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ART. XVII.—*Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics.* (Part First.)—By J. GERSON D'ACUNHA, M.R.C.S.

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[Read 19th July 1879.]

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The subject of the Portuguese coinage in India is involved in much obscurity. Money was first minted at Goa in 1510 A.D., only 370 years ago ; but its history is more vague and undefined than that of either the Greek or Roman coinage. The issue of coins by the viceroys, and often by the officers of the mint, without any intervention on the part of the viceroys or governors-general, was conducted in the most unsystematic, not to say capricious, fashion. The coins not seldom bore impresses, effigies, and legends which had no connection whatever with the reigning monarchs of the periods when they were issued. Some of them were still minted long after a new currency with crowned or profile busts of kings was introduced. Again, some of these latter coins were struck years after the kings, whose busts they bore, had ceased to live. These whimsical variations both in types and in the standard of money are in themselves enough to cause no little confusion in the study of Indo-Portuguese numismatics. But these difficulties are increased tenfold by an absolute want of examples of the early periods of the Portuguese rule in India, their place being but inefficiently supplied by some written official reports and private memoirs. The coins of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries are not only scarce, but even the written documents relating to them are rare or deficient.

Although the mint of Goa was the first Portuguese establishment of its kind in India, four more came in course of time to be founded in their principal settlements of Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin, and Diu. The mint-master of Malacca coined his own money, and called it *botelhas* from his name Nuno Alvares Botelho ; and D. Jeronimo Azevedo and Constantino de Sá minted theirs at Ceylon, without any regard to the standard or system of coinage prevailing in the mint of their capital settlement of Goa.

The history of the foundation of the Goa mint in 1510 is given at length in the *Commentarios do Grando Afonso Dalboquerque*, or

"The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque," compiled by Braz Dalboquerque, the natural son of the great Portuguese soldier and statesman, and first printed at Lisbon in 1557. As this work has of late been translated into English by Mr. De Gray Birch, and published by the Hakluyt Society, I need not quote the whole passage here, but refer only to the most salient points bearing on the subject.

Timoja, a Hindu chieftain of Onor (Honawar), who, being at enmity with the Muhammadan ruler of Goa, had just induced Affonso d'Albuquerque to conquer that city, went, in company with the principal Hindus and Mubammadans of the place, to Affonso d'Albuquerque, told him that the people of the city, and especially the merchants, were suffering from a great depression from the want of currency of coin, and begged him to grant a permission for minting some money and to order the price of gold and silver to be raised to prevent their exportation.

D'Albuquerque called a meeting of the captains of his fleet, and laid before them the request made by Timoja and the deputation of traders in the name of the people. The captains having observed that the coinage of some money should be commenced, the Viceroy replied that this being a novel proceeding, one that had never been attempted before in India, he could not venture to consent to it without first writing to the king, and with this reply dismissed them.

After a few days had elapsed, Timoja returned, however, with the same deputation, repeating his request in the presence of the captains, and praying earnestly that D'Albuquerque would either order a new currency, or permit the coinage of Sabaio, the king of Goa, who had already been conquered, to pass current, as without any of these barter of merchandise could not be effected. D'Albuquerque listened this time more favourably to the relation of the inconveniences resulting from the absence of some sort of coinage, and having again consulted his captains, who upheld their former opinion, gave orders for its issue on consideration that the king of Portugal would thereby gain credit, renown, and profit. Then, in order that the money should be produced in a befitting style, d'Albuquerque called a meeting of the goldsmiths and some Portuguese experts whom he had with him, Timoja and the principal men of the city, and commanded them to make a trial of the silver of the Muhammadan king. Having found that this silver was of the same intrinsic value as the Portuguese coin, the viceroy appointed Tristão de Ga to be treasurer of the mint, where money in gold, silver, and copper were forthwith coined.

As soon as a large quantity of money was made, d'Albuquerque ordered that all the captains, the fidalgos and cavaliers, all the noble persons of the fleet, the principal merchants among the Muhammadans, or Moors as they were then called, and the Hindu *chitins*—more correctly *Sethi*, all members of the trading castes in Southern India, either shopkeepers or merchants, should be called together. They assembled in a large hall of the Sabaio's palace (wherein he used to live, and the ruins of which are yet discernible a few yards distant in front of the magnificent Cathedral of Goa), that had been especially decorated for the occasion, and d'Albuquerque told them that, having given orders to mint gold, silver, and copper coinage according to the arrangements that had been made, it was fit to make it public by proclamation being read to the people throughout the city, as was the native custom. The whole assembly having assented unanimously to this proposal, d'Albuquerque immediately gave the word to take the royal flag, trumpets, and kettledrums, to assemble all the men in the fleet, and commanded Tristão de Ga to go and proclaim it. DeGa did all as he was commanded; went with this multitude of people all round the city; proclaimed the minting of new coinage, and at each proclamation that was made scattered quantities in handfuls of the new money over the heads of the crowds, which were very naturally great, and eager to catch as many pieces as they could. And thus the proclamation of the first Portuguese coinage in India ended.

After this, the great Viceroy decreed in the name of the king of Portugal that from that day henceforward no one should keep any of the coinage of the Muhammadan king in his house, nor make use of it under severe penalties; but whoever had any should carry it to the mint, and get it exchanged for him with that of the king of Portugal's. The decree went on saying that whoever should break these regulations should incur legal penalties according as the Viceroy should think fit to impose upon him. "The people," says the historian, "were very much pleased with the money, and from that day henceforward they began to trade with their merchandise."<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen from the above that only the coinage of the Muhammadan king was forbidden from being current, for the coins of the Hindu princes of Southern India were always in use in Goa from the day of its conquest to the time when they became rare. Among these may be specified the golden *pagodes*, now called *kúns* or *vardhas*, the

<sup>1</sup> *Commentarios*, Part ii., xxv. The Hakluyt Edition, Lond. 1877, vol. II. pp. 127—131.

former, a Muhammadan designation of the coin, the original meaning of *hân* in Kanari being 'gold,' and the latter, a Hindû one, of the emblem of the boar, one of the incarnations of Vishnu, adopted as the impression on their golden coins by the Râyas of Vijâyanâgara. The others were the so-called *fanaos* by the Portuguese, and *fanams*, or more properly *panams*, by the Hindûs, being gold coins of a minute size. Fanao was, moreover, the coin with which the Hindûs of the early days of the Portuguese conquest paid to the Admiral Vasco de Gama their tribute, as I have already mentioned elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

Now with regard to the coins struck by Affonso d'Albuquerque, it may be remarked that there is nothing original in either their standard or in their nomenclature. He simply gave old Portuguese names for new coins, and minted them of the size and weight then in circulation amongst the natives of the country. He named his gold coins *cruzados*, this being the name found in the chronicles, but in contradistinction to the Portuguese *cruzados* of those days, they were eventually denominated *Manoels*, in honour of the then reigning monarch D. Manoel, "The Fortunate."<sup>3</sup> They were probably meant to supersede the *pagodes* and *pardaos d'ouro* of the Hindû kings, being their equivalents in size and weight. They had stamped on the obverse a cross of the Order of Christ, resembling in shape the heraldic *cross patée*, and a sphere—the device of the king D. Manoel—on the reverse. As regards the value, each gold *manoel* was worth 420 *reis* Portuguese, while the *pagode* or *pardao d'ouro* was equivalent to 370 *reis*, i.e., about 1*s.* 6½*d.* English money, the increase of 50 *reis* over the same weight of native gold being possibly aimed at as a restraint against its exportation.

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<sup>2</sup> An Historical and Archæological Sketch of the Island of Anjediva. 2nd Edition of 1878, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Crusado* is a Portuguese silver coin now, equivalent to 480 *reis*, or about two shillings English money; but formerly in the time of d'Albuquerque there were both gold and silver *cruzados*, the latter worth much more than now.

It is evident that what the English vulgarly call "pagoda" is but the "pagode," a name inherited by them from their Portuguese predecessors. What the Muhammadans called *hân* هون for reasons above mentioned, the Portuguese called "pagode" on account of the emblem of the boar, to them an idol; while the so-called Ikri *hâns* with the legend श्री प्रताप कृष्णराय (*Śrī Pratâpa Kṛishṇarâya*) were called *pardaos d'ouro*, or golden *pardaos*, *pardaos* being nothing else but a Portuguese version of the Hindû *Pratâpa*, as the Muhammadans had theirs of پرتاب or 'partab.'

The silver coin was equal in weight to a *bragan*, probably *bargan*, which in Hindustani means a partition or share, and is equal to two *vintins* Portuguese, each *vintem* being 20 reis, or a penny. These coins were called *esperas*, a corruption of *esferas*, i.e. spheres. They were probably called *esperas* in contradistinction to the gold coins called *esferas*, struck by King D. Manoel in Portugal, bearing on the one side the device of a sphere, representative of the sphere given him by D. João II., and now used as a symbol of the glorious acquisition to the Portuguese crown of the conquests of India and Brazil. On the other side it bore the Latin inscription *Mea*, or 'mine,' intending thereby to prove the right he had acquired for it.

Then d'Albuquerque made another kind of coin, which was smaller, weighing one *vintem*. These he called *meias esperas*, or 'half spheres,' as they were just the half of the *espera*.

Lastly were struck copper coins called *dinheiros* and *leaes*. Now the word *dinheiros* (Lat. *denarii*, Fr. *deniers*) when used in the singular is a generic name for all kinds of money, and, although in this case it was used to designate a very small coin, it caused no little confusion, and consequently they agreed to call the *dinheiros cepayguas*, a word still in vogue in the Portuguese settlement of Macao in the form of *sapeca*, and the origin of which I have not yet been able to determine. The *leaes*, the plural form of *leal*, were a little larger coins than the *cepayguas*, three of which went to the *leal*. These copper moneys, as well as the silver ones, had on their obverse impressed the Greek *alpha*, supposed to be the initial of Asia, and on the reverse the ever-recurring sphere. All these coins had round areas.

To recapitulate the whole monetary system founded by Affonso d'Albuquerque at Goa on the 10th of March 1510, there were copper, silver, and gold coins. The copper coins were *dinheiros* or *cepayguas* and *leaes*. These were meant to displace the native coins of the corresponding size and weight called *bazarucos* and *zoitolés*. Three of *dinheiros* went to the *leal*—which was originally the name of a silver coin struck by King D. Diniz, and not a corruption or adaptation, as some writers have supposed, of the word *real* to Indian mouths, although twenty *dinheiros*, just as *reis*, were equivalent to a *vintem*. Of the silver coins there were the *esperas* and *meias-esperas*, the weight of the former being a *bargan*, equal to two *vintins*, and therefore that of the latter half a *bargan*, equal to one *vintem*. The gold coin called *cruzado* or *manoel*, meant to supersede the Indian

*lúns* and *partabs*, was seventeen *bargans* in weight, and equal to thirty-four *vintins* in value.\* It is said that d'Albuquerque fixed the weight of his *cruzados* at seventeen *bargans* (Port. *braganis*), in order that the gold coins should not be taken away out of the country.

To exhaust the whole subject of the Indo-Portuguese numismatics would take a series of papers, and it may be deemed advisable to leave for future contributions all that the successors of d'Albuquerque enacted, in continuing or modifying the gold, silver, and copper currency instituted by the great viceroy. To-day I shall confine myself to one set of coins, the lowest in value. They are made of the metal called *tutenag*, sometimes named Chinese silver, the *Paockfong* of the East Indies. It is stated to be an alloy of zinc and copper, but the coins of *tutenag* minted by the Portuguese at Goa and Diu contained variable proportions of tin and lead.

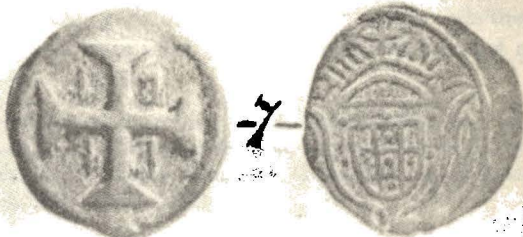
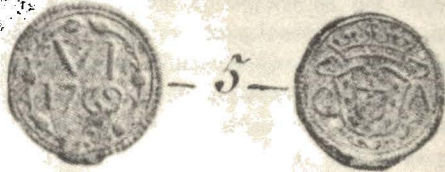
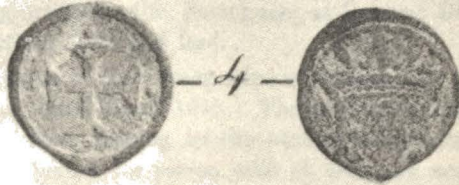
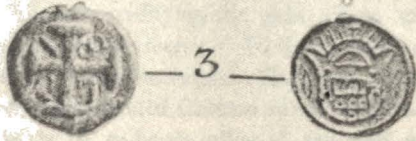
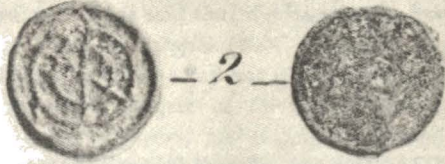
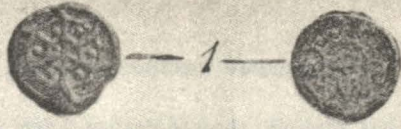
The earliest notice of the *tutenag* coins is contained in a written document dated the 20th March 1615. The smallest of them was called *roda* or 'wheel,' from bearing on the obverse a representation of the wheel of St. Catherine, the patron saint of Goa; on account of that city having been retaken by the Portuguese on her day, the 25th of November. The wheel was also a conspicuous emblem in the arms or skutcheon of the Senate or Municipality of Goa, and I believe it is so even now. On the reverse it had stamped on it the Portuguese Royal arms.

The *roda* was equivalent to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *bazarucos* of the original native standard of Goa. There was, besides this, the *duas rodas*, a coin double that of the *roda*, and therefore equivalent to 5 *bazarucos*. Then there were the so-called *meio vintem*, being equal to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *bazarucos*, and the *vintem*, equal to 15 *bazarucos* or 12 reis.

The later coinage of this curious amalgam had impressed on the one face the cross of the Order of Christ, with the date of the year of it, the numbers placed in the angles of the cross; and the Portuguese Royal arms on the other. This sort of metal being the most easily worn out, it is extremely difficult to obtain coins with clear and perceptible impressions, unless one can have the very rare chance of finding them under ground. But all these coins, whether old or new, are now out of circulation, and to be found only amongst numismatists or collectors of coins.

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\* For further details of the coinage of d'Albuquerque the reader may refer to *Notícias de Portugal*, by M. Severim de Faria, Lisbon, 1791, vol. II., pp. 68—72; and a paper by Mr. B. Lopes Fernandes in the *Memórias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, 1856, p. 121.





## DESCRIPTION OF THE COINS.

No. 1.—This is the *roda*. On the obverse is the wheel, and on the reverse the Portuguese Royal coat of arms. Its weight is grs. 40.

No. 2.—This coin is just twice the size and twice as heavy as the No. 1. It has the corresponding wheel and Royal arms as above. Its weight is grs. 80.

Nos. 3 and 4.—These are equivalent to the No. 2, but are of the later coinage. There is on the obverse the cross of the Order of Christ with the date, and the Royal arms on the reverse. Although the weight of each of them is grs. 80, one has a larger area than the other, indicating two different coinages, the larger from the mint of Goa and the smaller from that of Diu, where they are generally known by the name of *atiás*.

No. 5.—This coin is a very rare specimen. It has the Roman numeral VI, which means six *bazarucos*, and the year 1769 below it on the obverse, and the Royal coat of arms on the reverse. Its weight is grs. 100. The letters G-A stand for Goa.

No. 6.—This is the oldest *tutenag vintem* of the value of 12 reis, found while making some excavations in an old Portuguese building at Tanna. The obverse bears the wheel and the reverse the coat of arms. Its weight is grs. 270. The letters D-D stand for Diu.

No. 7.—This is a coin of later coinage, having the cross of the Order of Christ on the obverse, with the date; and the coat of arms on the reverse. Its weight is 240 grains. Again, the letters D-D stand for Diu.

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ART. XVIII.—*The History of the Wahnábys in Arabia and in India.* By E. REHATSEK.

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[Read 14th January 1860.]

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The anonymous author of the "Histoire des Wahnábys," who brought down his work to the year 1809, and wrote it at Aleppo, was of opinion that the Wahnábys would yet play a very important part in history, because in the commencement of a nation the elements of its greatness are revealed. According to him "A'bd-ul-Wahnáb had restored to Islám its ancient fervour. The Wahnábys are to-day more intolerant and more fanatic than the Muhammadans ever were. United under a single chief, the Arabs regret their ancient power, and wait impatiently for the moment of re-establishing it. Everything induces us to believe that the Wahnábys will become, at least in the orient, what the Arabs formerly were there, and this revolution cannot be distant." When these lines were penned the Wahnáby empire had attained its highest development; its limits reached the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea from east to west, while they touched Yemen and Haḍramaut on the south and Meshed A'ly on the north, including even districts of the Pashalik of Baghdád; in less than ten years after the publication of the little book, however, the whole confederacy of Wahnábys was again reduced to the dimensions it occupied at the beginning of this century. In 1818 Ibrahim Pasha conquered Dera'yeh by assault after beleaguering it for seven months, and deported A'bdullah, the Sultán of the Wahnábys, to Egypt, who was, however, slain in Constantinople.

At the first promulgation of Islám among the Arabs their religious and political leader was one and the same person; such is the case also with the Wahnábys of Arabia, whose religion may be considered as a Musulmán puritanism, and their government a confederation of Bedouin tribes, presided over by a Sultán, who is also their Emám, or religious chief. We shall now trace the history of this sect from its origin.

The founder of the Wahhábý sect, Muḥammad A'bd-ul-Wahháb, was born at Horeymelah, in Central Arabia, in the little province of Nejd, somewhat before the middle of last century, according to Captain Palgrave.<sup>1</sup> But Niebuhr, a contemporary

Muhammad A'bd-ul-Wahháb, the founder of the Wahhábý sect.

of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, was in 1764 at Zobeyr, near Boçrah,<sup>2</sup> and states that in the first-mentioned place so many Sunnis expelled by A'bd-ul-Wahháb from Nejd had established themselves eight or ten years ago, that it may be already considered as a small town. According to Captain Palgrave, Arab biographers state that A'bd-ul-Wahháb was of the Mesalykh, a powerful clan, whose nomad branch still frequents the neighbourhood of Zobeyr and the north-west of the Persian Gulf; whilst Burckhardt<sup>3</sup> says: "A'bd-ul-Wahháb, the founder of the sect, was by birth of the tribe Temym and of the clan called Al-Wahhábéh. The Beni Temym are for the greater part husbandmen in Nejd; their principal place of abode is at Al-Howta, a village five days' journey from Dera'yeh, southerly in the direction of Wady Dowasyr, and the birthplace of A'bd-ul-Wahháb." A few lines further on he says: "But the family of Sa'úd, the political founder of the Wahhábý Government, is of the tribe Mesalykh, a branch of the Wold A'ly, and therefore belonging to the A'nizeh." As, however, Captain Palgrave was on the very soil trodden by this religious reformer, and guided by local tradition in writing his narrative, we ought to give as much credit to his statements as to those of his predecessors.

Like many Nejdeans of the better sort, A'bd-ul-Wahháb began life as a travelling merchant. He first visited Boçrah and Baghdád, but ultimately extended his commercial journeys to Damascus, where he came in contact with Sheykhs, who were Hanbalys like himself, as well as with those of the Shafi'y sect, alike opposed to the laxities of the Nakshbundys and other northern free-thinkers, as well as to the superstitious practices of Durwyshes, Faqirs, and Welys current in Turkey and Persia. Muhammad Ebn A'bd-ul-Wahháb, who was now about thirty years of age, and of an earnest, reflecting disposition, meditated on the present and past condition of Islám, which presented itself to him in a variety of forms entirely unknown in the wilds of Arabia. He soon came to the conclusion that the religion had during

<sup>1</sup> Travels in Central Arabia, vol. I., p. 363.—He travelled in 1802-03.

<sup>2</sup> Voyage en Arabie, t. II., p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Notes on the Wahhábýs, p. 274.

the lapse of twelve centuries undergone considerable changes ; in fact, that to the essential doctrines of Islám numerous admixtures had been added. When this idea flashed upon his mind, he determined to restore Islam to its original purity and simplicity.

According to A'bd-ul-Wahháb, the well known formula *Lá-ilah-illallah*, "There is no God but God," is not merely a simple profession of monotheism, but implies that God is the sole motor, all else is inertia, that men and beasts are alike His automata. This is the keystone of Islám ; free will, merit, intercession, honouring saints, tombs, holy places, religious brotherhoods, and hierarchical institutions, all excrescences of the religion, were to be extirpated from it. None of these innovations were warranted by the prophet himself nor by his next successors, but were gradually developed during the lapse of ages, and "the Wahhábby reformer formed the design of putting back the hour-hand of Islám to its starting point."

At that time Central Arabia was governed by innumerable small chiefs, most of whom appear to have possessed no fixed system of religion. According to Captain Palgrave,\* "almost every trace of Islám had long since vanished from Nejd, where the worship of the Jánn or genií ; under the spreading foliage of large trees, or in the cavernous recesses of Jebel Toweyq, along with the invocation of the dead and sacrifices at their tombs, was blended with remnants of old Sabæan superstition, not without positive traces of Moseylemah and Kermút.<sup>o</sup> The

\* Travels, vol. I., p. 370.

<sup>o</sup> Moseylomah, the rival prophet of Muḥammad, was indeed slain A.H. 7, but we have the authority of Beidawi that his tenets survived him. As to the Karmatians, who bore inveterate hatred towards the Muhammadians, they began first to raise disturbances A.H. 278, A.D. 891. DeSacy in his *Exposé de la Religion de Druzes*, t. I., p. XX. seq., gives a long account of the various changes which took place in the tenets of Islám as proposed by various sects from Makrizi's *كتاب الموعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الخطط والناثر*, from which we take the following reference to the Karmatians:—"The questions about the Karmatians arose A.H. 264, A.D. 877-8, and this man [the abovementioned Kermút] made his appearance in the territory of Boçrah, and his sect spread first in E'ráq. In Syria Karmatians named *صاحب الخيال* *Çáheb-ulkhál* *مدثر* *Modatthar* and *مطوق* *Moṭawwaq* were seen. In Bahrayn the Karmatian Abu Sa'yid Jenabi, a native of Jenaba, appeared; his power and that of his descendants became very considerable. They vanquished the armies of Baghdad and made the Abbaside khalifs tremble." This Abu-Sa'yid had been

Qorán was unread, the five daily prayers forgotten, and no one cared whether Mekkah lay east or west, north or south ; tithes and pilgrimages were things unheard of. Colonel (now Sir) Lewis Pelly, who travelled to the Wahhábý capital two years later, namely, in 1865, is of opinion that Islám itself is of no very remote date in Central Arabia, and that some tribes had been converted from idolatry to Wahhábýism without passing through the intermediate stage of Muhammadanism, and this within the last century, or even half century. Thus, for instance, he was assured that the people of Al-Howtah, in Sedair, were converted by the then reigning Sultán Fayçul from idolatry to Wahhábýism direct within the last forty years. Again, to the south the Al-Morrah tribe are very recent converts, and even now their Wahhábýism is admittedly forced, and their adherence to the prophet unstable. It is said that when irritated by the dominant Government the Al-Morrah threaten to go over to what they call the religion of the Sayyid, that is to say, the religion which obtains in Najrán. Again, at Al-Ahsa and Qatif it is simply the sword which maintains the Wahhábý creed dominant.

