place where this industry was carried on is *Angalou*, now Palk Bay; and another, *Palaisimoundou*, the former name of which was Taprobane; this is *Tamraparni*, the name of the spot where the Magadha colonists first landed in Ceylon, and which was afterwards extended to the whole island.