If such be the case in the second half of the present century, it may be conjectured that during that of the past, when A'bd-ul-Wahháb returned from Damascus after a sojourn of about six years in that famous city, he met with a large field for reform. His native place Horeymelah being too small to begin operations in, this apostle of reform went to E'yánah, which was governed by Ebu Mo'ammer, one of the most powerful chiefs of Nejd. In this little capital the tomb of a certain Sa'ad was the object of worship ; sacred rites were performed and sacrifices offered to this demigod, the reformer being, however, a man not only of strong determination, but also endowed with a large

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converted to the Karamatian, which are no other than the Ismaili doctrines, by Yahya, who had come A.H. 281 to Al-Qatif, and Abu Sa'yid had as early as A.H. 288 collected a large army (p. COXII). As to the word Karmat or Kermút, it was the sobriquet of Hamdan Ben Ashath, the founder of the sect, who was thus surnamed, because, being of small stature, he made very short steps ; but Abulfeda (Ann. Mosl., t. II., p. 267) gives another etymology of the sobriquet. Masu'dy (Ed. and transl., Barbier de Meynard, t. IX., p. 76) states that A.H. 317 (January 930) Suleymán, the son of Hasan, lord of Bahrayn, invaded the territory of Mekkah, to which B. de Meynard adds the remark that he is no other than the famous Abu Táher, the chief of the Karmatians of Bahrayn, who carried off on that occasion the celebrated black stone from the Ka'abah.

share of worldly wisdom, was fully aware that any sudden manifestations of righteous zeal and endeavours to overthrow the superstitions of the people would be sure to endanger his life, remained quiet till he gradually acquired the confidence of the inhabitants as a man of upright character, learning, and gravity. He was, moreover, independent if not actually possessed of considerable wealth, which, combined with his eloquent tongue and prudent demeanour, ensured to him not only the respect of the crowd, but the intimacy of Ebn Mo'ammer himself. When the reformer had thus gained a strong footing in E'yánah, he happened one evening, when sitting on the roof of his house, to overhear a man whose camel had strayed invoking Sa'ad, the patron of the town. On this occasion he first ventured to hurt the feelings of the people by asking the man below why he did not rather call on the God of Sa'ad? This exclamation was heard by everybody else who happened to be near in the street, and gave rise to discussions which divided the inhabitants into two parties, namely, the conservatives, who proclaimed their adherence to Sa'ad, and the reformers, who took the part of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, and declared themselves in favour of Islám. The reformer preached with energy, and was not checked by Ebn Mo'ammer; accordingly the conservatives informed Ebn Muftiq, the supreme governor of Qatyf, who hated Muhammadanism with the hatred of a Karmatian, of the religious innovation and the negligence of Ebn Mo'ammer in restraining the preacher of it. The chief of E'yánah soon received orders to lose no time in arresting the Wahháb, but instead of doing so he merely informed A'bd-ul-Wahháb that he could no longer protect him. When the reformer perceived his danger he forthwith left E'yánah, but proceeded not farther than about six leagues to Dera'yeh, which was governed by the small chief Sa'úd B. A'bd-ul-a'zyz, with whom he sought and obtained refuge. A'bd-ul-Wahháb soon acquired great influence over his host, and gained his confidence to such a degree that he could freely preach his doctrine; Sa'úd became the disciple of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, and made his profession of Islám.<sup>6</sup> One day A'bd-ul-Wahháb addressed the following words to his host and disciple:—"Pledge me your word that you will make the cause of God your cause, and the sword of Islám your sword, and I will pledge you mine, that before your death you shall be sole monarch of Nejd and the first potentate in Arabia." Sa'úd agreed, and from that date, namely, 1760, Sa'ud gave

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<sup>6</sup> *Journal*, p. 32 seq.

himself out as the apostle of the new doctrines and the sword of the Faith.' The sources at our disposal do not mention anything about the family of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, but Burckhardt<sup>7</sup> informs us that the reformer's protector and disciple Sa'úd married at this period his daughter.

Now Sa'úd attacked his weaker neighbours one after the other in the name of God and Islám, and held forth to them, like Muḥammad, the Qorán or the sword. Also against Da'ás, the despot of Yemámah, Sa'úd waged a long and doubtful war, but Islám triumphed at last, and Southern Nejd was for a while entirely subdued. Ebn Muftiq had meanwhile been succeeded in the government of the Karmatian principality by his son A'rár, who hated the followers of Muḥammad with the eternal hatred of his sect vowed against Islám, and more than once sent large forces to crush this new development of it; and he is said in person to have besieged even Dera'yeh, but Captain Palgrave, whom we have hitherto followed, states that he could learn nothing worth recording concerning this decisive struggle between Sa'úd and A'rár; Niebuhr,<sup>8</sup> however, alludes to it and also to the siege of Dera'yeh in the following words:—

“Some independent newly-converted Sheikhs, who had formerly been constantly at war with each other, became friends through the mediation of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, and agreed not to undertake anything important without having previously consulted the new apostle. Hereby the balance of power was destroyed among the small princes of Al-A'áred, because several Sheikhs who were formerly able to cope with their neighbours, were now no longer in a position to struggle against so many united Sheikhs; the wars became more and more atrocious and more lively, because the contending parties entertained the belief that they were being persecuted for the sake of their religion, and that they were compelled to use force against obstinate heretics, or against unbelievers who persevered in their ancient errors. When A'bd-ul-Wahháb had subjugated a large portion of Al-A'áred, and when the other Sheikhs who were as yet at variance with each other and could no longer oppose his forces, they called to their aid A'rár of Lakhsa, who not only thought it incumbent to succour his co-religionists, but had himself reasons to apprehend that these enthusiasts might become

<sup>7</sup> Palgrave, p. 376 seq.

<sup>8</sup> Notes, &c., p. 274.

<sup>9</sup> Description de l'Arabie, pp. 298-9.

powerful enough to invade his own province. The first army sent by the Sheikh A'rár into Al-A'áreḡ was beaten. Then he marched himself, it is said, with four thousand men and four old pieces of Portuguese or Turkish cannon and one mortar; he besieged A'bd-ul-Wahháb in a fort built on a hill, called Dera'yeh, I think it was Al-E'yaneh; but as he did not know how to use his artillery, and sent his men too near the fort, he found himself exposed to the musketry of the enemy, and was so ill-treated that his army was put in disorder, and compelled to return to Lakhsa." Soon after this defeat A'rár died broken-hearted in the fort of Qatyf, where he had entrenched himself. Sa'úd, who had become master of the central provinces, now turned his arms against more distant and opulent regions; he added to the Wahhábby dominions Qasym, Hasa, Dowásyf, and Soleyyel, and became master of all the provinces situated between Mekkah and the Persian Gulf, excepting only Qatyf with its Karamatian garrison. He died after a long career, and the promise made to him by Muḡammad A'bd-ul-Wahháb had been accomplished to the full.

The founder of the Wahhábby sect had zealously aided Sa'úd to extend his dominions, and composed many treatises, the sole theme of which turned upon the propagation of the doctrines which he preached. He never arrogated to himself political authority, or the right of interfering in secular matters, but it may easily be supposed that as the whole Wahhábby movement was not only religious but initiated on condition of the political aggrandizement of Sa'úd, the apostle of that movement must necessarily have had a hand in secular matters likewise. He lived in Dera'yeh, where he died before his patron in 1787, leaving a numerous progeny. When Captain Palgrave was in Riáḡ he saw A'bd-ur-raḡman, though in decrepit old age; he was a grandson of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, and one of his great-grandsons, A'bd-ul-Latyf, to be mentioned again at the end of this paper, occupied at that time the position of Qáḡy in Dera'yeh, but A'bd-ullah, the son of A'bd-ur-raḡman, is said to have been put to death in the great massacre of the Nejdean doctors by order of Ibrahim Basha in 1818. The author of the "Histoire des Wahhábys" states that Husseyn, the eldest son of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, succeeded him as Mufri, or chief of the law. The whole family of the reformer has constantly held the highest posts, judicial as well as religious, in the Wahhábby dominions, and has amassed considerable wealth. Its members, unlike their ancestor, are



the rulers of the land to such a degree that their own masters of the Wahhábý dynasty never venture to contradict them on matters of policy or war.<sup>10</sup>

### HISTORY OF THE WAHHÁBY DYNASTY.

The abovementioned Sa'úd, patron and disciple of the founder of Wahhábýism, was the first sovereign of this dynasty, who enlarged the dominions of his father A'bd-ul-a'zyz and of his grandfather Sa'úd I., both of whom were only petty chiefs, by the aid of the fanatic zeal, the ardour of which was kindled by A'bd-ul-Wahháb, and kept blazing as long as he lived. We have already observed how Sa'úd incorporated the surrounding provinces by degrees into his dominions which swelled so that they touched the Persian Gulf on the east and the territory of Mekkah on the west ; he respected the power of the sacred country and the supremacy of Persia in Bahrayn, and this policy guaranteed him for some time from external hostilities. This state of affairs is alluded to as follows by Burckhardt<sup>11</sup> :—"The Wahhábýs had for nearly thirty years established their doctrines, made numerous proselytes, successfully conquered Nejd, and subdued most of the great Bedouin tribes, who feed their cattle there in the spring and retreat afterwards to the desert. Yet war had not been declared, nor did the Wahhábýs encroach upon the rights of the two Governments nearest to them ; that of Baghdád on the north and that of the Hejáz towards the south. The pilgrim caravans passed from Damascus and from Baghdád without any molestation through their territory. Their increase of power and the assiduity with which they propagated their doctrine seem first to have excited the jealousy of the Sheryf [of Mekkah] Gháleb. Under his authority and partly under his influence were placed all the tribes settled in the Hejáz, and several on the frontier of that country. The attempts made by A'bd-ul-a'zyz [the successor of Sa'úd] to gain over these latter to his party after he had subjugated their neighbours, could not be viewed with indifference by Gháleb, whom we may consider rather as a powerful Bedouin Sheikh than an eastern prince ; and the same cause that produces constant wars between all great neighbouring tribes of the desert, sowed the seeds of contest between him and the Wahhábýs. A few years after his succession to the government of Mekkah, Gháleb

<sup>10</sup> Palgrave, p. 378.

<sup>11</sup> Notes, &c., p. 321 seq.

first engaged in open hostility with the Wahhábys about the year 1792 or 1793. This warfare he continued until the final surrender of Mekkah to the Wahhábys. His party was strengthened by numerous northern tribes and the numerous Bedouins bordering on Táyf. These wars were carried on in the Bedouin style, interrupted only by a few short-lived truces. Sudden invasions were made by both parties on their enemies' territories; and booty was taken reciprocally without much loss or advantage. Gháleb, who was then in regular correspondence with the Porte, and received every year the pilgrim caravan, left no means untried for prejudicing the Turkish Government against his enemies."

On his death-bed Sa'úd called before him his two elder sons, A'bd-ul-a'zyz and A'bdullah, and named the first his successor. In 1800 or near it A'bd-ul-a'zyz ascended the throne according to Captain Palgrave,<sup>19</sup> who also states that he took Qatyf, occupied Bahrayn with the adjacent islands of the Persian Gulf, and attacked the eastern coast of Persia; lastly, he assailed the kingdom of O'mán, when his younger brother A'bdullah, being in command of this expedition, reached the heights of Masqat, and turned the fort batteries against the town below, the Sultán Sa'yid being compelled to yield and to consent to pay an annual tribute. According to Burckhardt,

The reign of A'bd-ul-a'zyz. however, as will be seen further on, Sa'úd, the son of A'bd-ul-a'zyz, also plays a prominent part during his reign, and the author of the "Histoire des Wahhábys," whom we shall now chiefly follow as the best, or, at any rate, the most copious source concerning the early campaigns of the Wahhábys against the holy Shrine of Imám-Husseyin on the one, and the sacred city of Mekkah on the other side, of their dominions, makes Sa'úd the chief actor in these contests; but before these begin he assigns a prominent position to A'bd-ul-a'zyz likewise. He states<sup>18</sup> that in 1798 the Porte began seriously to think of stopping the progress of the Wahhábys, and issued orders to Suleymán Pasha of Baghdád to march against them. He collected a numerous army, the command of which he entrusted to A'ly, his Kiaya, *i.e.* lieutenant, who afterwards also superseded him in the government. A'ly Kiaya was accompanied also by the Arabs of the Al-Ubeid tribe, the foes of A'bd-ul-a'zyz, and unwilling to acknowledge his authority. Muhammad Beg Shawi, their chief, served them as a guide, and they marched to attack A'bd-ul-a'zyz in the province of Lahsa [Haça];

<sup>18</sup> Vol. II., p. 40.

<sup>19</sup> p. 15 seq.

although they lost many men in the desert, they arrived with considerable forces, at the sight of which the Wahhábys dispersed, either because they were surprised, or because they, who had always been accustomed to attack, were now frightened in their turn; and even A'bd-ul-a'zyz himself took to flight. Being on the point to fall into the power of his enemies, A'bd-ul-a'zyz resorted to the stratagem of bribing them; Muhammad Beg Shawi accepted large presents, and abandoning the alliance of the Pasha of Baghdád, became the mediator between him and A'bd-ul-a'zyz, who dealt in the same manner with A'ly Kiaya, so that he concluded peace with the Wahháby, whom he might have destroyed, and returned to Baghdád loaded with riches.

The account of Burckhardt<sup>14</sup> differs from the above, because, according to him, "A'bd-ul-a'zyz, far from having fled or been defeated in this campaign, was not even present in it. The invading army, intending to march to Dera'yeh, consisted of four or five thousand Turkish troops and twice that number of allied Arabs. The Turks marched parallel to the Persian Gulf through the desert country where wells are found at every station; they traversed Al-Haça, the richest province of the Wahhábys, where they laid siege to the fort of the same name, instead of marching straight to Dera'yeh, which was only six marches distant, and was at that time the capital. Not only did the garrison of Al-Haça resist the attacks of the Turks during a whole month, but

The Turks invade the Wahháby territory. they retreated when they perceived that Sa'úd, the son of A'bd-ul-a'zyz, who had remained at Dera'yeh, was marching towards them with a strong Wahháby force. Sa'úd, desiring to intercept the retreat of the Turks, started before them, and encamped with his troops at one of the wells called Tháj, at a distance of three days from Al-Haça. The other well of that watering place, about two miles further off, he rendered useless by throwing into it several camel-loads of salt." The reason why Sa'úd refrained on that occasion from attacking the Turks is because he was afraid of their artillery, so that the two armies continued within sight of each other for three days without fighting. On that occasion peace was concluded for six years after some negotiations, and the contending armies marched to their respective homes.

A'bd-ul-a'zyz does not appear to have been much impressed with the power of his foes, and he did not hesitate long to invade the Ottoman empire. It is not known why he directed his attack

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<sup>14</sup> Pp. 323-4.

against the holy shrine of Emám Husseyn,<sup>15</sup> but the combined motives of Wahnáby puritanism and the hope of rich booty sufficiently account for it. The tomb and town of Emám Husseyn, thus named after a grandson of Muḥammad, is situated about six leagues east of Hillah, and contains from seven to eight thousand inhabitants; people annually go there on pilgrimage and celebrate a great festival. A'bd-ul-a'zyz waited for the approach of this festival to attack the place, and

A'bd-ul-a'zyz takes Emám Husseyn. 1801. That was the day of the pilgrimage to the tomb, and the town was deserted. Six thousand dromedaries mounted by twelve thousand Wahnábys presented themselves, and met with but feeble resistance, which was, however, sufficient to goad on the Wahnábys to the literal execution of their intolerant tenets upon the luckless inhabitants. All men found at Emám Husseyn were massacred without any distinction, and even the pregnant women had their wombs ripped open and infants slaughtered, that it might not be said that even one male had been spared.<sup>16</sup> Burckhardt states<sup>17</sup> that on this occasion five thousand persons were massacred in the town, although old men, women, and children were spared, and the quarter Haret-al-A'bbásyeh was respected on account of the Wahnáby regard for its founders. The cupola of the Emám Husseyn's tomb was destroyed, but the treasures of that mosque as well as those of Meshed A'ly had been secreted and afterwards removed to Baghdád. The Wahnábys having placed trunks of palm-trees against the wall which defended the town of Emám Husseyn, escalated it, and were during five or six days engaged in the plunder and massacre of the inhabitants, after which they retired.

Besides the abovementioned expedition of the Turks, which marched as far as Al-Ḥaḡa, now another started, and passed at once

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<sup>15</sup> Emám Huseyn, the son of A'ly and grandson of Muḥammad, desirous to take possession of Kufah, was slain near that town in the plain of Kerbella, in which place the adherents of A'ly erected a tomb for him and built a town which bears his name. This town having been ravaged A.D. 851 by the Khalif Mota-wakkel, was afterwards repaired by the kings of Persia, when the Shya'h religion became dominant among them. Since that time Sháh Isma'el (1501-2), the founder of the Sefevi dynasty, constructed over the tomb of Emám Husseyn a grand mosque, which his successors, Sháh A'bbas and Nádír Sháh, took delight in embellishing. This mosque, enriched by presents from Persia, became an object of veneration to all Shya'hs.

<sup>16</sup> *Hist. des Wah.*, p. 18.

<sup>17</sup> p. 325.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem.*

towards Dera'yeh without halting at the last mentioned place, and

The Turks again invaded the Wahháby territory. reached the well Çebeyhy, distant one day's journey from the well-known little seaport

Koweyt, whence many Arab horses are at present imported to Bombay. This expedition was commanded by the Montefyq Sheikh Thoeny, who had with him, besides his own people and several Bedouin tribes, also the Turkish troops. Whilst Thoeny was encamped at the first mentioned well, a fanatic Wahháby murdered him, whereon Sa'úd immediately approached and the Baghdád soldiers fled, some thousands of them being slain as they did not know the roads, but most of the Bedouins escaped.

A'bd-ul-a'zyz attacked the Hejáz in 1801, and although contests between him and Gháleb, the Sheryf of Mekkah, had already taken place before, they were now carried on with more perseverance and

zeal. Gháleb in his campaigns against the Wahháby had been alternately victor and vanquished; he had once penetrated into Nejd, and for a whole year kept possession of the small town of Sha'rain, in the province of Qasym. Another time, being surrounded by the Wahháby troops, he fought his way through them by night, and escaped with a few followers only. The Wahháby during some years had extended their arms and faith among most of the mountain tribes south of Táyf towards Yémen, people of considerable strength. Even the Arabs of Táyf were in 1801 obliged to yield. Gháleb's brother-in-law, O'thmán-al-Medhayfah, a Sheikh of the Adhwán tribe inhabiting those parts, had been for several years at enmity with him; and as he was distinguished for all the qualities of a Bedouin chief, A'bd-ul-a'zyz, having subdued the country, named him the chief of the tribes of Táyf and Mekkah, and thence northwards half way towards Medinah. Gháleb was now closely hemmed in, yet did not lose his energy; he collected the remainder of his faithful Arabs, and once more attempted the invasion of Nejd, but with little success. In 1802 O'thmán-al-Medhayfah, who had become a Wahháby, besieged Táyf; and this pretty town, the summer-residence of all the rich Mekkans and the paradise of the Hejáz, as the Arabs call it, was taken after a vigorous resistance and shared the fate of Emám Husseyn, with this difference that O'thmán's enmity to the Sheryf induced him to ruin most of the good buildings, and in the general massacre his soldiers were not commanded to spare either the infirm or the infants. In the course of the same year,

Medhayfah also took Gonfode, a harbour on the Red Sea, seven days' south of Jeddah, and belonging to the Sheryf.

As Captain Palgrave slurs over the conquest of Mekkah by the Wahhábys in a few lines, and, moreover, places it, according to his local informants, who probably misled him in this instance, after the death of A'bd-ul-a'zyz, we are again obliged to abandon him and to have recourse to the "Histoire des Wahhábys," which is in this part full of interesting details, for the collection of which the author, who was a contemporary of the events he describes, enjoyed the best opportunities. The hostilities above alluded to between Gháleb and A'bd-ul-a'zyz were revived by the latter, when he came to the decision of conquering the holy city of Mekkah, and began by inviting Gháleb, whom he called a usurper, to yield the dignity of Sheryf to his elder brother, A'bd-ul-Ma'yn, whom he had unjustly deprived of it. Gháleb disdainfully rejected the proposal, and A'bd-ul-a'zyz at once sent an army of one hundred thousand Wahhábys, commanded by his eldest son Sa'úd, against the Sheryf. The first exploit of Sa'úd was the taking of Táyf; this caused great consternation, which was augmented by the massacre of one thousand five hundred inhabitants, partly Musalmáns and partly Jews, and Gháleb, fearing that he would be unable to defend himself in an open town like Mekkah, marched against Sa'úd to expel him from Táyf, but his forces being greatly inferior to those of the Wahhábys, he was quickly beaten, and glad to retreat with the fragments of his army to the holy city.

It happened that at this time A'bdullah, the Pasha of Damascus, arrived with the caravan of pilgrims, and was at a distance of a four days' journey from Mekkah, when a squadron of four hundred Wahhábys presented itself demanding payment of the tribute hitherto granted to the Bedouins, but the quadruple of the sum due. A'bdullah Pasha refused to pay, and being obliged to defend himself, defeated the Wahhábys, killing 150 of them. After this display of Turkish valour it would have been imprudent to enter Mekkah without ascertaining the disposition of Sa'úd. Accordingly A'bdullah Pasha wrote to him, complaining of the treatment he had received, and added that he feared these first hostilities to be only the preludes of more serious ones between him and Sa'úd. Lastly he asked him to declare whether they were friends or foes, and whether he might fearlessly enter Mekkah.

Sa'úd, who was not yet prepared for a war with the Porte, received the message of A'bdullah Pasha favourably. He replied that it was proper to attack those of his people who had thus misbehaved, that the slain had deserved death, and that their accomplices would be punished. "I have not come to fight you," he added, "but to wage war against Gháleb. Accordingly you may enter Mekkah with the pilgrims; I give you three days, during which you may remain there, and during which you have nothing to fear from my people. When this term has expired, I shall myself enter Mekkah and bestow upon A'bd-ul-Ma'yn the title which belongs to him."

A'bdullah Pasha, wishing to profit by the amicable intentions which Sa'úd manifested towards him, sent Adam Effendi among the Wahhábys, hoping that his envoy might, without any danger or great expenses to the Porte, sow divisions among the Arabs, so as to break up their confederation and to reduce them to their former state of weakness. Adam Effendi was, indeed, received by A'bd-ul-a'zyz, by Sheikh Husseyu, the son and successor of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, and had several conferences with them, as well as with the chiefs of the tribes who had adopted the new religion, but nothing more was heard about him, and he never returned to the Turkish camp. The unfortunate Effendi had fallen a victim to the policy of the Porte and to the intolerance of the Wahhábys. Whilst A'bdullah Pasha was thus negotiating, Gháleb, who had, as noticed above, already been defeated by the Wahhábys, paid him a visit, and requested him to mediate between him and Sa'úd, which proposal the latter received with ill grace, and replied that "A'bdullah Pasha had no business to treat with Gháleb; that he had granted him much by allowing him to enter Mekkah; that he did not revoke this permission, but that he insisted on the clause of the Pasha's remaining only three days in Mekkah, and that after the expiration of this period he would himself go there; lastly, that nothing but the death of Gháleb could satisfy him." A'bdullah Pasha took the hint thus conveyed to him, entered Mekkah, and again left it at the time fixed.<sup>19</sup> Gháleb, unable to offer resistance to the Wahhábys, profited by the departure of A'bdullah Pasha, and escaped with him. They went to Medinah, and after a sojourn of a few days, marched to Jeddah, where they fortified themselves in the beginning of the month Ramađán 1217, corresponding to the 26th December 1802.

<sup>19</sup> It may here be observed that this was the last Syrian pilgrim-caravan which arrived in the sacred territory in 1802.

Burckhardt<sup>80</sup> narrates the events just mentioned and the taking of Mekkah, which ensued after them, as follows:—"In 1803 the Wahhábys effected the total conquest of the Hejáz, and their power was then extended beyond all former bounds. Sa'úd, the son of A'bd-ul-a'zyz, and O'thmán-al-Madhayfah had collected early in that year a strong force at Táyf, and after several battles with Sheryf Gháleb, the Wahhábý host approached Mekkah and fixed their headquarters at the village of Heçeynyeh, where the Mekkans had many pleasant summer-houses an hour and a half distant from Mekkah, towards the south. Their light troops beset the town on every side; they attacked the eastern suburb, called Al-Moa'bedeh, of which they kept possession for a while, together with the Sheryf's palace in that quarter; from this palace they made frequent irruptions into the town, which is not defended by walls, and Gháleb, undismayed, bravely resisted. He laid a mine near his palace, which, though not completely successful, yet obliged the enemy to retire. They now cut off the supply of sweet-water which the canal of A'rafat conveys to the town, and the inhabitants were reduced to the necessity of drinking from the brackish wells. After two or three months' siege the inhabitants began to suffer extremely, both from bad water and scarcity of provisions. Gháleb himself and his soldiers had some stores at their disposal, but nothing was distributed among the lower classes, who were, therefore, obliged to venture out at night, to collect dry grass upon the neighbouring mountains for the Sheryf's horses, receiving in return a handful of corn at the Sheryf's residence. When all the cats and dogs of Mekkah had been devoured, and the Sheryf's provisions became scarce, he left the town with his own people, carrying off the whole of his family and baggage, having previously set fire to such furniture of his palace as was not easily portable. He retired to Jeddah, and Mekkah was left to its fate. On the next morning the chief inhabitants went out to capitulate, or rather to surrender at discretion, and Sa'úd entered on the same day. These events occurred in April and May 1803. The Mekkans still remember with gratitude the excellent discipline observed by these wild Wahhábys on their entering the town. Not the slightest excess was committed. On the next day all the shops were opened by order of Sa'úd, and every article which the troops required was purchased with ready-money."

It will be observed that in the account just given no mention what-



ever is made about the executions of the recalcitrant doctors of law and theology of Mekkah. Menib, the Qády, was deposed and slain for having declared that he could not assent to the dogmas of the Wahhábys, and a learned man from Dera'yeh was appointed Qády in his stead. Twenty Sheikhs followed the example of Menib, and became, like himself, martyrs of their religion ; others who were more prudent either yielded or avoided making any declarations. In conformity with the tenets of his religion, Sa'úd destroyed all the tombs of prophets and saints within and without the city, but kept his promise to A'bd-ul-Ma'yn and installed him Sheryf of Mekkah, and the people now became Wahhábys, *i.e.*, they were compelled to pray more punctually than usual, to lay aside or conceal their fine silk dresses, and so desist from smoking in public. Heaps of Persian pipes, collected from the houses, were burnt before Sa'úd's head-quarters, and the sale of tobacco was forbidden.

When Sa'úd took possession of the holy city he published the following address which may be considered as the creed or catechism of the Wahhábys ; copies of it were distributed among the inhabitants and in the schools, the pupils of which were ordered to learn it by heart. This catechism is given by Burckhardt<sup>21</sup> as follows :—

“ Ebn Sa'úd,<sup>22</sup> to the inhabitants of Mekkah, the highly honoured,  
 Praise be to God, the only God ! who has  
 no co-partner, to whom belongs dominion,  
 and who is omnipotent.

Catechism of the Wahhábys.

“ In the name of the all-merciful God ! It is necessary that every chosen servant of God should have a true knowledge of the Almighty ; for in the word of God (the Qorán) we read ‘ Know that there is no God but one God !’ Bokháry (the celebrated compiler of Muḥammad's traditions), may God have mercy upon him ! said, ‘ First learn, then speak and act.’ If it be asked ‘ What are the three foundations of knowledge ?’ answer ‘ The servant's knowledge of his Lord, of his religion, and of his prophet.’

“ And first, as to the *knowledge* of God : if they ask thee ‘ Who is thy Lord ?’ answer ‘ My Lord is God, through whose favour and grace I have been bred up ; him I adore, and adore none but him.’ In proof of which we read (in the Qorán) ‘ Praise be to the Lord of all creatures ! Whatever exists besides God belongs to the class of

<sup>21</sup> p. 425 seq.

<sup>22</sup> “ Son of Sa'úd’ is only another name for A'bd-ul-a'zyz.

creatures, and I myself am one of his created world.' If they ask further of thee 'How didst thou know thy Lord?' answer 'By the signs of his omnipotence and the creation.' In proof of which we read 'And of his signs are the night and the day, the sun and the moon; and of his creation heaven and earth, and whatever is upon them, and whatever they contain.' And we likewise read 'Thy Lord is God, who created heaven and earth.' If it be asked 'For what purpose did God create thee?' answer 'To adore him.' In proof of this we read 'I created spirits and men, to be adored by them.' If it be asked 'What does God command?' answer 'The Unity, which means to adore him exclusively and solely: and what he above all prohibits is the association with him, or the adoring of any other God besides himself.' In proof of which we read 'Adore God, and do not associate with him any other thing or being.' The adoration by which thou art to worship him, thou evincest by thy *Islám*, by faith and alms, by prayers, vows, sacrifices; by resignation, fear, hope, love, respect, humility, timidity, and by imploring his aid.

"In proof of necessity of prayers we read 'Pray, and I shall grant your wishes.' Prayers, therefore, are true adoration. In proof of the necessity of making vows we read 'Fulfil your vows, and dread the day of which the evils have been foretold.' To prove the necessity of slaughtering victims we read, 'Pray to God and kill victims.' And the prophet, may God's mercy be upon him! said 'Cursed be he who sacrifices to any other but God.'

"The second foundation of knowledge is the religion of *Islám*, which is submission to the Almighty, in proof of which we read, 'The religion before God is *Islám*.' And to this refers the saying of the prophet, on whom be the peace of God—'The chief of all business is *Islám*.' If they ask 'How many are the principal duties of our religion?' answer 'They are these: *Islám*, faith, and good works.' Each of these is divided into different parts:—*Islám* has five, viz., the profession that there is no God but God, and that *Muhammad* is his prophet; the performance of the prescribed prayers; the distribution of alms; the observance of the fast of *Ramaḍán*; and the pilgrimage to the holy house of God. In proof of the truth of the *profession of faith* we read, 'God declares that there is no God but himself;' and the meaning of the expression 'there is no God but God' confirms that there is but one God, and that nothing in this world is to be adored but God. And in proof of the profession that *Muhammad*

is the prophet of God we read 'And Muḥammad is nothing but a prophet.' Our duty is to obey his commands, to believe what he related, to renounce what he forbade; and it is by following his precepts that we evince our devotion to God. The reason for joining these two professions, viz., in saying 'There is no God but God and Muḥammad is his prophet,' is to show our piety and perfect obedience. In proof of *prayers and alms* we read 'Nothing was commanded but that they should adore God with the true religion alone, that they should perform prayers and distribute alms.' In proof of *fasts* we read 'O ye true believers, we have ordained for you the fasts,' and in proof of the pilgrimage we read 'And God exacts the pilgrimage from those who are able to undertake the journey.'

"As a further proof of the five fundamental parts of *Islám* may be quoted the traditions of O'mar, who says 'The prophet, may God's mercy be with him, declared that *Islám* rests upon five requisites; the prayers, the alms, the fast, the pilgrimage, and the profession that there is no God but God.' The second of the principal duties of the religion is *faith*; it comprises 79 (or 77) ramifications. The highest of them is the declaration 'there is no God but God,' and the lowest, the removal of all deception from the road of the faithful. *Shame* (pudor) is one of those ramifications. The faith divides into six parts. These are: to believe in God and his angels and the revealed books, and his prophets and the last day, and the omnipotence of God, from whom all good and evil proceeds. In proof of which we read, 'This is not righteousness to turn your faces towards the east or the west; but he is righteous who believes in God and the last day, and the angels, and the sacred books and the prophets.' And in proof of the omnipotence it is said: 'We created everything through our power.' The third of the principal duties of religion consists in *good works*. These are comprised within one simple precept, which is: 'Adore God as if thou didst see him; and if thou canst not see him, know that he sees thee.' In proof of which we read, 'He who turns his face towards the Almighty and confides in him, he is the well known, he holds fast by the firmest handle.'

"The *third* foundation of knowledge is the *knowledge of our prophet Muḥammad*, may God's mercy and peace be with him! Muḥammad, the son of A'bdullah, the son of A'bd-ul-Moṭalleb, the son of Hášhem, the son of Menáf, whose parentage ascends to A'dnán, who was himself a descendant of Ismael, the son of Abraham, with whom

and with our prophet may God's mercy dwell! Muḥammad, may God's mercy be with him! is a delegate whom we dare not adore and a prophet whom we dare not belie; but we must obey and follow him, for it has been ordained to spirits and to mortals to be his followers. He was born and appointed prophet at Mekkah; his flight and his death were at Medinah. From him, to whom may God show his mercy! we have the saying, 'I am the prophet; this is no false assertion; I am the son of A'bdullah!' If it be asked 'Is he a mortal?' answer 'Yes, he is a mortal.' In proof of which we read, 'Say I am but a mortal like yourselves, to whom it is revealed that your God is but one God. If it be asked 'Is he sent to any particular class of mankind?' answer 'No; he is sent to the whole race.' In proof of which we read, 'O men, I am God's prophet sent to you all!' If it be asked 'Can any other religion but his be acceptable?' answer 'No other can be accepted,' for we read 'Whoever shall follow any other religion than Islám will be rejected.' And if it be asked 'Does any prophet come after him?' answer 'No prophet comes after him; for after him comes the last day.' In proof of which we read 'He was a father to none of your men, but the prophet of God and the seal (that is the last) of all prophets.'"

The above catechism contains nothing which any Musalman might not cordially subscribe to, nevertheless as the mob of Wahhábys considered mere accessories to their creed to be of equal importance with its fundamental parts, their opponents formed quite erroneous ideas about this supposed new religion. Next to the war which the Wahhábys declared against the veneration of saints and their tombs, their fanaticism was principally turned against the luxury of dress and the smoking of tobacco, which they call the shameful (*Almakhzy* مخزى). The Wahhábys also declared the use of the rosary, so much in vogue among the Moslems, to be an unwarrantable practice and abolished it.

Sa'úd was not less anxious for the treasures enclosed within the Ka'bah than for the conversion of the inhabitants of Mekkah, accordingly he took possession of them; and after having thus enriched himself he took measures for retaining the city in his possession by garrisoning a fort with his troops and leaving with A'bd-ul-Ma'yn, who enjoyed nothing but the mere title of Sheryf, a governor, to keep the city in order. After having taken these measures of precaution he departed from Mekkah and marched to Jeddah.

Hitherto the Wahhábys had always been conquerors. They had found only open towns, and had in the flat country fought under such advantages that their antagonists scarcely dared to resist them. The case was, however, quite different at Jeddah, the walls of which had been repaired by Gháleb and Sheryf Pasha, the governor of that town. Moreover, a vigorous resistance was called for by the implacable character of the Wahhábys, who made no delay in their attack, but being armed only with lances and matchlocks, and having no ideas of discipline, nor of the manner of besieging a town, they made their attack without any precautions, whilst their enemies could select their victims without the least danger from behind the walls, so that every assault by the Wahhábys became a victory for the besieged. The disgust of seeing themselves repulsed with loss was not the only cause which caused despondency among the Wahhábys, the plague spread among their troops and committed horrible ravages, so that nothing remained for Sa'úd to do but to raise the siege and to retire to Dera'yeh. Burckhardt says nothing about the plague, but states that although he wrote in the very localities the events of which he describes, that the details of this war, which occurred only eleven years before he travelled in the Hejáz, were related to him with different circumstances by various persons ;<sup>23</sup> hence it is a matter of congratulation to us that his account agrees in this instance so well with that of the French consul of Aleppo, as both these writers state that when the Wahhábys, unable to take Jeddah, moved away to the desert, Gháleb at once went to Mekkah (in July 1803), where he resumed the government, because his brother A'bd-ul-Ma'yu, whom the Wahhábys had appointed in his stead, at once submitted, and the small garrisons left in the two forts capitulated. Gháleb, however, being fully aware that he could not only resist the Wahhábys, came to a compromise with Sa'úd, who prudently accepted his allegiance on terms more favourable than those usually granted by the Wahhábys to other proselyt chiefs. Gháleb, imitating the precedent of the vicar of Bray, could well say that he would be Sheryf of Mekkah still, no matter whether the Turks or the Wahhábys were masters. On this occasion he was rewarded for abandoning his former patrons, by being left in possession of his towns and their incomes ; he was at the same time with the Mekkans exempted from paying tribute.

<sup>23</sup> p. 330.

When Sa'úd began the siege of Jeddah he sent a horde of Wabhábys also against Medinah, but their expedition did not turn out more fortunate than his own. Ebn-al-Modián and Ebn-ul-Harb, having advanced upon Medinah, commenced the blockade of it by occupying the villages of Kerin and Seiran ; but the people of the city made a sortie, dislodged the Wabhábys from these two posts, and killed many of them. Thus Sa'úd found himself repulsed at the same time from Jeddah and from Medinah ; he desired, however, to make one more attempt against the latter town by means of cunning, as he had already tried and been disappointed by using force. Accordingly he sent a party mounted on dromedaries under the command of Ebn-ussálch and Ebn-ulbáz. These two chiefs demanded admittance into the town with their troops, to make known the message with which they had been entrusted. This ruse being unsuccessful, they sent a letter of Sa'úd worded as follows into the town :—

“Sa'úd, to the inhabitants of Medinah, high and low, salutation. My wish is that you should be true Musalmáns ! Believe in God, and you will be saved, or else I shall wage war against you unto death.”

After the losses the Wabhábys had sustained under the walls of Jeddah, threats like the above were only ridiculous. Accordingly the people of Medinah, emboldened by the defeat they had inflicted on Modián, returned threat for threat ; and replied, not without some reason, that they had not waited for the command of Sa'úd to know and to adore the true God.

This reply of the inhabitants of Medinah was brought to Sa'úd at a moment when, being obliged to defend himself, he was departing from Jeddah, and all his efforts were concentrated in withdrawing from the contagion of the plague the remnants of his army, which had almost been annihilated ; he could therefore not think of punishing the inhabitants of Medinah. On this occasion also two tribes of Bedouins, who had been compelled by force to profess Wabháby doctrines, profited by the disasters of Sa'úd to shake off his yoke, and their example was followed by several other tribes.

Such was the end of an expedition the first success of which had spread terror as far as Aleppo and the confines of Syria. Sa'úd brought back with much trouble the remnants of his army to Dera'yeh, whilst on the other hand the inhabitants of Mekkah and Jeddah, whom he was unable to subjugate, rejoiced at his retreat, and learnt to despise his power. The communications which had been interrupted during

his invasion were again restored when he departed, and both these towns flourished again in prosperity.

Sa'úd, the son of A'bd-ul-a'zyz, had scarcely returned to Dera'yeh with the remnants of his army when great consternation was caused in the capital by the assassination of the Sultán A'bd-ul-a'zyz, of which event we shall now proceed to give two brief accounts. The author of the "Histoire des Wahhábys" states<sup>24</sup> that the murderer was a Kurd Durwaysh, whose three sons had been killed in the massacre of Emám Husseyn. Bent on avenging his offspring, he entered the service of A'bd-ul-a'zyz and succeeded in gaining his confidence; on the 27th Rajab 1218, *i. e.*, the 22nd Nov. 1803, he accompanied the Sultán to the mosque, and stabbed him to death whilst saying his prayers. A'bd-ul-a'zyz expired on the spot, and the assassin being seized, was condemned to be burnt alive; but if we are to believe zealous Moslems, the flames spared this martyr of Muḥammad, and Sa'úd, in order to rid himself of the man, was forced to get his head chopped off.

The date of the assassination here given is also that of Burckhardt, and therefore more worthy of credit than the oral information supplied to Captain Palgrave, who says "these events took place, as far as my informants could supply a date, about 1805 or 1806;" his account of the assassination is as follows:—"A fanatic native of the province of Ghilan, the land where A'bd-ul-Qáder had six centuries before made the enthusiasm of his disciples a pedestal to divine honours, offered himself for this work of blood. He received suitable instructions in Teherán, whence he journeyed to Meshed Husseyn, the authentic Mekkah of Shya'h devotions. There he procured a written pardon of all past or future sins, and a title deed duly signed and sealed assuring him the eternal joys of paradise should he rid the earth of the Nejdian tyrants. With this document carefully rolled up and secured in an amulet round his arm he took his way under mercantile disguise to Dera'yeh, and there awaited an occasion for meriting the reward promised to the deed of treachery. He one day took his stand in the ranks of evening prayer immediately behind A'bd-ul-a'zyz, went through the first two Reka'as of Islámític devotion, and at the third, when the Sultán of Nejd was bowed in prostrate adoration, plunged his sharp Khorasan dagger into his body. The Persian assassin was literally hewn to pieces, but not till he had sent three of his assailants to follow their king in death.

<sup>24</sup> p. 24 seq.

The written engagement, countersigned by the Governor of Meshed Husseyn, was found on the corpse."

Now A'bdullah became Sultán, but confined himself merely to the government of Dera'yeh, leaving to his nephew Sa'úd, who distinguished himself as a general during the life of A'bd-ul-a'zyz, the supreme command over the army. The death of Abd-ul-a'zyz as well as the retreat of Sa'úd with the remnants of his army to Dera'yeh caused great joy in the whole Ottoman Empire, because the Turks believed that the Wahhábyz were now crushed, and would no more leave their country to plunder the Musalmáns, who were under the impression that also Mekkah was again completely under the sway of the Porte. The Sheryf Gháleb was, however, not of this opinion, and imagining that he was in his refuge at Jeddah still too near his foes, he passed over to Egypt and thence to Constantinople, where he solicited aid, and was for some time detained by fair promises, but tired out at last, he again returned and waited at Jeddah for a favourable opportunity to establish his power in Mekkah. Nor were the Wahhábyz dismayed, as the Turks fancied; all their military expeditions are merely sudden invasions, which succeed when they are unexpected, and then their aim is more to plunder than to fight. In this way they pillaged Emám Husseyn, occupied Táyf, and entered Mekkah; their repulse at, and retreat from, Jeddah were merely the natural results of their predatory habits, for which they were neither ashamed nor discouraged, and the only thing they had to regret was the loss of their soldiers by the plague. That the Wahhábyz had not lost courage appeared soon; for A'bdullah, burning with rage to avenge the murder of his brother, and Sa'úd that of his father, preparations were at once made to attack Meshed Husseyn. The people of Koweyt averted the danger of the Nejdian visit, says Captain Palgrave, by large presents; then A'bdullah scattered the forces assembled to check him at Zobeyr, at Súq-esh-Sheyúkh, and at Samowah till he arrived before the large town of Meshed A'ly, to which he laid siege but in vain; he was repulsed with considerable loss. He then marched northward "with new rage against Meshed Husseyn on Kербella, the main object of his hatred. Here the impetuosity of his onset overcame all resistance; the town was stormed, and a promiscuous massacre of garrison and inhabitants appeased the manes of A'bd-ul-a'zyz. The tomb, real or supposed, of the son of Fátimah was destroyed, the rich mosque plundered and desecrated."



At that time a Wahháby, Fáris Jarbah by name, lived at Baghdád, who enjoyed the confidence of the governor of that place; he was accordingly charged with the duty of reconnoitring and informing the Pasha of the approach of the Wahháby army. He did so, and was at once joined by A'ly Pasha with his Kiaya and numerous forces, but on seeing these, states the author of the "Histoire des Wahháby," who had, no doubt, obtained his information from Turkish sources, they became so frightened that they at once retreated. No doubt Sa'úd perceived that it would be more easy and more prudent to continue the plan of aggrandizement begun by his father A'bd-ul-a'zyz in localities nearer than Baghdád, between which city and his own dominions communication might be interrupted and his army isolated. Accordingly he took measures to increase his power on the coasts of the Persian Gulf by constructing small vessels, which soon covered the whole of it, supplementing their deficiency in size and strength by their multitude. These pirates indiscriminately attacked all vessels carrying on the Indian trade between Boçrah, Abusher, Bandar A'bbás and the Persian harbours. In this manner the Wahháby succeeded by degrees in forming a navy which became formidable enough to interrupt communication with India; they attacked small vessels at once, and waited for the night to surprise them if they were large; they were bold enough to make prizes of ships, even in the vicinity of Boçrah, and accumulated enormous plunder until two English ships-of-war were sent to punish the pirates; they demolished a fort which the Wahháby had built on their coast, but could effect little more, as their little crafts could easily escape into shallow water and creeks where they could not be reached.

After Sa'úd had made his power formidable on the Persian Gulf, he determined to extend his conquests beyond the coasts, and astonished the Turks by making his appearance on the banks of the Euphrates with an army of 12,000 men. On the side of the desert Zobeyr presented the first obstacle to the advance of the Wahháby, because the fort of it could not be taken. The garrison refused to surrender, and the enemy, having no artillery, blockaded the place for some time, but being soon distressed by the extreme heat of the desert, wished to bribe the slender garrison, which, however, proved incorruptible; by an accident, however, the fort fell into the power of the Wahháby: a soldier had carelessly left a lighted match on the wall, and

Attack of Boçrah by the Wahháby, and death of the Emám of Maskat.

determined to extend his conquests beyond the coasts, and astonished the Turks by making his appearance on the banks of the

went into the powder magazine, and whilst he was away the match had fallen among a heap of cartridges, which exploded first, then the magazine, with which the whole garrison was blown up, and the Wahhábys had only to escalate the ramparts. The town of Zobeyr, and after it Boçrah, could likewise not be taken without artillery, and their inhabitants were able to keep off the Wahhábys from the walls; accordingly they found it more convenient to plunder the surrounding country as well as the banks of the Euphrates till the Pasha of Baghdád arrived with a large army when they retreated to their own country.

That the Pasha of Baghdád was apprehensive of the incursions of the Wahhábys appears from his having solicited the aid of Sa'yd, the Emám of Maskat, who actually arrived in Boçrah in the beginning of the month Rajab 1219 (5th October 1804) to see what preparations had been made to receive the enemy, but found to his disgust that the inhabitants, sitting quietly in their houses, and glad of the departure of Sa'úd, had not the least intention of attacking him. The Emám of Maskat, who had arrived with fifteen vessels, now returned disappointed, and when he was at some distance from the coast embarked in a small craft, leaving his lieutenant in command of the fleet; either because he hoped thus to arrive sooner in Maskat, or desired to avoid an attack of the Wahhábys, who might have been informed of his departure; but this precaution proved useless, as the craft in which he sailed was boarded by a pirate of the Al-Jowashem tribe, and in the combat which ensued the Emám of Maskat was killed by a bullet on the 10th November 1804.

The long preparations of the Turks against the Wahhábys had at last come to a conclusion; A'ly Pasha, Futile expedition of the Pasha of Baghdád against the Wahhábys. marched from Baghdád accompanied by Sheryf Pasha and by A'bdullah Pasha, who was already mentioned as the leader of the Damascus caravan of pilgrims, in the paragraph on "The taking of Mekkah." A numerous army, many auxiliaries, and a great deal of artillery had been got ready; in fine, two years of preparations, considerable expense, and everything else seemed to insure the success of this expedition.

Hillah is situated to the south-west of Baghdád, on the banks of the Euphrates, on the outskirts of the desert, and nothing is more easy than to convey troops and ammunition across the Euphrates in that place; but to plunge after Hillah into the desert, and to transport across the sands of it water, provisions, and heavy artillery, is an ardu-

ous task, from which A'ly Pasha recoiled to such a degree that although he had arrived in Hillah in November 1804, he spent the rest of the year without moving a step, and sent only in the beginning of 1805 a detachment of 400 men to reconnoitre the desert and to trace a route for the army. These men advanced a few days and surprised A'yn Sa'yed, of which they took possession, but Soleymán Kiaya, their commander, experiencing a scarcity of water, and dreading a sudden attack of the Wahhábys, marched again back to Hillah. Several such excursions, some of them led by A'ly Pasha himself, were made; and some of them meeting with less success, and being surprised by the Wahhábys, were cut to pieces, whilst others retreated without fighting, and happy to have escaped from the enemy in search of whom they had gone.

Such was the end of this boasted expedition of the Pasha of Baghdád—an expedition which had been in preparation for several years, and which was to have brought ruin upon Sa'úd. This ill success made the Wahhábys better acquainted with the weakness of the Turks, who could bear neither hunger nor thirst, nor the heat of the climate, which were so many foes to them, but allies of the Wahhábys, who had perpetually to contend with, and knew how to bear all these difficulties.

Already during the reign of A'bd-ul-n'zyz the Wahhábys fomented religious and political divisions in the family of the Emám of Maskat, and these stratagems were continued also during the reign of A'b-

dullah, but with more success. Sa'úd had  
 Taking of Medinah and reception of pilgrims in Mekkah. so directed the revolutions of Maskat that now not only the Wahhábý tenets spread there, but also the Emám paid them tribute to avoid hostilities; but whilst occupied on the Persian Gulf, Sa'úd did not lose sight of the coasts of the Red Sea, and soon again arrived in person in the Hejaz, as will be shown further on.

We have seen how in 1802 Sa'úd had been forced to abandon the siege of Jeddah and Medinah. He left a garrison at Mekkah, which, slender as it was, appears to have maintained itself there, although the great distance from Dera'yeh to Mekkah, and the tragic death of A'bd-ul-n'zyz had considerably diminished the prestige the Wahhábys enjoyed in the sacred city, the possession of which by them the Sublime Porte considered as a terrible calamity. As, however, Jeddah was still in the hands of the Turks, efforts were made in Con-

stantinople to find and to send there a Pasha who would be able at least to counterbalance the influence of the Wahhábys in the holy territory ; but ineffectually. The caravan which had departed in 1803 experienced very hard treatment in Mekkah. Every pilgrim had been compelled to pay eight piastres to the Wahhábys, a shameful and hitherto unknown capitation. To crown these outrages Sa'úd established a new distinction between the Arabs and the Turks by making the latter pay a double capitation ; but they were happy to purchase even at this price their entrance into Mekkah, which the Wahhábys might have interdicted them. Such a prohibition would, however, have entailed a considerable diminution of the revenues, to preserve which Sa'úd allowed the pilgrims to perform freely all the ceremonies of their religion, but he made each of them a pretext for a new tax. The author of the " *Histoire des Wahhábys*" states that the Porte having been apprized of these extortions in 1804 endeavoured to devise means for putting a stop to them, but no other are mentioned except that Ibrahim Pasha—not of Egypt, but of Damascus—was appointed leader of a caravan, and that as far as Medinah he had met with no interference whatever from the Wahhábys. This city, being in the desert, was on that occasion not besieged, but only blockaded by Sa'úd, who allowed no provisions whatever, which usually arrived from Arabia, to enter it. The inhabitants being pressed by famine, were aided by Ibrahim Pasha, who divided with them the provisions destined for the caravan ; but he is accused of having taken advantage of the distress they were in by selling them his victuals at an excessive price. Leaving Medinah, Ibrahim Pasha took the caravan under his charge to Mekkah, where the pilgrims avoided under his protection a portion of the ill-treatment they had experienced during the preceding year, for which purpose he made great sacrifices by preferring to pay an ignoble tribute to the Wahhábys rather than to be publicly disgraced by insults ; because, after all, Ibrahim Pasha paid the tribute, not from his own resources, but from the very heavy tax he had levied among the pilgrims, who, though they escaped the extortion of the Wahhábys, had fallen into far more greedy hands.<sup>25</sup>

When Ibrahim Pasha departed from Medinah, he still left some provisions, which were, however, not abundant enough for the support of the inhabitants, who, abandoning all further resistance, opened the gates of the city towards the end of 1804 to the Wahhábys ;<sup>26</sup> this

<sup>25</sup> *Histoire des Wahhábys*, p. 76.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 77.

event took place, however, according to Burckhardt,<sup>87</sup> during the spring of the just mentioned year; and he further informs us that the principal man of the city, Hassan Kalaji, had usurped despotic power and been guilty of the greatest injustice during the general distress, while all supplies were withdrawn from the town by the Wahhábys. He at last seized on the treasure attached to the tomb of Muḥammad, and divided part of it among his adherents, after which he surrendered the city to the Wahhábys. The inhabitants of Medinah, who are much more inclined to Turkish interest than the Mekkans, and live wholly upon the profits derived from those who visit their mosque, were not so leniently treated as the people of Mekkah had been. The usual tribute was required, but private property was not plundered. The chief Turkish officer of the town, Aqa-al-Haram (appointed by the Sultán of Constantinople), was obliged to leave Medinah with many Turkish Hajis; and Al-Medheyán, whom Sa'úd had nominated Sheikh of the whole tribe of Harb, was appointed governor of Medinah.

When Sa'úd himself entered Medinah, which happened soon after its surrender, he stripped Muḥammad's tomb of all the valuable articles that it still possessed; the gold vessels having previously been taken away. He also endeavoured to destroy the high dome erected over the tomb, and would not suffer Turkish pilgrims to approach Medinah from any quarter. The Wahhábys, however, continued always to visit Medinah in honour of Muḥammad, and they paid a devout visit also to the mosque of the prophet, but not, like other Musalmáns, to his tomb situated in that mosque. The tomb was left uninjured; Sa'úd regarded as idolatrous any visits, prayers, or exclamations addressed to it, and therefore prohibited them; but it is false to assert, as the Turks have done, that the pilgrimage to Medinah was abolished by the Wahhábys.

The above statement of Burckhardt does not hint at any violence having been done to the Musalmáns of Medinah by Sa'úd, and our French historian likewise records his moderation in this respect, but adds that Sa'úd took good care to make the inhabitants understand that they could not withdraw themselves from his authority, and that any attempt to do so, which they might make at the instigation of the Porte, they would have to rue bitterly; for this purpose he convoked a general assembly of the great Sheikhs and Ulemma, in which he said:—"Accept my laws, be subject to me, and you shall enjoy my

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<sup>87</sup> p. 331.

protection ; but if you wish again to live under the yoke of the Porte you must look to it for the means of your subsistence."

In this manner Sa'úd had obtained possession of Medinah without shedding a single drop of blood, and a weak garrison sufficed to retain this important town in his power, the loss of which was bitterly felt by the Porte, but caused very little sensation in the rest of the Ottoman empire, where the conquest of Mekkah during the reign of A'bd-ul-a'yz had caused great consternation, and an invasion of Asia Minor had been apprehended on that occasion. All fears ceased, however, when it was perceived that the Wahhábys were chiefly engaged to strengthen their dominions between the two seas, namely, the Red and the Persian Gulf, and the Musalmáns, being very glad to be left alone in Asia Minor, willingly abandoned the whole Arabian peninsula to the Wahhábys. The Sublime Porte was, moreover, highly pleased to perceive that in Sa'úd the greed for money was stronger than fanaticism, which had been the dominant passion of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, the founder of the sect, and of those who succeeded him in the religious and secular management of the Wahhábý dominions. No doubt was entertained that the revenues furnished by a caravan of pilgrims to Mekkah would always be a sufficient motive for the Wahhábys not to intercept it or to harass it beyond the customary extortions for which the Porte was fully prepared ; accordingly A'bdullah Pasha was in 1805 appointed to lead

A'bdullah Pasha escorts the pilgrims to Mekkah, and no other troops were given him except those which were already under his command at Damascus. This is the same A'bdullah Pasha who had escorted the pilgrim caravan in 1801, and who had on that occasion facilitated the retreat of Gháleb. Having afterwards fallen into disgrace he retired to Baghdád and took refuge with A'ly Pasha there ; and by the intercession of the latter he again found favour at the court of Constantinople ; he was also mentioned in the paragraph on the " Futile expedition of the Pasha of Baghdád against the Wahhábys." During the whole journey from Damascus the caravan met only with one adventure ; A'bdullah Pasha attacked in the desert a party of Wahhábys which he put to flight, but was, whilst his men were engaged in plundering their captives, surprised by a stronger detachment and forced to retreat. Sa'úd had left but a weak garrison in Medinah, which would have been unable to keep out the caravan from the city,

and contented itself with levying a heavy contribution from A'bdullah Pasha, who was, however, received by the people of the city in a very unfriendly spirit; Sa'úd namely, who had retired to Dera'yeh and was apprized of the approach of A'bdullah Pasha, apprehended that his presence might become the cause of disturbances in the city, accordingly he resorted to the same means for keeping it quiet which he had employed to conquer it; he intercepted all communications, signs of famine soon manifested themselves, and provisions were sold at exorbitant prices; when the population had been reduced to the necessity of grinding date kernels into flour to ward off starvation, A'bdullah Pasha arrived with his caravan of pilgrims, and the inhabitants considered him to be the indirect cause of their distress; hence their aversion to him, and their desire to see him depart as speedily as possible. A'bdullah accordingly soon departed to Mekkah with his caravan, which was, according to ancient usage, met by camel-drivers at a distance of four marches, who offered their services, and replacing the exhausted animals by fresh ones, facilitated the passage through the desert, which the caravan had still to traverse before reaching the holy city. To the astonishment of the pilgrims, however, the camel-drivers, whom they had hired, disappeared the next day, together with the baggage they had loaded upon their animals. This was a considerable loss to the pilgrims, but proved to be only the prelude to much larger ones. When they arrived near Mekkah they were obliged to pay an entrance fee of one hundred purses, and independently of this sum, each pilgrim had to pay ten piastres. Lastly the Wahhábys exacted also ten piastres for every beast of burden and seven piastres for every hundred-weight of baggage.

Mount A'rafat, which is near the holy city, must also be visited by the pilgrims, who were charged one hundred purses to go up to it and as many to come down from it. Thus Sa'úd utilized every ceremony which pilgrims must perform for extorting money, and they ceased to pay only when they again entered the desert. A'bdullah Pasha was naturally exasperated at these exactions, but was unable to cope with the Wahhábys and afraid to resist them. Once in the desert, however, he marched against the camel-drivers who had robbed the caravan and killed some of them; soon, however, he encountered a detachment of Wahhábys near a torrent on the Damascus route; they cut off his passage, and, unable to force it, A'bdullah purchased it for the price of six hundred purses.

Such was the end of this pilgrimage, the most disastrous of all previous ones for the caravan. Sa'úd, who became more exacting and overbearing in proportion as his power increased, throwing off all reserve, declared to A'bdullah Pasha that he would henceforth allow no caravans to travel under an escort from the Sultán of Constantinople, and that he could himself protect the caravan. For this purpose he sent a detachment of Wahhábys to Mezerid, a station on the pilgrim route, distant 24 hours from Damascus. He also prohibited the pilgrims henceforth to have the music, by which they were usually accompanied, and to take with them the embroidered carpets which they had been accustomed to carry in triumph as far as Mekkah.<sup>85</sup>

Even before the occupation of Medinah by the Wahhábys the great pilgrimages by caravans had ceased, and only small parties or single pilgrims continued to come. The Syrian caravan, commanded by Yusuf Aga, an officer of A'bdullah Pasha, failed to reach Medinah, and retreated when within a few hours' distance, but was not molested in its return march. The Egyptian Haj of that year did not venture to take the land route, because the tribes of Harb and Jeheynah had now also become Wahhábys; but the Mahmal of a few pilgrims went by sea to Jeddah with about four or five hundred soldiers under the command of Sheryf Pasha, whom the Porte had appointed Governor of Jeddah. The Persian Haj, too, had been kept back since 1802, and the same was the case with the Yemen caravan of pilgrims; so that after 1803 no regular Haj caravan arrived at Mekkah, where few only succeeded in finding their way. The Mahmal was detained at Jeddah, and Sheryf Pasha died in 1804 in the Hejaz. It was suspected that he had been poisoned by order of Gháleb.

While Medinah was compelled to admit within its gates the northern Wahhábys, those of the south were not idle in extending the influence of their arms. Abu Noqtah, the Sheykh of Asyr, had been for some time at war with the Sheryf Hammád, who

The Wahhábys on the at that time governed the Yemen coast  
coasts of the Red Sea. <sup>86</sup> from near Gonfode, southward to Beytal-  
Faqih, a country which he had himself detached from the jurisdiction of his nearest relation, the Emám of Çana'á. Hamúd, relying upon the walls of his town and five or six hundred cavalry in his service, had always refused to adopt the Wahhábý faith. Near the

<sup>85</sup> Histoire des Wahhábys, p. 80.

<sup>86</sup> This whole paragraph is taken from Burckhardt, p. 333.



close of the year 1804, Abu Noqtah, with a numerous body of his Arabs, descended from the mountains, and spread over the coasts such multitudes of Wahhábys that Hamúd was obliged to flee. The richest towns of the Yemen coast, Loheyah and Hodeydah, were plundered; but Abu Noqtah did not venture to remain in them long with his army; he retreated again to the mountains, thence keeping in check the whole coast of Yemen.

Although the Hejáz was now conquered, the power of the Sheryf Gháleb continued to be very great. His name and venerable office, his great talents for intrigue, and his personal influence over many Bedouin tribes, that still resisted the authority of Sa'úd, and the valuable presents made to the latter whenever he visited Mekkah, caused the Wahhábý chief to connive at several of Gháleb's proceedings. When Sa'úd approached Mekkah for the annual pilgrimage—which he regularly performed with great numbers of his Arabs—a whole caravan of camels, loaded with presents from the Sheryf, came to meet him at Zeymeh, two days distant from the city. The presents comprised all sorts of choice provisions, clothes, and other articles, besides several camel-loads of Indian muslin, to serve for the *Ehrám* or mantle, in which the pilgrims enter the sacred city. All his officers received similar presents. The women and children had all new suits of clothes and quantities of sweetmeats. Such, indeed, was the liberality of Gháleb on the occasion, that Sa'úd said it made him blush, and rendered it impossible for him to treat the Sheryf as he otherwise should have done.

At Mekkah the power of Gháleb was thus always balancing that of Sa'úd, and at Jeddah the authority of the former continued in full force. A good garrison was kept in that town which the Wahhábys never entered, although the inhabitants were obliged to profess their conversion to the new faith whenever any of Sa'úd's officers visited them on business. In the course of 1805 Medhayfeh, who still continued his hostility against Gháleb, made several attempts to seize Jeddah with his own Arabs, and without any formal authority from the Wahhábý chief. He took possession of the wells belonging to the town, but the inhabitants, including foreigners who happened to be there, took up arms, and frustrated his design.

Although the Haj caravans were now interrupted, great numbers of pilgrims flocked every year to Mekkah from all parts of the Turkish empire. They came by sea to Jeddah, and no orders were ever given

by Sa'úd to prevent them going on to Mekkah. These pilgrims of course were obliged to comply with all the Wabháby precepts; but those who conducted themselves accordingly and with decency experienced no harsh treatment.

The Hejáz was now tranquil. The communications being opened with all the interior, and few foreigners arriving, provisions were abundant and cheap; but the inhabitants of the holy cities had lost their principal means of subsistence, derived from their intercourse with foreign merchants coming to the pilgrimage.

We have avoided dwelling on facts of minor importance and

Attack of Emám A'ly, of undeserving of record, namely, on the Zobeyr, and of Semawah. numerous expeditions of the Wabhábys to the gates of Baghdád, of Damascus, or in the desert which separates Syria from the Euphrates, because these raids were undertaken only by small detachments, having no other object in view but to surprise some village or to plunder a caravan, and were of no importance except that they interrupted the communications of Damascus and Aleppo with Baghdád as well as with other places. The Wabhábys had, however, become masters of the whole of Arabia, the town of Jeddah alone excepted. After the taking of Medinah, Sa'úd ordered the name of the Sultán of Constantinople to be omitted in the public prayers and his own to be substituted for it, but the Porte took no steps to recover its authority, nor to insure the security of pilgrims from the exactions of the Wabhábys.

A'bdullah, the Sultán of the Wabhábys and paternal uncle of Sa'úd, had lost all control over the latter, and suffered him to designate his own son, whose name was likewise A'bdullah, as his successor in 1805. This new General was in 1806 appointed to the command of an expedition against Emám A'ly, which he surprised in the month of April during the same year. The defence of this town being important on account of the sacred tomb it contains, walls surrounded it. A'bdullah, who had arrived under cover of the night, found the gates closed, but the Wabhábys scaled the walls, and one of their leaders, sure of victory, briefly addressed his men, ordering them to massacre the inhabitants and to plunder the town. The acclamations with which this little harangue was received awakened the sentries of Emám A'ly; and the whole population, remembering the carnage perpetrated by the Wabhábys on a former occasion when they had taken Emám Husseyn, ran to arms, prepared to die, and attacked the Wabhábys

furiously. A'bdullah, astonished at this unexpected resistance, and unacquainted with the locality, now retreated and took up a position outside the town, intending to renew the attack in plain daylight. He was, however, disappointed, for at the break of day one of the Sheikhs of Mesopotamia advanced upon him under cover of the artillery of the town with a numerous tribe of Arabs. In the battle which ensued the Wahhábys were completely beaten, and left more than 500 dead on the field.

Asbamed of his defeat, A'bdullah desired to blot it out by attacking Samawah unexpectedly; but the news of his disaster had preceded him, and the inhabitants were prepared to fight. Accordingly he determined to lay siege to the place; that, however, is a military operation, in which the Wahhábys never displayed much skill, and after repeated, useless attacks A'bdullah thought it best to retire. He lost before Samawah more than a thousand men whom the inhabitants had killed in various sorties they made.

In comparison to the advantages gained by his father Sa'úd at Medinah and the Hejáz, A'bdullah's defeats appeared still more disgraceful than they would otherwise have been, and he was determined to make one more attempt to recover his prestige by an attack on the territory of A'ly Pasha. He marched against Zobeyr, near Baghdád, where the Wahhábys had now presented themselves for the third time, but with just as little success.

Thus an expedition terminated which was throughout unlucky to the Wahhábys, who are really invincible in the desert only, but never dismayed by reverses in cultivated localities, and embark again in another expedition after having been defeated in the first. Such is the character of all Arabs, and therefore also of the Wahhábys. Being accustomed to march quickly through enormous spaces of desert in order to prevent the spreading of the news of their departure, they consider this celerity to be the only means of success. If they cease an attack after having experienced some resistance, they do so merely to make another, in which they prevent that very resistance. Thus their retreat is merely a prelude to a new combat, and they are the more dangerous antagonists, because it is easy to repel, and difficult to conquer them.

The defeat of A'bdullah furnishes another proof of the just mentioned trait of the Arabs. Sa'úd was but little affected by the reverses his son had suffered, and far from being discouraged, formed other projects. Learning that A'ly Pasha had concentrated his forces on the

frontiers of Persia, the Wahhábý chief considered this to be a favourable opportunity to renew his attempts upon Boçrah, a town which had for a long time been the object of his ambition ; but especially now when he had become master of the whole western coast of the Persian Gulf. The Al-Jowáshem Arabs, since a long time subject to Sa'úd, were masters of the Gulf itself, which they covered with their dhows. Moreover, the date-harvest, which is very abundant around Boçrah, and on the banks of the river (the Shañt-ul-A'rab), would have been an inexhaustible source of income to the Wahhábys. Sa'úd, however, could not execute his project on that occasion. The great preparations which the Turks made at Damascus called his attention to another quarter.<sup>30</sup>

A'bdullah, the Pasha of Damascus, had in 1805 enjoyed the glory of leading the caravan of Mekkah as far as its destination. Sa'úd declared that this caravan should be the last. As protector of Mekkah and of the sacred localities, he demanded that in future the care of the pilgrims should be entrusted to his own troops. As a reformer he interdicted the use of the music by which the pilgrims were usually accompanied, as well as the conveyance of the ornaments which they bore in triumph to the tomb of the prophet.<sup>31</sup>

Had the Sultán of Turkey quietly allowed Sa'úd to arrogate to himself the protectorate over the holy cities, he would have renounced one of his highest prerogatives. Accordingly it became necessary to wage war against Sa'úd, which step was at last taken, and orders issued in 1806 to Yusuf Pasha for assembling in the vicinity of Damascus an army, to the command of which he was appointed with instructions to protect the march of the pilgrims as far as Mekkah and then to attack Sa'úd in Dera'yeh itself.

Jeddah, which the Wahhábys had attacked in 1803 in vain, was yet subject to the Sublime Porte, which endeavoured to keep it so ; but just whilst great preparations to attack the Wahhábys were being made in Damascus, the news of the loss of Jeddah arrived. Although situated in the midst of a region occupied by the Wahhábys, this town had always resisted their attacks, but waiting in vain for the aid announced by the Porte, it was at last compelled to surrender.

<sup>30</sup> Histoire des Wahhábys, p. 89.

<sup>31</sup> See end of paragraph "A'bdullah Pasha escorts the pilgrims from Damascus."

Far from being able to collect a powerful army, Yusuf Pasha was surrounded only by a few soldiers; he nevertheless obeyed and marched with the pilgrims from Damascus, although unable to afford them any protection. The pilgrims met with no obstacle during the greater portion of their journey, but when they arrived in the vicinity of Medinah, they were informed that the Qady of Mekkah, who preceded them, had been arrested. This news was soon confirmed by the arrival of a messenger from Sa'úd with a letter to the address of A'bdullah Pasha; in this letter he observed that "he had positively explained himself with reference to the pilgrimage to Mekkah, he had declared that he would henceforth allow of no escort, no music, nor ornaments, which are signs of idolatry. He complained that after orders so explicit on his part, the pilgrims were still persisting in their old habit, and taking no notice of them. He ended by declaring that he would give time to the caravan to retreat, but that he would cut it to pieces if it advanced further."<sup>88</sup>

Yusuf and A'bdullah Pasha held a consultation on this message, and knowing that by money all obstacles may be removed in such cases, they considered it as nothing more than a pretext to extort a good sum. Accordingly they offered to Sa'úd 500 purses—250,000 piastres, or about 300,000 francs—and continued their march to Medinah without any doubts on the success of their proposal. When they, however, arrived at the gates, they found no admission, and offered 2,000 purses—a million of piastres—to Sa'úd, who was inexorable. Surrounded on all sides by numerous detachments of Wahhábys, and threatened at every step they made of being cut to pieces, they gave up the hope to enter Medinah.

On this occasion it was seen how much rancour the inhabitants harboured towards Musalmáns, and with what zeal they were inflamed for the Wahhábby doctrines. They came out in crowds to hinder the pilgrims from entering. The Musalmáns were on all sides overwhelmed with insults, and even women hurled stones at them. "Retreat," said they, "flee from the sacred localities; you who attribute companions to God." Meanwhile the danger in which the pilgrims were increased every moment; the detachments of the Wahhábys around the caravan became more numerous; hope of plunder animated their zeal, which was still more intensified by fanaticism. Accordingly Yusuf and A'bdullah Pasha concluded to retreat, and the return journey was performed in the greatest disorder. The pilgrims who were well mounted

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<sup>88</sup> Histoire des Wahhábys, p. 101.

and followed the leaders of the caravan reached Damascus in long and quick daily marches, but those who lagged behind without provisions and without an escort perished in great number, whilst some wandered about in the desert and arrived in Damascus at long intervals, thus prolonging the spectacle of the public calamity.

The news of the disaster of the caravan had preceded A'bdullah Pasha, who found the gates of Damascus closed when he arrived, and the walls undergoing repair. The inhabitants were in a state of consternation, and considered it necessary to make preparations for the defence of the city, because they entertained no doubt that the Wahhábys would, after having put to flight Yusuf Pasha, and caused the destruction of the caravan, profit by the general disorder to take possession of Damascus. Had Sa'úd been able to profit by circumstances so favourable to him, he might perhaps have taken the city without resistance; but he remained in the desert contented with the advantages he had gained, and lost the best opportunity which had as yet presented itself to invade Syria.

The taking of Jeddah and the calamity of the Turkish caravan at Medinah show sufficiently how powerful Sa'úd had become in the interior of Arabia; but that peninsula proved also to be the limit of his conquests. Vast deserts separated the Wahhábý dominions from the rest of Asia, and beyond these deserts populations dwell which are both in manners and in character essentially different from the Arabs; nevertheless, as soon as the Wahhábys had formed themselves into a large confederation, they determined to become conquerors, as may already have been observed from what we have narrated in the preceding pages on their manner of extending their power and inculcating their doctrines from the province of Nejd in Central Arabia to the shores of the Persian Gulf on the one side to those of the Red Sea on the other, to Yemen in the south; and in the north the Wahhábys were the sole masters of the desert which separated them from the rest of Asia; on that side alone Sa'úd might have concentrated 180,000 men for the invasion of Syria, but he preferred to strengthen his hold upon the sacred territory and on the Persian Gulf.

Now the Wahhábys were in possession of the islands of Bahrayin and on the main land of Zabara as well as Piratic Wahhábys on the Persian Gulf. of Ras-al-Khaymah (the cape of the tent), which dominates the whole Persian Gulf, and being a point from which

navigation could easily be intercepted, it became the harbour of departure for the dhows of the Al-Jowáshem pirates for attacking and plundering vessels trading with India, or for making descents upon Abushehr and other places along the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf. The dhows were small vessels carrying from twelve to sixteen pieces of cannon with four or five hundred men, who boarded all vessels and gave no quarter. In this manner they annihilated the commerce of the Persian Gulf.

The cannons taken from the numerous vessels these Wahháby pirates had plundered, provided them with a formidable artillery, which they used in every one of their strongholds along the coast, the most important of them being Rás-al-Khaymah. It is situated on a steep mountain, and was the residence of the governor or principal Sheikh of the Al-Jowáshem Arabs, A'bdullah Ben Gaur, one of whose functions was to preside over the distribution of the prizes which the pirates took almost daily in the gulf. One-half of everything taken by the pirates was scrupulously allotted to Sa'úd, whose revenues, or rather those of the Wahháby treasury, were thus augmented.

Sa'úd was not only master of the west, the east, and the interior of Wahháby influence in the peninsula, but exercised great influence also in O'mán, where the terror of his name had established his authority even before it had been publicly acknowledged. After the death of Sayyid, the last Emám of Maskat, his nephew Beder succeeded him, and the natural heirs, his two sons, were excluded because the Wahháby supported the pretension of the usurper, who paid for this protection an annual tribute to them, and thus sacrificed the independence of his country. Beder was a zealous partisan of the tenets and professors of Wahhábyism, and his example converted many inhabitants to them, whilst others remained faithful to their old religion and to their legitimate prince, whose faction was very strong in Maskat itself, and Beder hoped to enfeeble it by strenuously propagating the tenets of A'bd-ul-Wahháby, to which he was indebted for his sovereignty; his efforts had, however, the contrary effect, and strengthened, instead of weakening, by the faction of the Musalmans, who, being headed by the eldest son of the late Emám, at last put the usurper to flight. He retired to the Al-Jowáshem pirates, and found a refuge with A'bdullah Ben Gaur.

The new Emám had two grudges against Sa'úd, one against his religion and the other against his supremacy, and although he paid on

his accession the tribute of 25,000 piastres to the Wahháby, he thought that he would, after the flight of the usurper and the consequent weakness of his faction, soon be able to shake off the yoke of the hated Wahháby. Accordingly he armed a fleet to avenge his father's death upon the Al-Jowáshems.<sup>23</sup> Maskat is separated by high mountains from the country which these Arabs inhabit, and the only passage for crossing over to them is dominated by the fort of Rás-al-Khaymah. Accordingly the new Emám was anxious to obtain possession of this place, which would have insured its former independence to his country and restrained the Wahhábys from invading it. Such a project could, however, not be executed with badly armed Arabs, incapable of sustained efforts, and only fit for a *coup de main*. This expedition resulted only in a simple landing, although the fleet of the Emám had been accompanied by an English vessel, and directed by the English agent of Maskat. It was impossible to approach the walls of Rás-al-Khaymah, the key to the possessions of the Emám, and he was sorry to leave it in the hands of his foes; he succeeded, however, long afterwards in taking it, as will be narrated further on.

One of the chief means taken by Sa'úd to insure the supremacy of the reformed religion was to retain the principal events of 1808 and attempts of the Wahhábys against Syria. injunction to perform the pilgrimage to Mekkah, but to prohibit it to all other Musalmáns—who were idolaters according to Wahháby notions—except to such as had made profession of the tenets promulgated by A'bd-ul-Wahháb. We have seen how A'bdullah Pasha had with the Damascus caravan been turned back from the holy cities, and it seemed that the Osmanlis would abandon all further efforts, but the pilgrimage to Mekkah was too important a point of religion to be given up by the Sublime Porte without a last attempt to get it restored. Although Sa'úd had plainly issued his ultimatum on this subject, hopes were entertained that he could be induced, by a sacrifice of money, not only to allow the pilgrimage to be performed by Musalmáns, but even to protect the caravan on the march. An offer was made to pay to him the 400 purses annually granted to the Pasha of Damascus for the purchase of provisions, and usually brought to the caravan when it was just returning from Mekkah. This sum, and various other contributions which the pilgrims themselves would pay in Medinah and

<sup>23</sup> See the paragraph "Attack of Boçrah by the Wahhábys and death of the Emám of Maskat."



Mekkah, appeared to be considerable enough to tempt the avarice of Sa'úd.

The Porte was also inclined to bring about a reconciliation between the Muĥammadans and the reformers ; it was even prepared to make concessions, but the Wahnábys, extremely strict in the observance of their doctrines, would not relax even one of them. Severity is always a characteristic of reforms, and it tended also in this instance to uphold the differences by which alone Wahnábism could exist as a separate sect. Thus ambition and fanaticism were combined to strengthen the schism which the Porte wished to destroy.

Only one way remained in which an approximation could be effected. The Musalmáns had either to become Wahnábys, or to appear to have done so. The Pasha of Damascus had either received positive instructions in this respect, or been ordered to adopt any measures he thought proper in order to facilitate the safety of the caravan, for he seemed at the time it started from Damascus to have adopted the principles of the reformer. The Wahnábys lay particular stress on what they are pleased to call purity of morals, and on their intolerance towards other religions. Accordingly Yusuf Pasha affected an extreme severity of manners and cruel oppression towards Christians and Jews, whom he burdened by most oppressive regulations ; they could wear garments of no other but a dark colour, and not only the hue, but also the form was prescribed for their shoes. They were ordered to assume always the most respectful attitudes in the presence of Turks. They could impart no precepts of religion to their children, and they as well as the Musalmáns were ordered to allow their beards to grow. Had a barber shaved any of them his thumb would have been cut off. All these rules were enforced with great severity, and a Christian who yet wore yellow slippers after the publication of them was arrested and hanged ; four others who were in the same predicament could not avoid death except by making a profession of Islám. To prevent the wholesale emigration of the terrified Christians and Jews, Yusuf Pasha now published an edict of the Khalif O'mar Ben al-Khattáb (reigned from A.D. 655 to 661 A.H. 13-23), consisting of twenty-four points, in which they were taught to behave so as to avoid punishment. He proclaimed also orders regulating divine worship, and during the hours of public prayers all shops were closed ; the use of wine and strong liquors was also prohibited.

Thus Yusuf Pasha appeared to conform to the principles of the Wahnábys by the severest measures and strictest police regulations,

nor were any doubts entertained that he would soon make an open profession of their tenets. Had the reformers partaken of this opinion, it would have made them more tractable ; they appeared, however, to be inclined to protect the caravan to Mekkah, because they sent a detachment as far as thirty leagues from Damascus to meet it, to receive it, and to escort it through the whole desert journey.

The caravan started from Damascus on the 30th December in 1807 in the poorest condition, without banners, without arms, without music, and with only one cannon to fire signals. It consisted of only 350 pilgrims, whereas in former times it numbered 30,000. The sight of the misery and helplessness of the pilgrims was still more embittered by the remembrance of the pomp the old caravans used to display.

Yusuf Pasha had flattered himself in vain that he could conciliate Sa'úd by complying with all his pretensions ; he had deceived himself by imagining that he would seduce him by proclamations, by the severity of his regulations, and by the state of dependence to which he had subjected the pilgrims. He became himself the dupe of him whom he wished to deceive. Sálem Ben Sálem, who had been designated by Sa'úd as the commander of the escort, forced the caravan again to retrace its steps to Damascus. He pretended that he had reasons to be dissatisfied with the behaviour of Yusuf Pasha at Mezerib. Be it that this was a real grievance, or merely a pretext to give colour to the avidity of Sa'úd, the Wahhábys profited by it by taking possession of the *Surreh*-treasure, namely, a variety of donations for the holy city fixed by custom, which amounted to a very considerable sum.

Thus ended the last attempt of the Musalmáns to go to Mekkah. It appears to have been the intention of Yusuf Pasha to declare himself a Wahháby, and to become the Governor of Damascus under the authority of Sa'úd, but his misunderstanding with Sálem Ben Sálem frustrated this project. Soon after the caravan had again reached Damascus, a messenger arrived with a letter from Sa'ud, inviting the Sheykhs and the whole population to make a profession of Wahhábysm, in which case he promised to the true believers security and protection, but threatened to destroy the city if it offered any resistance. Similar letters were sent to Aleppo and to other towns of Syria.

The consternation in Syria was great, and a general belief was entertained that the Wahhábys were on their march with 40,000 men to enforce their threats. They appeared, indeed, since six months bent upon the conquest of Syria, and a numerous party of the A'nyzeh tribe

having taken possession of a village but few leagues distant from Aleppo massacred the whole population of it. The Jews and Christians scattered over Syria, frightened by this example of Wahnábý cruelty, asked each other what their fate would be under the government of the reformer. Some thought it would be best to emigrate, whilst others took comfort and adduced the precedent of Maskat to support their opinion that they had nothing to fear. They stated that when Sa'úd had conquered that town he was asked what he would do with the Christians and Jews. Sa'úd replied that these two sects had their own books of law, to which they might conform, and that by paying the capitation they would enjoy security and protection from him. He asserted that the Musalmáns alone were culpable, because they possess the true book of the law, which they corrupt by gross idolatry; that therefore his wrath was directed against them alone, and that they had to choose between Wahnábýism or death.

Sa'úd's cruel disposition towards Islám had been too well proved by a thousand examples, and therefore terror imparted some energy to the people of Syria. In Aleppo the Yanitcharys, who were masters of the town, would have preferred to sacrifice their all than to see themselves overawed in the town by a power inimical to abuses which would have crushed them. In Damascus, Yusuf Pasha, deeply stung for having been duped by Sa'úd, adjured the inhabitants to take up arms, by reminding them of the recent disaster of the caravan, and of the massacre of the pilgrims whom A'bdullah Pasha had been unable to save. The bad faith of which the Wahnábýs had given so many proofs was a sufficient inducement to the people of Syria for defending themselves, and the resistance presented by Boçrah, Zobeyr, and many other towns to the Wahnábýs was an additional motive. In fact the people flattered themselves that they could easily repel the invaders, and all were desirous of participating in the victory. Meanwhile the rumour circulated that 40,000 Wahnábýs were on their

The Wahnábýs give up their intention to invade Syria.

march to Syria; it happened, however, that after all this last attempt of Sa'úd remained, like so many other projected expeditions, but an idle threat. As soon as Sa'úd learnt of the measures of defence, he gave up his intentions of attack. He had calculated upon an easy victory on account of the divisions prevalent in Syria, but he hesitated to purchase it by a war, the result of which was uncertain.

Such was the end of this invasion of Sa'ad. It furnished a new example of the difficulty which the Wabhábys always experienced in passing beyond the desert which separates Arabia from Asia. Nine months before this attempt of the Wabhábys against Syria, they had made one against Egypt. It had been undertaken with the same means, and had the same result.

The only advantage the Wabhábys gained in Syria consisted in the taking of some castles south of Damascus on the route to the desert. Yusuf Pasha sent troops to defend those which were nearer to the town, but the wells and springs which the Wabhábys had filled up could not be saved. Thus communications between Syria and Yemen became more difficult than ever.

After destroying the ancient communications, Sa'úd appeared for a while desirous of opening to commerce other routes instead of the old ones, but desired to keep them under his own influence, and expected them to become a source of revenue by the duties the caravans would have to pay to him. Accordingly a communication was opened, but only for a few months, which had existed already in ancient times and during the middle age, namely, between Suez and Khán Yunas, the last place in Syria, at the extremity of the isthmus, which separates Asia from Africa. Between these two points the march of caravans was protected by Wabháby detachments. Thus money of silver and of gold was conveyed to Suez in exchange for coffee from Yemen and wares from India. This route, which presented great advantages over that from Boçrah and Baghdád to Aleppo, had been followed by several caravans from Nablús, and at once reduced the price of coffee in Syria by one-half. The establishment of this route proves that the Wabhábys entertained more enlightened views on the advantages of commerce, and on the means of utilising the products of their dominions than they had been credited with. This new communication was, however, soon interrupted by the internecine troubles raging at that time in Egypt, and more important objects turned the attention of Sa'úd to another quarter.<sup>34</sup>

Although the Wabhábys had gained no other advantage in Syria except that they occupied a few castles near the desert, as we have just narrated, they nevertheless soon again engaged in hostilities against the Turks, in the territory of Baghdád, and, strangely enough,

Last expedition of the Wabhábys against Baghdád.

<sup>34</sup> Histoire des Wabhábys, p. 136.

in consequence of overtures of alliance made by Sa'úd to Suleymán, the Pasha of Baghdád. Hoping either to deceive the Pasha, or flattering himself that he might convert him to Wahhábism, Sa'úd despatched in February 1808 messengers to Baghdád to effect a conciliation. The governor of Baghdád, however, refused all offers, and demanded that Sa'úd should, before he agreed to any negotiations, acknowledge himself to be a subject of the Porte. Deeply stung by this insult, the Wahháby General immediately began to make warlike preparations in Dera'yeh, but his intention was not revealed till some time afterwards, when it became evident that he intended to attack Baghdád itself. Meanwhile the people of Qrayn, a village four days distant from Boçrah, and consisting of Arabs tributary to the Wahhábys, failed to pay their dues, and 4,000 men were sent to reduce them; but they were repelled by Sheikh A'bdullah Ben Sálem, the governor of that place, who was, for this feat, rewarded by Suleymán Pasha with a pelisse and various other presents.

The above was not the only check which the Wahhábys met with at that time, as they had to quell internal troubles, especially between the Jurbeks and another tribe subject to them. Also the people of Zebarah had revolted, and Sa'úd experienced some difficulty in pacifying them. Lastly, a great drought had for some years afflicted the interior of Arabia, in consequence the water had failed in nearly all the wells, and a famine ensued which brought in its train fevers and epidemic diseases.

All these reverses could not turn away Sa'úd from his projected expedition, and he sent a detachment of 3,500 Wahhábys to attack Emám Husseyn, whilst he himself marched against Baghdád with an army of 45,000 men, which took at once possession of all the villages about the Euphrates.

Suleyman Pasha had just returned to Baghdád from his expedition against A'bd-ur-rahman Pasha, whose camp he had taken; but he could not enjoy the fruit of his victory in peace, as he was obliged to make preparations to meet the Wahhábys, whose advance disquieted him and the inhabitants of Baghdád considerably. The consternation was so great, that the bazaars were forthwith closed, commerce ceased, and not only the Yanitcharys, but all the Turkish merchants were ordered to arm and to join the forces of Suleymán.

Meanwhile the Wahhábys had occupied by capitulation the village of Shiffetah, situated eight leagues from Kerbella, reinforced the detachment which blockaded Emám Hussayn, and at the same time carried

on the siege of Hindieh and of A'yn Sa'yd. Now the Qáym-maqám of Suleymán Pasha marched to Kerbella, and having been joined by the Kinya-Bey as well as by other officers, repelled the Wahhábys in two actions. Soon Suleymán Pasha himself arrived in Kerbella, all the merchants and Turks of Baghdád following him. At his approach the Wahhábys raised the siege of Hindieh, and the Kiaya-Bey, who pursued them as far as Shiffetah, compelled them to abandon the village, the Sheikh of which Suleymán Pasha would have been glad to spare, but as he persevered in his profession of Wahhábysm, which he had embraced, he was put to death. Lastly, Suleymán Pasha entered, on the 15th August 1808, victoriously the city of Baghdád after having by his mere presence scattered an army which was believed to be invincible.

Thus the second expedition attempted by Sa'úd against Baghdád was wrecked, but he was still much dreaded there in spite of his ill success, and not without reason; because the manner of attacking and other military habits to which the Wahhábys are addicted, must be considered dangerous even by those who fight successfully against them.

This expedition of the Wahhábys against Baghdád is the most remarkable in their history during the year 1808. They undertook no important expedition in 1809, and confined themselves during that year to the amusement of plundering various caravans, the chief of which were, one between Aleppo and Baghdád, in the month of June 1809, and a portion of another which had departed from Damascus nearly at the same time. All the travellers who composed the first mentioned caravan were slain, and the goods, consisting chiefly of various kinds of cloths, together with the treasure, amounted to a very considerable sum. In these excursions the Beni Deyfir signalised themselves, and they caused likewise a great deal of mischief by crossing the Euphrates, which was at that time very low, and spreading themselves out in the Jezireh.

But the year 1809 is chiefly remarkable in the history of the Wahhábys on account of the results of the war which broke out between the Emám of Maskat and the Al-Jowáshem Arabs. We have seen in a previous paragraph, on "Wahhábys influence in O'mán," how this

Defeat of the Al-Jowáshem Wahhábys. war had been provoked by divisions in the family of the Emám of Maskat, and how Beder, expelled by the legitimate sovereign, had found refuge with the Sheikh A'bdullah Ben Gaur, and how the hopes of the new Emám to

take Rás-ul-Khaymah had been disappointed. Extolled by this first advantage, the Al-Jowáshems now became more audacious in their piracies, and after having destroyed a small fleet fitted out by the combined efforts of several harbours of the Persian Gulf, and destined to join the ships which the Emám was fitting out, the Al-Jowáshems no more spared any flag, but preferred to attack vessels sailing under English colours, because they were the richest of all, and from these they could plunder better arms as well as artillery than from any others. Thus a war broke out in which they were now victorious and now defeated. The "Minerva," an English vessel sailing from Bombay to Boçrah with a cargo worth more than a lúkh of rupees, was plundered by these pirates, as well as several others equally rich, and among them also one which belonged to the governor of Abu-shehr. These had been only merchant vessels; in course of time, however, the Al-Jowáshems became bold enough to attack also armed crafts, and it is reported that an English corvette with 16 guns, being overwhelmed by a multitude of dhows, the captain of it had no alternative but to surrender or to blow his vessel up, and that he chose the latter. At that time also two English frigates made their appearance in the Persian Gulf; these gained some advantages over the Al-Jowáshems, destroyed many of their dhows, and took a number of prisoners to Bombay, where they were condemned to death; but when the moment of the execution arrived, they received pardon, and their lives were spared. This grace proved to be ill-timed and unappreciated by the Al-Jowáshems, who never left one of their prisoners alive after that event.

As their depredations on the sea had checked navigation to a considerable degree, and they had thus by avidity for gain diminished it, the Al-Jowáshems determined to recoup themselves on shore by attacking Maskat. They armed a numerous flotilla, and imagined themselves strong enough to cope in an inimical harbour even with the English, but the sequel proved very soon how greatly they had miscalculated their own power.

The English, disgusted by these piracies, resolved to put a stop to them for good. A squadron was armed, joined the armaments of the Emám, and sailed in their company from the port of Maskat to search along the coasts for the Al-Jowáshems who had been infesting the Gulf for so long a time with their dhows. On the 9th November 1809 the fleet of the Al-Jowáshems was surprised, one hundred and

twenty of their dhows sunk with all their crews, and the remaining ones captured. But few escaped, seeking a refuge on the coast of Arabia, near Rás-al-Khaymah, where the English did not fail to join them immediately, and laid siege to the place. Under the fort bearing the above name there is a town, which was reduced to ashes, and the wood-yards for the building of dhows destroyed. Lastly the fort of Rás-al-Khaymah itself fell into the hands of the English, who returned to Maskat with 1,600 prisoners and a multitude of dhows. From this calamity the pirates never recovered, and never will, until the British Government ceases to protect the commerce of the Persian Gulf.<sup>35</sup>

In 1810 Sa'úd struck terror into the heart of Syria by attacking the neighbourhood of Damascus with about 6,000 men. His arrival was unexpected, and Yusuf Pasha's army was unable to check his progress. During three days he plundered thirty-five villages in the Hauran district, only two days distant from Damascus, and burnt all the corn wherever he passed. He might easily have taken Damascus itself had he been aware of the terror inspired by his approach among the inhabitants, who began to send off all their valuable property to the mountains of Lebanon; but his plan was merely often to repeat his plundering excursions, which were extremely lucrative, and venture no further than the environs of Damascus, expecting that it would at last surrender voluntarily.

Whilst the Pashas of Baghdád and Damascus had on various occasions made hostile demonstrations against the Wahhábys as described in these pages, Egypt made no efforts to rescue the sacred cities of the Hejáz from their grasp, and the only attempt of the Turks to do so consisted merely of a small expedition of about 500 men fitted out by Sheryf, the Pasha of Jeddah, in 1804, because the turbulent state of Egypt did not admit of any forces being detached for the above purpose, and also because the Beys of Egypt, who acknowledged but a nominal obedience to the Pasha, preferred themselves otherwise to dispose of the money usually set apart for the holy cities and for the pilgrim caravans. It was well understood by all parties both in Syria and in Egypt that the expulsion of the Wahhábys from the holy land

<sup>35</sup> Here we must take leave of our French author, whose account closes with the year 1809, and who furnished us with a portion of Wahhábý history absolved in a few lines only, both by Burckhardt and Palgrave; the recital of Fatahullah (which Lamartine appended to his *Voyage en Orient*), contains his adventures with M. Lascaris and their visit to the Wahhábý capital, but cannot, on account of its romantic character, be used as a historical document.



could not be accomplished by any forces except those of the last mentioned country. The immense desert extending between Damascus and Mekkah rendered impossible the transport of sufficient provisions and ammunition for a regular campaign with the Wahnábys, who would at once make their utmost efforts to cut off the communication. A strong body of troops, accompanied by a vast number of loaded camels, might perhaps, after many serious difficulties, succeed in reaching Medinah, or even Mekkah; they might also take those towns; but all the troops of the Turks could neither defend the country perpetually against the Wahnábys and still less keep it in subjection, especially as supplies would constantly be intercepted.

When Mekkah and Medinah had yielded to the Wahnábys, and the Sheryf Gháleb—whom we have already before compared to the Vicar of Bray—had himself become a proselyte to the faith, acting in a hostile manner towards the Porte, and all the Hejáz had followed his example, Muḥammad A'ly, the Viceroy of Egypt, might have in some measure punished that province which had thus overtly cast off its allegiance to the Sultán of Turkey, by shutting against the Hejáz shipping the ports of Suez and Qoçeyr, whence all the necessaries of life were imported into the sacred territory, the more so as the Viceroy had promised his sovereign to rescue the Hejáz from the grasp of the Wahnábys. Such a step was impossible as long as the influence of the Beys predominated and internal troubles prevailed in Egypt; but the Viceroy undertook it after he had subdued his enemies and fully established his own authority; but even in the beginning of 1810, when Muḥammad A'ly made serious preparations for attacking the Wahnábys, ships from Jeddah and Yembo arrived daily in Suez and Qoçeyr, whence they took back cargoes of corn and provisions for the Sheryf as well as for private adventurers. According to some it would, of course, have been sinful to starve the Holy Land by cutting off its supplies, and they adduced it as a reason for Muḥammad A'ly's inactivity in this matter. Those however who knew his character assert that the gains which flowed into the treasury from the trade between Egypt and the sacred territory—partly by the Viceroy's private speculations and partly by the custom duties—were so considerable, that Muḥammad A'ly declined to execute his sovereign's orders, which would have entailed a reduction or cessation of those gains. It is curious enough that while all Musalmáns were execrating the Wahnábys and demanded a *jehád*, or religious war, against those heretics, and ammunitions of war for that purpose arrived

at Suez from Cairo, their own ships were engaged in supplying their enemies with food, which they conveyed to the barren soil of the Hejáz. Measures of this kind naturally counteracted each other, and show what weight pecuniary interests enjoyed.

As early as 1804, when he had been appointed Viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad A'ly was ordered to reconquer the holy cities, and although he had then already considerably reduced the once formidable power of the Mamlúks, he was nevertheless for several years contending with them either by the aid of his troops or by his great cunning, and constantly engaged in skirmishes. This state of affairs lasted till the year 1810, when he came to a compromise with the Mamlúks, whom he induced, under a promise of safe-conduct to enter Cairo, but massacred them treacherously soon after they had entered the castle of it.

Although preparations for the invasion of the Hejáz had been going on for a long time, no sufficient number of ships for the transport of the army and the troops could be got together, and it became necessary to build a flotilla, which was not completed before the beginning of 1811, and consisted of twenty-eight vessels of from 100 to 250 tons burden, and got ready at Suez. As cavalry could not well be transported in such vessels, all the castles on the road from Cairo to Yembo, Ajerúd, Nakhl, A'qabah, Meyleh, and Al-Waj were repaired and garrisoned; the Bedouins living in the vicinity of the castles having by presents been induced to go with their camels to Cairo and bring provisions.

Gháleb, the Sherif of Mekkah, who perceived the danger impending over him, at once began a secret correspondence with Muḥammad A'ly, informing him that although he had been compelled to make a profession of the Wahháby faith, he would, at the first appearance of the Turkish army, throw off the mask and side with them. Muḥammad A'ly knew Gháleb too well to trust him, but made him the fairest promises, and assured him that his authority in the Hejáz would be respected.

As the Mamlúks of Upper Egypt were still troublesome, the Viceroy Pasha, Muḥammad A'ly, could not himself leave the country, but despatched his second son, Tousoun<sup>35</sup> Bey, as commander of the

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<sup>35</sup> This name occurs in the Akbernamah in the form of *توسون* and is also by Captain Palgrave always spelt *Tarsoon*, and may, for all we know, be just as good as the spelling of Burckhardt, whom we chiefly follow in this portion of our narrative; but the difference on this General's ago between the two authors is more important; the former calling him the elder brother of Ibrahim Pasha, whilst the latter makes him only 18 years old.

expedition; he had given proofs of extraordinary bravery in the Mamlúk war, and Aḥmad Aqa (*alias* Aḥmad Bonaparte) was sent with him, as a commander of equal bravery, but of graver counsel. The expedition consisted of two parts. The infantry, consisting chiefly of Arnaut soldiers, amounting to 1,500 or 2,000 effective men, with all the newly built ships carrying provisions. The cavalry was composed of about 800 Turks and Bedouins. In October 1811 the fleet arrived at Yembo, and a fortnight afterwards the cavalry by land, not having met with any opposition from the Bedouin tribes, who had already been conciliated by large sums of money. The taking of Yembo was proclaimed as the first victory over the Wahhábys, although the occupation of it did not cost a single drop of blood, as the garrison, consisting of about 100 men of the Sheryf Gháleb's men, remained quiet spectators; he himself, however, wrote that he could not join Tousoun Bey on account of the smallness of his force and his dread of the Wahhábys.

Leaving a garrison at Yembo, Tousoun Bey marched with his troops in January 1812 towards Medinah, posting also a small detachment of troops at Beder, two days from Yembo, and proceeding with his army to Çafra, a market-place of the Harb tribe, eight hours from Beder, where, after a skirmish, a body of that tribe gave way. At four hours from Çafra there is a defile between steep and rugged mountains, which is from 40 to 60 yards across. In this passage, which is about an hour and a half long, the Turkish army was at once assailed by the Wahhábý troops from the mountains on both sides. They had arrived the day before from Nejd, and were commanded by A'bdullah and Feyçul,<sup>37</sup> the sons of Sa'úd; their number, consisting of infantry and camel-riders, amounted to 20,000, and the Turks had not the slightest information about them. In the action which ensued, the Wahhábys took all the baggage, four field pieces, and killed 1,200 of the Turkish army, the whole of which they might have annihilated if they had more eagerly pushed forward from the mountains so as to impede its flight towards Yembo.

When the Sheryf Gháleb learnt that the Turks had retreated to Yembo he at once joined the Wahhábys in person at Beder. As soon as Tousoun's failure became known to his father, every effort was made to supply the loss, and to prepare for a new expedition. Muḥammad

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<sup>37</sup> This is the same Feyçul who afterwards became Sultán, and with whom both Captain Palgrave and Colonel Lewis Pelly had interviews respectively in 1863 and 1865. Then, however, he was a very old and decrepit man, but a shadow of his former self.

A'ly also sent large sums of money to be distributed among the adjacent Bedouin Sheikhs, and the whole time till the summer of 1812 was spent in these endeavours, while daily reinforcements of ammunition and troops arrived in Yembo. When the Sheryf Gháleb became convinced that Muḥammad A'ly had resolved to prolong the contest, he resumed his old policy, and assured Tousoun Bey that he had joined the Wahnábys at Beder only from fear, and offered to open the gates of Jeddah and Mekkah to the Turks as soon as they should have taken Medinah.

In October 1812 Tousoun thought himself sufficiently strong to make a second attempt at Medinah. Some skirmishes took place before the city, in consequence of which Aḥmad, the companion-commander of Tousoun Bey, entered the suburbs and drove the Wahnábys into the inner town, from whence the latter had, at the approach of the Turks, expelled all the inhabitants, who now resided in the suburbs, and took an active part in the first skirmish against the Wahnábys, who had expelled them from their habitations. The inner town, however, being defended by a strong wall and a fortified castle, could not be taken at once, and the Wahnábys made several sorties. After a siege of fourteen or fifteen days the Turks laid a mine, which being discovered was speedily destroyed, but the second was more successful, and in the middle of November 1812, when the Wahnábys were engaged at midday prayers, a part of the wall was blown up, and the Arnauts rushed into the town. The Wahnábys, thus surprised, fled towards the castle, about 1,000 of them were butchered in the streets, the whole town was plundered, and only 50 Turks killed. About 1,500 Wahnábys sought refuge in the castle, which the Turks were unable to take, as they had no battering artillery, and the building, situated on a solid rock, was proof against a mine. The Wahnábys were accordingly besieged and capitulated only after three weeks, when their provisions were exhausted; they surrendered on the promise of Aḥmad to grant them safe conduct, to allow them to carry off unmolested all their baggage, and even to provide camels for them if they wished to return to Nejd. When the Wahnábys marched out, they were pursued by the Turks, and many of them slain, which act of treachery exasperated the Bedouins greatly; Aḥmad was nevertheless so proud of it, that he collected all the skulls of the Wahnábys killed on that occasion, built a tower of them, and placed a guard near it; but in 1815, three years after the event, when Burckhardt was in Medinah,

very few remained, as the people had removed the skulls in spite of the guard.

Mustafa Bey, the brother-in-law of Muḥammad A'ly, advanced after the taking of Medinah with 1,000 cavalry and 500 infantry upon Mekkah from Yembo, which he entered in January 1813, and shortly afterwards occupied Ṭáyf, a place held ten years by the Wahhábys, but now evacuated after some skirmishing with Al-Medhayfah, who had not dared to offer battle in Mekkah, but had marched to Ṭáyf.

Now pilgrim-caravans could travel unmolested, and that from Cairo had already in 1812 performed the Haj with due ceremony, but that from Syria being either too timid, or unable to provide the provisions required, and to repair the wells through the desert, failed to arrive. After all, however, the power of the Wahhábys was not broken although the holy cities were in the possession of the Turks, and Muḥammad A'ly himself now took the field, embarked at Suez with 2,000 infantry, and arrived in Jeddah in September 1813; whilst his cavalry, of the same number, with a baggage train of 8,000 camels, arrived by land. The Sheryf Gháleb immediately came on board the Viceroy's vessel to congratulate him on his arrival, and on this occasion both swore on the Qorán that they would never injure each other in any way, but remain steadfast friends. This vow they publicly and solemnly renewed some weeks afterwards in the holy temple of Mekkah at the express desire of the Sheryf, but Muḥammad A'ly soon accomplished his intention of capturing him in Mekkah itself one evening when his son Tousoun arrived from Jeddah, and etiquette required that Gháleb should visit him. On that occasion mutual civilities took place, but when the Sheryf prepared to depart, he was simply told by Abdin Bey, that he must consider himself a prisoner; concealed soldiers now came forward, and compelled him to show himself at the window, and to order his people below to return home. He was packed off in a ship to Egypt and deported to Salonika, which the Porte had assigned for his residence, and there he died with all his family of the plague in 1816. Yahya, a man of the Sheryf's race, was appointed governor of Mekkah by Muḥammad A'ly, but was in reality little more than one of his own officers.

The Arabs of Taraba, a place near Mekkah, had become obnoxious to Muḥammad A'ly by their great hostility towards the Turks, one of whose Generals, namely, Mustafa Bey, they had defeated; accordingly they were again attacked at the end of October or in the beginning of

November in 1813 by Tousoun, whom these Wahhábys likewise repelled, pursuing him to within a day's journey from T'áyf, then again returning to Taraba, whence they continued to harass the Turks by flying excursions. The Porte had, however, so far recovered its prestige and established confidence, that during the last two months of the abovementioned year numerous pilgrims arrived, not only by way of Suez and Jeddah, but also Suleymán Pasha with the Syrian caravan, and the people of Mekkah were greatly pleased with the revival of their profits.

During the winter of 1813 and the beginning of 1814 the Turkish army remained perfectly inactive, but warlike operations were again commenced in the month of March of the last mentioned year, when the port of Gofode, seven days south of Jeddah, was taken; but in the month of May the Turks were surprised by a body of about 10,000 Wahhábys, and panic-struck to such a degree that they ran pell-mell to their ships. The Turkish commander had no sooner stepped on board, when he ordered the sails to be hoisted, and abandoned to certain death all who had remained on shore. On this occasion the Wahhábys took all the baggage and guns of the Turks, who escaped only with the clothes they wore. In the month of June a body of 1,500 soldiers, the best infantry of Egypt, arrived from Cairo under Hasan Pasha. Now, however, also a policy of conciliation was inaugurated, which, as will be seen further on, was continued also by Ibrahim Pasha, the brother and successor of Tousoun, as commander-in-chief. Besides the friendly policy adopted towards the Bedouins to attach them to the Porte by distributing gifts among their Sheikhs, also the people of the Hejáz, especially the poor and needy, received money and corn, to gain them over to the cause of the Turks. The holy places of Mekkah were repaired, and all the officials connected with them received donations, whilst throughout Hejáz the Turkish soldiers were most strictly prohibited to insult the natives, or to take anything from them by force. In this manner the enmity which the Wahhábys had endeavoured to instil into the inhabitants was turned into friendship, especially among the recipients of the largesses of Muḥammad A'ly, who had personally arrived in the Hejáz, as stated above, in 1813, and remained nearly two years.

Our sources make no mention of the death of Sultán A'bdullah, the brother of Sa'úd and predecessor of the latter's son as chief of the Wahhábys, and it has been seen that after the death of

A'bdullah, the eldest son of Sa'úd, becomes Sultán.  
Events of 1814 and 1815.

A'bd-ul-a'zyz, A'bdullah undertook the political government and resided at Dera'yeh, whilst his brother Sa'úd carried on nearly all the military operations, which he prosecuted with such energy and skill as almost totally to eclipse him, so that we had scarcely occasion to mention his name, except in the beginning of his reign. In May 1814 Sa'úd died of fever at Dera'yeh, and was succeeded by his eldest son A'bdullah, who continued the contest against the Turks until he finally succumbed to them, as will be presently narrated.

According to Burckhardt,<sup>28</sup> who was in the Hejáz at this time, the actual number of Turkish troops amounted to not more than 5,000, although they themselves stated it to be 20,000; but the numerous stragglers attending the Turkish army, the multitudes of Turkish merchants and Hájis scattered over the Hejáz, who affect the dress of soldiers, from whom they could scarcely be distinguished, and an immense train of camp-followers, as is usual all over the east, contributed to swell the apparent number of the Turks.

Now we get for the first time information about military operations conducted by Muhammad A'ly in person. On the 20th Muḥarram 1230 (3rd January 1815) he marched from Mekkah with the troops and camels he could muster to Kolach, a small village eight or nine hours east of Táyf on the road to Taraba, situated in a plain beyond the great chain of mountains. The Wahhábys had 5,000 camels, but no artillery of any kind; many chiefs were with their army, as well as Feyçul, the son of Sa'úd and brother of A'bdullah, the reigning Sultán. Some skirmishes took place, but when the Pasha's, or rather Viceroy's cavalry approached, the Wahhábys would not come down from the mountains, but repulsed an attack made in a valley where Muḥammad A'ly wished to plant one of his field-pieces. He saw that he had no chance of success as long as the enemy remained upon the mountain; he also knew that if unsuccessful on the next day, he would be recalled by the Porte, lose not only his position, but probably his life also, and that thus his career would suddenly end. Therefore, he sent during the night for reinforcements from Kolach, and ordered 2,000 of his infantry together with the artillery to take positions in flank of the Wahhábys. The next morning at an early hour he renewed his attack with his cavalry, and was again repulsed. Then he assembled his officers and commanded them to advance closer to the position of

the Wahhábys than they had done before, and after firing off the guns to retreat in seeming disorder. This manœuvre having been executed, the Wahhábys, not knowing it to be only a ruse to allure them, believed it to be flight, and accordingly went in pursuit. When Muḥammad A'ly thought they were far enough from the mountains, he faced about, and the battle which ensued was very soon decided in his favour. Now also the neighbouring Arabs joined the Turks, against whom they would have fought with as much zeal had the Wahhábys been victorious. Most of the camels, together with the whole baggage of the Wahhábys, fell into the hands of the Turks, and Muḥammad A'ly, having offered six dollars for every Wahháby head, 5,000 of them were piled up before him in a few hours.<sup>39</sup>

Tidings of this victory were at once despatched by couriers to Constantinople and to Cairo. In the action just described 300 Wahhábys had been taken alive at the express command of Muḥammad A'ly, because but few would ask for quarters; and now the reason appeared why the lives of these men had been spared; Muḥammad A'ly impaled fifty of them before the gates of Mekkah, twelve at the coffee-houses or halting-places between Mekkah and Jeddah, and the rest before the Mekkah-gate of Jeddah, where vultures and dogs feasted on their corpses. This atrocity disgusted even the Bedouins who had allied themselves with the Turks. Four days after this victory Muḥammad A'ly went to Taraba, from which place Feyḥul retreated at his approach, and the Pasha continued his march to Beishe, which is also south-east of Mekkah, like Taraba, and called on Captain Palgrave's map Qala'at Bisha, the garrison of which capitulated, but was after leaving the fort treacherously cut to pieces. The march was continued, but the A'syr territory with its rugged mountains presented many obstacles to the passage of artillery. Here Muḥammad A'ly obtained possession of the castle of Tor, about two weeks after he had left Beishe, and with it considerable stores of provisions, but 300 of his men were slain. Now Muḥammad A'ly marched towards the seashore, and appears to have been desirous to advance into Yemen, the wealth of which he coveted, but the fatiguing and perilous marches had produced such discontent in his army that he was compelled to return to Mekkah, where only 1,500 Turks, the remnant of 4,000 who had started from it on this expedition, arrived worn-out with fatigue. Of the 10,000 camels only 300 remained alive, and much of the ammunition as well as of the baggage was

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 397.



destroyed, as they could not be transported. The Sultán A'bdullah Ben Sa'úd—whose strength had been reduced, not only in the engagements in which his forces had been defeated, but also by the desertion of various Arab tribes who were bribed by the Turks, and whom they at once joined when they saw them victorious—now rightly conjectured that Muḥammad A'ly might, after augmenting his forces by various Bedouin tribes, which had cast off their allegiance to the Wahhábys, advance into Nejd, promptly returned to Dera'yeh.

Desirous to oppose the progress of Tousoun, now A'bdullah Ben Sa'úd entered the province of Qasym and fixed his head-quarters at Shenana, only five hours distant from Khabara, where this Pasha had encamped. The Wahhábys being in their own country, constantly hovered around the Turks, and cut off all connection with Medinah; they also surrounded on the road, and cut to pieces with all his horsemen Ibrahim Aqa, the Treasurer of Tousoun, who was, or at least might have been, aware, from previous experience, that as soon as any disaster befell him, the Bedouins allied with him would at once join the Wahhábys.<sup>40</sup> Surrounded as he was by the enemy, Tousoun desired to terminate all suspense by a battle; his troops were, however, frightened by the superior number of the Wahhábys, so that the other alternative, a conclusion of peace, for which all parties were anxious, had to be resorted to. By the treaty, which was drawn up after some negotiations, A'bdullah renounced all claims to the possession of the holy cities, whilst Tousoun Pasha abandoned to him the town of Qasym,

<sup>40</sup> This Ibrahim Aqa was a man of about twenty years, a native of Edinburgh, whose real name was Thomas Keith. Having been taken prisoner in the last English expedition against Egypt, together with many others of his regiment—the 72nd of Highlanders—in which he had served as gunsmith, he became a Musalman, and was purchased from the soldiers who had made him prisoner by Ahmad, whose utter disregard of human life and achievements in the wars against the Mamlúks had procured him the surname of Bonaparte. We have alluded to him in the paragraph on the "Invasion of the Hejáz" as the companion-commander sent with Tousoun Bey to recover the Holy Land. Thomas Keith was once insulted by a favourite Mamlúk of his master, swords were drawn, and the Mamlúk fell. Thomas Keith escaped from the wrath of Ahmad Bonaparte and implored the protection of Muhammad A'ly's lady, who befriended him and caused her son Tousoun Bey to engage him in his service. In a fit of anger Tousoun once gave orders that the young Scotchman should be put to death for a trifling neglect of duty, but the brave fellow defended the entrance of his room with a sword for half an hour against several assailants, then threw himself out of the window, and again escaped to his kind protectress, who soon reconciled him with his master. Tousoun Bey at length became sensible of Ibrahim's merit as a courageous soldier, made him chief of his Mamlúks, and after his valorous conduct at Jedeydah promoted him to the office of Treasurer. He again fought bravely at Medinah and at Tarabs, was appointed governor of Medinah in April 1815, and was two months afterwards slain, as mentioned above.—See Burckhardt, p. 351.

which he had occupied, and dismissed all the Sheikhs of that province who had joined him.

Tousoun Pasha now departed, and arrived in Medinah at the end of June 1815, but did not meet his father, because Muḥammad A'ly had on the 20th May sailed from Yembo to Egypt, where his presence was urgently required. On the 7th November 1815 Tousoun Pasha arrived in Cairo with a few hundred soldiers, after communication had been restored between the Hejáz and the Wahhábys, whose caravans arrived even from Nejd in Medinah and Mekkah.

Tousoun died in September 1816 at Rossetta from the plague, but

Events from 1816 to 1818. already, in the month of March of that year, Complete reduction of the Wahhábys and deportation of the Sultán A'bdullah to Egypt. intelligence arrived in Egypt that disturbances had broken out towards the south of Mekkah, and thus the Wahhábys were

gaining strength daily, and Muḥammad A'ly conceived the bold design of not only excluding the Wahhábys from the Hejáz, but of invading Nejd and capturing Dera'yeh itself, the capital and centre of fanaticism, where all the predatory expeditions were planned. Accordingly Muḥammad A'ly despatched in August 1816 his second son Ibrahim Pasha to the Hejáz with orders to invade Nejd and to take Dera'yeh. He took with him 2,000 infantry by sea and 1,500 Lybian Bedouin cavalry arrived by land; he had also two French officers in his suite.<sup>41</sup>

A'bdullah, the Sultán of the Wahhábys, had been apprized of the preparations for an expedition to Nejd, which were being made in Egypt. He trusted in the alliance of the people of A'asyr (a province south of Mekkah), who are fanatic Wahhábys, and whilst exerting himself at home to raise fresh levies, he wrote a letter of encouragement and promised support to Ebn Sa'adún, the chief of A'asyr, in the forthcoming Egyptian invasion; nevertheless A'bdullah sent also a man with presents and a letter couched in humble terms to Cairo, offering friendship and alliance to Ibrahim Pasha before he had embarked with his troops for Jeddah. The Pasha, says Captain Palgrave, glanced his eyes over the contents and burst out into a horse-laugh. "So—Master, Lord! Your humble servant! Boy" (turning to an attendant) "bring the letter which we received four days since from Sa'adún, that dog of A'asyr!"

<sup>41</sup> Here also the account of Burckhardt ceases, and we must henceforth rely upon the narrative of Captain Palgrave alone, who is unfortunately very sparing in his dates; his diction is, however, so graphic and expressive that we shall retain his very words in many instances.

The document was brought. It was a protestation of submission and allegiance, while with it, as a pledge of sincerity, the A'asyr chief had forwarded the very note sent him not long before by A'bdullah, the son of Sa'úd.

“Hear this, you pig,” said Ibrahim, and proceeded to read aloud the second Wahháby document, interspersing his lecture with curses on Nejdian caligraphy. “In the name of God, the merciful, we A'bdullah Ben Sa'úd salute you Ebn Sa'adún, and peace be on you and the mercy of God and his blessings. Next we say: be not deceived by that ass of Egypt and all his brayings, for he cannot avail you or injure you in aught, and we by God's permission are the victorious party; and beware, I say; beware of the boasting of the infidels; may God put them to shame, for assuredly they are losers, and we are ready with horse and foot to your aid, and the victory is from God, and the triumph near at hand, and peace be with you.”

The Nejdian saw that there was no room left for apology or diplomacy. He attempted neither, but taking his horses, which had been intended as presents to Ibrahim Pasha, he embarked at once; and on his arriving in Jeddah sold the horses and bought twelve Nubian slaves, giving out everywhere on the way that they were a present sent from Ibrahim Pasha to the Sultán of Nejd and a token of alliance and friendship; nay, even fear. Thus he arrived at Dera'yeh, accompanied by the gorgeously dressed blacks, and explained how courteously he had been received at Cairo, whence he had brought also a letter. When A'bdullah demanded the letter, his messenger told him that it was of a very confidential nature and ought not to be read in public. Accordingly A'bdullah sent all his councillors away, and the impostor unbosomed himself as follows:—“There is no answer to your proposals, except what Ibrahim Pasha will give you himself in person at *Dera'yeh*; and now, if you are a man, prepare to fight it out.” Then he narrated to the Sultán all he had experienced, and apologized for the deception he had practised, in order to prevent the alarm which would have ensued, had Ibrahim's intention to invade Nejd become known to the people. This explanation was not only satisfactory, but elicited the praise of the Sultán, who at once set about concentrating all the forces of his dominions, and determined to await the invasion of the inner Nejdian passes near Koweyt, where the road of Mekkah enters the labyrinthian valleys of Toweyq before reaching Wadi Hanyfah and the heart of Nejd.

As soon as Ibrahim Pasha landed at Jeddah he received the submission of Ebn Sa'adún, the chief of Jebel A'asyr, and marched with his army in a direction specially described by Captain Palgrave, which appears, however, to have been no other than the ordinary pilgrim-route between the sandy desert on the left and the 'Toweyq range of mountains on the right, leading straight to Dera'yeh, and having wells for every 40 or 50 hours of route, with small Bedouin villages scattered here and there. The policy of conciliation begun by Tousoun and Muhammad A'ly during the first "Invasion of the Hejáz," and alluded to at the end of that paragraph, was strictly carried out also by Ibrahim Pasha, and must have greatly impressed the Bedouins because the remembrance of it survived nearly half a century among them, as Captain Palgrave, whose informants they were, states that every bucket of water that the inhabitants or the Bedouins drew for the invading army, every date the soldiers gathered, every stick of firewood they consumed, was at once and handsomely paid for, while officers and men were alike strictly and efficaciously prohibited from offering the slightest insult to the unarmed and unresisting inhabitants. This liberality in connection with the military display and the hope of further advantages induced village after village and tribe after tribe to tender allegiance to Ibrahim Pasha.

It appears that during the whole of his long march Ibrahim Pasha encountered but little opposition; but when he had almost reached Dera'yeh, he met at Kowey,—where, as has been stated above, A'bdullah intended to await the invasion—the advanced posts of the Nejdian army, which were soon driven in by the Egyptian columns. But a few leagues further on, at Qoreyn, lay gathered the great force of Nejd, with A'bdullah at its head, and here a tremendous battle ensued, which is said to have lasted two days, and was decided only by the Egyptian fieldpieces on the afternoon of the second. A'bdullah with his broken troops now retreated to entrench himself at Dera'yeh, where he was followed by Ibrahim Pasha, who assaulted the place forthwith, but was repulsed by the garrison. Accordingly the Egyptians laid siege to Dera'yeh, summoned the townsmen to capitulate, and waited twenty days for a reply, without firing or receiving a shot. On the twenty-first day at sunset the bombardment commenced, and lasted without intermission till sunrise next day, 6,000 shot and shell having been thrown during the night. The morning dawned on crumbling walls and heaps of ruins, on the

dying and the dead, and Ibrahim Pasha entered Dera'yeh without opposition.<sup>43</sup>

Captain Sadleir, however, who had been sent by the Government of Bombay on a mission to the Turkish camp of Ibrahim Pasha after his reduction of Dera'yeh, makes the following statement<sup>44</sup> concerning it:—"The siege of Dera'yeh was prolonged for seven months, two of which the artillery remained without ammunition in consequence of the magazine having been blown up. The villages in the neighbourhood were encouraged by this protracted defence to show marks of disaffection, and so many of the troops were detached for the purpose of keeping them in check, that there did not remain a number sufficient for completely investing the place. The Pasha was therefore obliged to attempt an assault, which he directed against the quarter called Tarifa; and as, fortunately for him, the besieged had expected the attack on the opposite quarter, called Selle, and had there only prepared themselves for resistance, the Turkish troops gained possession of Tarifa without firing a shot. Selle, however, held out for three days, but the assailants being more numerous than the besieged, it was at last carried. On this reverse, A'bdullah with two hundred men retired into the citadel, where he shut himself up, and sustained a bombardment of three days and then requested a parley."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> See Palgrave, vol. II., p. 56.

<sup>43</sup> *Transactions of the Bombay Lit. Soc.*, vol. III., p. 488-89 of the old, and p. 513 of the Hon. V. N. Mandlik's edition.

<sup>44</sup> It is worth while to insert in this place Captain Palgrave's description of Dera'yeh as he saw it in 1863:—"However, we resumed our march, and took the arm of the valley leading to Dera'yeh; but before reaching it we once more quitted the Wadi, and followed a shorter path by the highlands to the left. Our way was next crossed by a long range of towers, built by Ibrahim Pasha as outposts for the defence of this important position. Within their line stood the lonely walls of a large square barrack; the towers were what we sometimes call *martello*; short, large, and round. The level rays of the setting sun now streamed across the plain, and we came on the ruins of Dera'yeh, filling up the whole breadth of the valley beneath. The palace walls of unbaked brick, like the rest, rose close under the left or northern ledge, but unroofed and tenantless; a little lower down a wide extent of fragments showed where the immense mosque had been, and hard by the market-place; a tower on an isolated height was, I suppose, the original dwelling-place of the Sa'úd family, while yet mere local chieftains before growing greatness transferred them to their imperial palace. The outer fortifications remained almost uninjured for much of their extent, with turrets and bastions reddening in the western light; in other places the Egyptian artillery or the process of years had levelled them with the earth; within the town many houses were yet standing, but uninhabited; and the lines of the streets from gate to gate were distinct as in a ground-plan. From the great size of the town, for it is full half a mile in length, and not much less in breadth, and from the close packing of the houses, I should estimate its capacity at above 40,000 in-dwellers. The gardens lie without, and still 'living waved

The first care of Ibrahim Pasha was to seize the person of A'bdullah, his family, the court, and the other chiefs or nobles gathered within the capital; those who resisted were killed, but the greater number submitted. The religious teachers, the various representatives of the family of A'bd-ul- Wahháb, the Qúdy, the Emám, the Metowwa's—*مطوع* one who enforces obedience, *i.e.*, to God—and all who formed the strength of the doctrinal party were also taken prisoners. A few only of the citizens effected their escape during the first confusion of the capture, but among those few was *Turkee*, the eldest son of A'bdullah, and heir presumptive to the throne. No violence was allowed to the troops except a few hours' plundering, and the avenues leading from the town to the mountains were carefully watched. When all was over, Ibrahim retired to the plain, where he pitched his tent, and ordered A'bdullah with all his kinsmen to be brought before him. According to Captain Palgrave, Ibrahim Pasha used no reproach nor menace, but simply said: "I am the servant of the Sultán of Constantinople; he must be your judge, not I;" but Captain Sadleir adds that in this interview the Pasha conducted himself with great haughtiness, and presented his hand to A'bdullah, which the latter kissed as a mark of submission.

After dismissing the royal family and their retinue, Ibrahim Pasha assembled the Metowwa's, doctors and teachers of the law, whose number is said to have amounted to 500. He informed them that he desired fully to sift the religious differences existing between the Wahhábys and ordinary Musalmáns, and that he had for that purpose brought with him some learned men of the most orthodox schools of Cairo, who would hold a conference in the great mosque with the Nejdian theologians, at which he would himself be present. After the discussion had lasted three days, Ibrahim became tired, and himself took up the word on the fourth. He first obtained from the Wahhábý doctors the profession of faith common to all Muḥammadans, but with the addition of the phrase that "as there is only one God, so there is only one faith, and that faith is our faith!" This declaration naturally implied that all other Musalmáns are excluded from the pale of salva-

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where man had ceased to live' in full beauty and luxuriance, a deep ring around the grey ruins. For although the Nejdians, holding it for an ill omen to rebuild and to re-inhabit a town so fatally overthrown, have transplanted the seat of government, and with it the bulk of city population to Byád; they have not deemed it equally necessary to abandon the rich plantations and well-watered fields belonging to the old capital; and thus a small colony of gardeners in scattered huts protract the blighted existence of Deru'yeh."

tion, wherefore Ibrahim proceeded to argue thus in his Egyptian slang:—

“Well, you pigs, and what do you say about paradise? What is its extent?” Now to this question there is only one answer admissible—“Paradise, the extent whereof equalleth the extent of heaven and earth,”<sup>45</sup> which was accordingly given.

“A paradise equal in extent to all heaven and earth?” repeated Ibrahim Pasha, “and meanwhile, should you Nejdians, by some incomprehensible act of God’s mercy, get admittance there, one single tree of its gardens would be large enough to shelter you all. And for whom, pray, is the rest of the enclosure?”

They were silent. “Fall on them and kill them,” said Ibrahim, turning to the soldiers drawn up behind; and in a few moments the mosque of the Wahhábý theologians became also their tomb.<sup>46</sup>

Now Ibrahim visited in person the adjoining provinces, continuing his policy of conciliation and gentleness towards the Wahhábý chiefs as well as towards the common people, but treating fanatics with great severity. He remained for some months in Nejd, and took with him, according to Captain Palgrave, A’bdullah and the greater part of Ebn Sa’úd’s family; but Captain Sadleir asserts that A’bdullah “delivered himself up to the Pasha on the 4th September 1818, when he and his family were immediately sent to Egypt.”<sup>47</sup>

When Ibrahim Pasha departed from Nejd and returned to Egypt, he left one of his officers, Isma’el Pasha by

Events from 1818 to 1830, *i.e.* from Turkec’s accession to the throne till his assassination.

name, as governor, but this new ruler exasperated the Wahhábýs by his severity.

After the expiration of two years Isma’el Pasha returned to Egypt, leaving Kháled Pasha in his stead; and the latter proved more overbearing and cruel than his predecessor, because he not only indulged, and allowed his officers to indulge, in all kinds of license and oppression as during Isma’el’s tenure of office, but introduced into Nejd the tortures of impalement and of burning alive. The antipathies of the Wahhábýs against the Egyptians, lulled to sleep for a while by the moderation of Ibrahim Pasha, were again awakened by the tyranny of his two successors, and the people of Nejd resolved

<sup>45</sup> Qorán, LVII., 21. جنة عرضها كعرض السماء والأرض

<sup>46</sup> Palgrave, vol. II., p. 58.

<sup>47</sup> *Transactions, Bom. Lit. Soc.*, vol. III., p. 514, of the new, and p. 489 of the old edition.

to throw off the foreign yoke. They had no leader, but he soon appeared.

We have seen in the preceding paragraph that Turkee, the eldest son of A'bdullah, had escaped from Dera'yeh at the very moment of his capture. He fled to Sedeyr, wandered about on the frontiers of his future dominions for some time, and remained for a long while in disguise in the neighbourhood of Boçrah. All the news he received from Nejd told the sad tale of oppression by the Egyptian troops; also his father A'bdullah had been put to death at Constantinople, where he had been summoned from Egypt and from the Viceroy Muḥammad A'ly's hospitality, who had treated him well. Meanwhile the tyranny of Kháled Pasha, the Egyptian governor of Nejd, had so exasperated the people, that they sent messenger after messenger to Turkee, inviting him to initiate the movement against the oppressors. He at once responded joyfully to the call of his subjects, and made his appearance on the frontiers of Sedeyr, where he was joined by large bodies of marauders, and the repeated attacks made on the Egyptian outposts, soon announced the presence of Turkee on the verge of Wadi Ḥanyfah. When Kháled Pasha saw that all the garrisons to the south of Dera'yeh, in Yemamah and Haryq, as well as of Ḥaça to the east, had been overpowered or massacred, and that the country to the shores of the Persian Gulf was all in a blaze, he felt greatly perplexed; also dreading that he would soon be blockaded in Wadi Ḥanyfah, and that consequently his communications with the Hejáz, which was garrisoned by Egyptian troops, would be cut off, he retired with the remnant of his forces to Qasym. Hereon Turkee descended into the great central valley of Nejd, and was unanimously proclaimed Sultán of the Wahhábý dominions.

Turkee now selected Ryád, not far from the ruins of Dera'yeh, for his capital, which he fortified. Aware that religious enthusiasm would be the mainspring and support of his power, as of that of his predecessors, he built a large mosque to show himself a zealous restorer of the faith. His authority as Sultán had at once been acknowledged by all the central provinces except Lower and Upper Qasym, yet held by Kháled Pasha, which now constituted the frontier, as further to the north or west Wahhábý influence could at present not be extended. Ḥaça and Qatyf had, indeed, expelled their Egyptian oppressors, but instead of paying allegiance to Turkee, transferred it to their own local chiefs. O'mán had long ago become totally independent of the



Wahhábys, and the Sultán of that country, Sa'y'd Ben Sa'y'd, enjoyed undisputed sovereignty.

When Muḥammad Al'y was informed of what had taken place, and of the precarious position of Kháled Pasha, he at once sent Husayn Pasha to retrieve the fallen fortunes of the Egyptians in Arabia. Turkee (whose energies were all engaged in re-organizing his military and civil administration, before he could think of attempting to make conquests, for which the propagation of the faith had presented so plausible pretext to his predecessors) was dismayed at the news that Husayn Pasha would soon make his appearance in Nejd, and fully aware of his inability to resist the onset of disciplined troops. Accordingly he resolved to wait for the results of time and the blunders of his enemies, left his capital, and took refuge with the main body of his adherents among the Ṭoweyq mountains. Husayn Pasha soon arrived and established his head-quarters in the new capital Ryád, whence he might gradually have extended his power; but he was too impatient, and desirous to crush all opposition in the bud, he determined at once to march against Ḥaryq, where some fugitives were fomenting disturbances, and then to seek Turkee in the mountains. In marching from Ryád southwards to Ḥaryq an arm of the Great Desert intervenes between it and Yemamah, which it was necessary to cross. Accordingly guides were procured to show the army the way, but they proved to be traitors; for, under the pretext of conducting the Egyptians by nearer and securer tracks, the Nejdians led them astray amid the sandhills southwest of Ḥaryq, and there left them to die of thirst in the burning labyrinth. All perished. When the villagers, who were only at a few hours' distance, crossed the sandy ridges to see the work of death, they found nothing but corpses convulsed in the agonies of thirst and despair. They were counted, and their number was above four thousand.<sup>48</sup>

Turkee, thus delivered from the invader, now re-appeared at Ryád and took possession of his kingdom, which he continued to hold with-

<sup>48</sup> A similar instance of treachery practised by Arabs against Egyptians occurred also in 1835, and is thus narrated by Wellsted in his *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I., p. 2: "The restless and grasping disposition of Muḥammad A'y induced him to despatch a force from Egypt, in order to take possession of the coffee-country. My proposal to accompany his army to this point, and from thence to endeavour to reach Hadramant, was immediately acceded to by the Indian Government; but before their sanction could be conveyed to me, intelligence arrived of the Paasha's force having been led into a defile in the Assa'ir country, and there defeated with great slaughter, a miserable remnant alone reaching the seashore.

out molestation from the Egyptians till he was assassinated by his own cousin in 1830, which happened as follows :—Turkee had gradually been recovering one after the other the provinces formerly subject to Wahhábý domination, but disorganized and to some degree estranged from it during the Egyptian occupation. When Turkee had resolved to re-annex the province of Ḥaça to Nejd, his presence at Ryád, the capital, was required on account of certain public affairs, and he placed his own eldest son Feyçul at the head of the army to undertake the contemplated expedition, in which he was aided also by A'bdullah Ben Rashyd, a brave and faithful retainer of Turkee. The Wahhábý army had just entered Ḥaça and was about to lay siege to the town of Hofhúf, when the news arrived that the Sultán Turkee had been treacherously assassinated during the evening prayers in the great mosque of Ryád by his own cousin Mesháry, and that the murderer had already occupied the vacant throne.

Without loss of time the camp was broken up, and hastened by forced marches back to Ryád, where it arrived whilst Mesháry yet imagined his competitor far off. On the first appearance of the lawful heir Nejd unanimously acknowledged him as Sultán, and Feyçul entered Ryád amidst enthusiastic acclamations without striking a blow. It became, however, necessary to besiege the palace where Mesháry had taken refuge, and which, with its high walls and massive outworks, presented a formidable obstacle to the Nejdian troops. We do not know whether the besiegers used artillery to make a breach in the palace, but Captain Palgrave, whom alone we follow in this portion of our narrative, states that the siege lasted twenty days without bringing material advantages to either party. On the twenty-first night the abovenamed A'bdullah Ben Rashyd went with two companions to the castle where a light was glimmering; he threw a pebble against the window, and a voice asked "Who are you?" A'bdullah recognized the voice of an old palace retainer long in the service of the assassinated Sultán and his own intimate friend. He answered by his name. "What is your purpose?" said the old man. "Let us down a cord; we will arrange the rest." Presently the rustling of a rope gliding from the wall was heard, and the men clambered up one after the other; they were shown Mesháry's bedroom, which they found locked, and broke it open. The usurper fired two shots, killing one and wounding the other companion of A'bdullah, and the latter rushed at his victim sword in

hand. Mesháry, a man of herculean size, took hold of A'bdullah's arms and struggled with him. Both fell to the ground, and whilst rolling on it, the dying comrade of A'bdullah, collecting his last strength, dragged himself to their side, and seized the wrist of Mesháry with such convulsive force that it made him relax his hold. That instant A'bdullah freed his sword, plunging it again and again into the body of his antagonist, who expired without a struggle. A few minutes more, and Feyçul himself stood within the walls of his father's palace, now his own. He was not ungrateful to him whose intrepidity had placed him on his father's throne, and named A'bdullah Ben Rashyd absolute governor of his native province Shomer, with right of succession, supplying him with troops and all other means for the establishment of his rule.

When Feyçul was thus unexpectedly raised to the supreme power, he was about 33 or 34 years of age, and at once applied himself to the restoration of order in the central provinces, which had been thrown into confusion by the assassination of Turkee and the usurpation of Mesháry; but Khurshyd Pasha, whom the Viceroy of Egypt had sent with considerable forces to avenge the late disaster of Husayn Pasha and to re-establish his own authority in Central Arabia, pounced unawares upon Feyçul, who had barely time to save himself by flight.

Khurshyd Pasha now established Kháled, a scion of the royal family, a grandson of one of A'bd-ul-a'zyz's brothers, on the throne of Nejd; whilst Feyçul, instead of carrying on a guerilla war against the invaders, as his father had done, thought it best to bide his time, which came soon enough. After he had made *incognito* a pilgrimage to Mekkah on the west, and had extended his travels also towards the east by visiting the Syrian coast, Damascus, and even Jerusalem, he returned to Nejd and re-instated himself in his father's palace at Ryád without difficulty or opposition, because the throne had fallen vacant by the departure of Kháled, who had become tired of being a mere puppet of Khurshyd Pasha, and went to Egypt, probably to lodge a complaint against him, which not being listened to, he retired to Mekkah, where he led an obscure life till 1861, when he died.

This sudden re-instalment of Feyçul did not, however, suit the views of Khurshyd Pasha, who surrounded Ryád with his troops by a sudden manœuvre, compelled Feyçul to surrender at discretion, and packed him off to Egypt, where he remained a close prisoner till the death of

the great Pasha and Viceroy Muhammad A'ly, immured in a fort between Cairo and Suez. Khurshyd Pasha at once installed Ebn Theneyyán, a cousin of Kháled, on the throne of Nejd, on which he sat for five years, when Muḥammad A'ly died and was succeeded by his half-mad grandson A'bbás, who liberated Feyḡul and his companions from captivity in an underhand manner, by allowing them to escape, and causing them secretly to be supplied with the means of flight.

As soon as it became known in Nejd that Feyḡul had once more recovered his liberty, invitations and proffers of allegiance were sent him to the Egyptian port of Qoceyr, where he had fled. Feyḡul, being convinced that Ebn Theneyyán and Khurshyd Pasha were alike detested, readily complied; the Pasha was also apprized that a general rising against him would be sure to take place, anxiously implored his new master A'bbás Pasha to send him reinforcements and supplies, but in vain. When he saw that he had nothing to hope from Cairo, Khurshyd Pasha wisely evacuated the country, and the Egyptian occupation, which had lasted for more than a quarter of a century, now ceased.

Feyḡul embarked in Qoceyr for Yembo in 1844, and returned for the third time to his country, where he henceforth reigned till death overtook him, as will be seen further on. He suddenly made his appearance with a few attendants in the province of Qasym, which was foremost in aiding him to re-establish his sway; incorporating itself into the great Wahháby confederation, more, however, from hatred towards the stranger Pashas of Egypt than from any particular sympathy with the people of Nejd. Feyḡul soon entered Ryáḡ in triumph and invited his cousin to an honourable capitulation; but Ebn Theneyyán refused to surrender the post, the more so as the only artillery of Nejd was in his possession within the castle. Deprived of these engines of siege, Feyḡul was not inclined to venture an assault on the massive and well guarded walls of the palace, and nothing remained but a blockade. For a whole month there were two kings in Nejd, one within the palace, the other without. This state of affairs was cut short by Ebn Theneyyán, who happened one day to roam about dispirited in the palace, and to overhear a conversation of some of his retainers, who discussed the propriety of opening the gates to Feyḡul and to obtain a reward by presenting him with the head of his rival. Ebn Theneyyán thus saw that he could trust his own no more, and passed out by a secret door from the palace. Feyḡul now took quietly possession of the castle and put Ebn Theneyyán into confinement, where he died a few days after-

wards—according to some from grief, and according to others from poison administered by order of Feyçul.

To consolidate the Wahhábby dominions again into one great empire or confederation of numerous provinces, after they had been occupied by the Egyptians, divided among independent chiefs, and shaken by frequent revolutions, was no easy task. Feyçul was now the sole and undisputed master of Central Arabia; but Haça refused to recognize his sceptre, and O'mán had long ago freed itself from Wahhábby interference. The numerous and warlike tribes of Ajmán were in open revolt on the north-east frontier, and had called in the aid of the scarce less warlike Beni Hájar and Beni Kháled. Their combined forces threatened Nejd with a nomad invasion, which it was necessary to avert, and Feyçul was not much of a warrior; he, moreover, suffered from ophthalmia, which he had contracted in Egypt, but he had in the person of his eldest son A'bdullah a full supplement of his own martial deficiencies. Whatever the vices of this prince might have been; however proud, immoral, treacherous, and cruel his character; a degree of skill in war-tactics, extraordinary in an Arab, could not be justly denied him. To A'bdullah accordingly the military department was confided, while Feyçul remained in his capital to organize and administer the empire.

A'bdullah's first expedition was directed against the Ajmán Bedouins, whose army, formidable by its number and excellent equipment, had assembled at Koweyt, and was about to march to Nejd, but he came upon it unexpectedly and defeated it. Then the conqueror turned towards the nomads of the west, whom he likewise subdued; he incorporated Haça again into the Wahhábby confederation, not, however, without a fierce struggle, and Qatyf once more received a Nejdian garrison. These conquests were made as much by political stratagems as by main force, and the liberties of the annexed provinces (many of whose chiefs were allured to the court of Feyçul, flattered by attentions of the Sultán, but in reality considered by him as hostages) were reduced only by degrees.

Although chiefly intent on the consolidation of his empire, Feyçul always cast longing glances also upon the shores of the Persian Gulf, where the riches accumulated by commerce stimulated his greedy ambition, in which he could, however, not indulge before he had established security at home. In 1856, when Feyçul was at peace with all his vassals and neighbours, he ordered his forces to assemble at Qatyf, and

the warriors of Nejd embarked in a fleet, destined for the conquest of Bahrayn. The advantage of superior courage was certainly with the Nejdians, but numbers and seamanship turned the scale in favour of the Bahrayn fleet. After a sharp engagement at Darym, in which some Nejdian boats were burnt and others disabled, a detachment of Feyçul's troops succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the enemy, and effected a descent on an unguarded point of the island. Since that time Bahrayn is again tributary to the government of Ryád, though according to opportunities it does not hesitate to claim now the protection of Persia, now of O'mán, and even of the Sublime Porte.

In course of time Jebel Shomer, with the provinces dependent thereon, practically detached itself from Nejd under the valorous A'bdullah Ben Rashyd, who, as we have seen above, had been appointed governor there by Feyçul for having delivered him of his rival Mesháry. Feyçul, however, still continued to sow discord, and ceased to meddle with public affairs only after he had, partly from ophthalmia and partly from old age, become stoneblind, dividing his yet remaining time between the oratory and the harem. A'bdullah is the first son of Feyçul by a lady of the Sa'úd family, whilst the mother of the second, whose name is Sa'úd, after the name of the founder of the family, belonged to the Beni Kháled clan, and the enmity of these two brothers was always so great that they could not even speak peaceably to each other. The third son Muḥammad was the offspring of a Nejdian dame. The fourth and last, A'bd-ur-rahman, was a heavy-looking boy when Captain Palgrave sojourned in Ryád and still an inmate of his father's harem. An old maid, the only unmarried daughter of Feyçul, was his private secretary.

In 1863, when Feyçul had given up nearly all interference in the affairs of government, A'bd-ul-latyf, the great-grandson of Muḥammad A'bd-ul-Wahháb, was the Qády of Ryád, and unquestionably the first personage, not only of the capital, but even in the empire, and more powerful than Feyçul himself in some respects. Captain Palgrave says: "I was again and again his guest to a cup of coffee. From I know not of what intonation of my voice he believed me not a Damascene but an Egyptian, and conversed willingly about the Kasr-el-'Eynee and the Djāma'-el-Azher. But he also knew me to be a Christian, and in due time showed what were his real feelings towards me as such. I was often present at his public lectures and comments, whether delivered in his own elegant mosque, close by his house, or in the great Djāma'

of the city. On these occasions he was surrounded by numerous earnest auditors, besides a select body of special disciples, and I must give him the credit of being an elegant speaker. But narrower sectarianism than what formed the groundwork and key-note of his teachings, it was never mine to hear." In this last mentioned peculiarity the Qády probably accommodated and narrowed his views to the bent of the Wahháby spirit, not to suit which would undoubtedly have endangered, not only his position, but even his life as a latitudinarian. Carried off to Egypt when yet a child, and educated in Cairo, where he had intercourse with learned and tolerant men, he certainly could not have imbibed the fanatic sectarianism of the Wahháby, where none exist; he conversed with ease on a variety of topics, and sometimes affected great liberality of views. According to Captain Palgrave, however, "such liberal semblance is merely a surface whitewash; the tongue may be the tongue of Egypt, but the heart and the brain are ever those of Nejd." A'bd-ul-latýf was also the head of the zelators, a curious institution still flourishing even in 1879, as some Arab friends have informed us, and of which we shall now insert the account of an eye-witness:—

"In 1854 or 1855 cholera fell on Nejd like a thunderbolt, and began its usual ravages with a success totally unchecked. Relaxation in religious and sectarian peculiarities had been introducing itself into Ryád; prosperity, and yet more the preceding Egyptian occupation, followed by frequent intercourse with the men and government of Cairo, and intercourse continued during the entire reign of A'bbás Pasha, nor wholly interrupted under that of Sa'y'd, had combined to encourage this deplorable falling away. No reasonable mind could hesitate whence the cholera came; the crime was notorious, the punishment mere justice. Of course the best, indeed the only, remedy for the epidemic was a speedy reform, and an efficacious return to the purity and intolerance of better days.

"Feyçul now convoked an assembly of all the principal men in the town. From among the most exemplary and zealous of the inhabitants twenty-two were selected, and entitled Medey'yeeyah, men of zeal, or zelators, such being the nearest word in literal translation. On these twenty-two Feyçul conferred absolute power for extirpation of whatever was contrary to Wahháby doctrine and practice, and to good morals in general, from the capital firstly and then from the entire empire. Most comprehensive, too, was the list of offences brought under the

animadversion of these new censors; absence from public prayers, regular attendance five times a day in the public mosques being henceforth of strict obligation; smoking tobacco, taking snuff, or chewing (a practice brought by sailors from Koweyt); wearing silk or gold; taking or having a light in the house after night prayers; singing or playing on a musical instrument; nay, even all street games of children or childish persons; these were some of the leading articles on the condemned list, and objects of virtuous correction and severity. Besides, swearing by some other name than that of God, any approach to an invocation, or even ejaculation directed to aught but Him; in short, whatever in word or deed, in conversation or in conduct, might appear to deviate from the exact orthodoxy of the letter of the Qorán or the Wahháby commentary, was to be denounced or even punished on the spot. Lastly, their censorship extended over whatever might afford suspicion of irregular conduct; for instance, strolling about the streets after nightfall, entering too frequently a neighbour's house, especially at hours when the male denizens may be presumed absent, with any apparent breach of the laws of decorum or decency; all these were rendered offences amenable to cognizance and correctional measures.

“ These zelators are bound to a very simple style of dress; they may not even wear the sword; but each one bears a long staff, which serves the double purpose of official badge and instrument of chastisement, much like the truncheon of our own policemen. This, combined with downcast eyes, slow walk, subdued tone of voice, the head-dress drawn cowl-fashion low over the forehead, but without the headband, and a constant gravity of demeanour, suffice to distinguish them at first sight from the ordinary crowd. Of course in their conversation pious texts and ejaculations, accompanied by the forefinger upraised every half-minute at least, in season and out of season, to testify to the unity of God, are even more frequent among them than among the common faithful. Pacing from street to street or unexpectedly entering the houses to see if there is anything incorrect going on there, they do not hesitate to inflict at once, and without any preliminary form of trial or judgment, the penalty of stripes on the detected culprit, be he who he may; and should their own staves prove insufficient, they straightway call in the assistance of bystanders or slaves, who throw the guilty individual prone on the ground, and then, in concert with the zelator, belabour him at pleasure. A similar process is



adopted for those whom negligence has kept from public prayers. Should he happen to be absent from home at the moment of the visit, nay, sometimes even after the administration of the healing chastisement, a pledge for future good conduct, as a cloak, a sword, a head-dress or the like, is taken from the house, nor restored till several days of punctual attendance at the masjid have repaired the scandal of past negligence.

“Similar measures were enforced throughout Nejd. . . . But even in Nejd and in Ryád itself the overstretched cord ended by relaxing a little, nor could the unpopularity of the new institution remain wholly concealed. . . . The zelators are, in fact, the real Council of State, and no question of peace or war, alliance or treaty, but is suggested or modified by them. They represent the High Conservative party, and that inevitable tendency of all organized society to advancement, from which not even Wahhábys are excepted. . . . Meanwhile I might almost leave my readers to suppose in what light such a body, and those who compose it, are regarded by the mass of the population. Surrounded with all the deference and all the odium consequent on their office and character, they meet everywhere with marks of open respect and covert distrust and hatred.”

Captain Palgrave passed for a physician at Ryád and acquired some renown in that capacity, which brought him into contact with all classes of the population, but especially with the higher, and with all the members of the royal family. A’bdullah, the heir presumptive, but *de facto* Sultán, when decrepitude had almost totally disabled Feyçul from taking part in the government, had learnt enough to know the

Character of A’bdullah.	qualities of various drugs, but at last desired to get possession of some, and in the dialogue which took place between him and the Captain, we get a glimpse of his character in another light besides that of warrior and administrator, in which he had hitherto appeared. We shall do best by describing this interview in the Captain’s own words* :—“All I could say about the uselessness, nay, the great danger of pharmacy in unlearned hands, was rejected as a mere and insufficient pretext. At last, after much urging, the prince ended by saying, that for the other ingredients I might omit them if I choose, but that the strychnine he must have, and that though at the highest price I might name. His real object was perfectly clear, nor could I dream of lending a hand, how-
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\* Vol. II., p. 117.

ever indirectly, to his diabolical designs, nor did I see any way open before me, but that of firm though polite denial. In pursuance I affected not to suspect his projects, and insisted on the dangerous character of the alkaloid, till he gave up the charge for the moment and I left the place. Next day he renewed his demands, but to no purpose. A third meeting took place. Beckoning me to his side, he insisted in the most absolute manner on having the poison in his possession, and at last, laying aside all pretences, made clear the reasons, though not the person, for which he desired it, and declared that he would admit of no excuse, conscientious or otherwise. He was at the moment sitting in the further end of the Qawwah [coffee-room], and I was close by him ; while between us and the attendants there present, enough space remained to prevent their catching our conversation, if held in an undertone. I looked round to assure myself that we could not be overheard, and when a flat denial on my part had been met by an equally flat rejection and a fresh demand, I turned right towards him, lifted up the edge of his head-dress, and said in his ear : ‘ A ’bdulla, I know well what you want the poison for, and I have no mind to be an accomplice to your crimes, nor to answer before God’s judgment-seat for what you will have to answer for. You shall *never* have it.’ His face became literally black and swelled with rage. I never saw so perfect a demon before or after. A moment he hesitated in silence, then he mastered himself, and suddenly changing voice and tone, began to talk gaily about indifferent subjects. After a few minutes he rose, and I returned home.”

A ’bdullah succeeded Feyçul as Sultán, but was not able to extend the  
 Waghábys in O ’mán.                   frontiers farther into O ’mán than the town  
   of Beiremeh ; nevertheless Wellsted<sup>50</sup> met  
 in 1834 much farther south with a Wagháby tribe, the Beni-Abu-A’ly,  
 in lat. 22°, who had been converted to the sect in 1811, when A ’bd-  
 ul-a’zyz had invaded O ’mán, all the other tribes of which hated them  
 from that moment with the most deadly aversion. After A ’bd-ul-a’zyz  
 had been beaten back at Bediah, their best efforts were necessary to  
 prevent their total annihilation ; but continuing to temporise until they  
 had erected a very strong fort, they in return became aggressors, and  
 after carrying fire and sword into every part of the neighbouring dis-  
 trict, became so formidable, that they were soon left in undisputed  
 possession of their own and several of the neighbouring districts.

<sup>50</sup> Travels in Arabia, vol. I., p. 54.

The Emám Sayyid Sa'úd was unable to dislodge them, and again failed in his attempt in 1821, although aided by a small British force. On the 13th March 1835 Wellsted was at Obri, in lat.  $23\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ , and in great danger of being slain by the Wahnábys, nearly 2,000 of whom were in the place; accordingly he turned again to the south and renounced his intention of paying a visit to Nejd and the Wahnáby capital.<sup>51</sup>

The last European who visited Ryád was Colonel, now Sir, Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., who had in February 1865 been sent there by the Indian Government to improve the relations between it and the Amyr, or, as he is generally called, Sultán of the Wahnábys. At that time the Colonel was British Resident in the Persian Gulf, and entertained the opinion, that in order effectually to suppress the mischievous propensities of the littoral Arabs, it would be best to deal with the Wahnáby Government by which they were countenanced, and to which they professed a kind of allegiance, the influence whereof might be brought to act beneficially upon them. As numerous Wahnábys had betaken themselves to the sea-coast when pressed by the Turkish, or, more strictly, Egyptian invasion, their activity was also partly transferred from the land to the sea,<sup>52</sup> where they sought the chances of robbery which they had been deprived of by the invaders of their country, and the evil Colonel Pelly sought to remedy was of long standing; in fact the navigation of the Persian Gulf is safe only in proportion as British cruisers keep it so.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 200 seq.

<sup>52</sup> How the Wahnábys turned pirates is explained as follows by Wellsted, vol. I., p. 250 seq. :—"To such restless, turbulent, and daring spirits, the roving adventurous life of a pirate held forth every charm. It was but transferring the scene of a Bedouin's hostility to the rest of mankind, from a desert of sand to a waste of waters; and such numbers consequently joined them that their forces soon became truly formidable. Embarking from the ports in the southern parts of the Persian Gulf in large and swift sailing vessels of from 200 to 400 tons, of which it is estimated that they had then more than a hundred, and sailing together in large fleets, they kept the whole coast of Arabia, the entrance of the Red Sea, and the northern shore of India in a state of constant excitement and alarm. Many and desperate were the conflicts which occurred at different periods between them and the vessels of the Indian Navy. . . . Events connected with our operations in India against the Mahrattas occupied the attention and resources of Government so completely, that troops could not without difficulty for some time be spared to punish them; but no sooner were these concluded than their complete extermination was resolved on. The details of the expedition in 1819 are already too well known to render it necessary for me to describe them. I shall merely observe, that when Rás-ul-Kháymah, Sharja, and other ports again fell into our hands, all their boats were burnt or sold, and their forts razed to the ground." Since that time the forts have been rebuilt, and Rás-ul-Kháymah is much larger now than it ever was before.

Old, blind Feyçul still held the reins of government, although A'bdullah had already since a number of years conducted all military operations and recovered the power of the Wahnáby empire which at present pays only a nominal tribute to the Porte through the Sheryf of Mekkah. Having gradually annexed the rich provinces of Haça and Qatyf, extending the shoreline along the Persian Gulf by the utter subjugation of the powerful littoral tribe Beni Kháled, having likewise nothing to fear from the Beni Quhtán on the road to Mekkah, nor from the tribes of Jebel Shomer and Dháfer, it is no wonder that Feyçul, as he explained in an interview to Colonel Pelly, was aspiring to realize the consolidation of the kingdom, which, as he expressed himself, "God has given him," by extending it from Koweyt to Rás-ul-hadd and even beyond. This only interview was, however, neither long nor interesting, and the questions put by the Sultán to his visitor were of no moment. He looked upwards of 70 years of age, and died of cholera on the 13th Rajab, 1282 (Dec. 2, [1865]), and was succeeded by the present Sultán, his eldest son A'bdullah, who still reigns.

The Wahnáby government is a confederation of small provinces, the Sheikhs of which have gradually been deprived of their independence, governed by the Amyrs, now Sultáns, of the Sa'úd or Wahnáby dynasty, whose reigns have been narrated, and the last of whom, A'bdullah II., is still reigning in 1880. The Wahnáby dominions are divided into governorships, comprising the stationary Arabs; every nomad, *i.e.* Bedouin tribe, has also its own governor or Sheikh, to whom smaller ones are subject in proportion to its numbers. The principal governors execute public justice, which, however, is modified by the jurisdiction of their Qádys, so that their power is rather limited, and an appeal from all decisions to the Sultán himself, who lives at Ryád, is often resorted to. One of the punishments most disliked by the Wahnábys, is the shaving of the culprit's head, who then endeavours to conceal himself until the hair of his head grows again.

The following are some of the Wahnáby laws, founded upon the Qorán and the sayings of Muḥammad<sup>53</sup>:—

A robber must return stolen goods, and escapes further punishment, except a fine to the treasury, unless accompanied by acts of violence; thus, if a door be broken open in committing robbery, the thief's hand is cut off.

<sup>53</sup> Burckhardt, p. 301 seq.

Murder committed with a dagger or pistol is punished by death ; but if with a stick or stone, is deemed manslaughter, and the culprit pays only the blood-ransom, as not having been armed with a deadly weapon.

The price of blood among the Wahhábys is fixed at one hundred she-camels, according to the rate established by Abu Bekr, the successor of Muḥammad. When Burckhardt travelled in Arabia, a camel was valued eight Spanish dollars, hence the sum fixed was 800.

Prisoners of quality were in Burckhardt's and even in Palgrave's time (1862-63) kept in the Sultán's palace, where some of them had permission to roam about freely, whilst others were confined underground, and the stocks in which the feet of prisoners were placed were used only for the lower classes.

The neglect of religious duties was always severely punished, at least at head-quarters, and an inquisitorial religious police always existed. Burckhardt mentions it, and Palgrave describes the institutions of "Zelators" established by Feyḥul, given by us in a former paragraph. Even at present any inhabitants found in the streets or bazars of Ryáḍ during prayer-hours are driven into the mosques, by force if necessary.

The revenue system of the Wahháby government is based on that established by the prophet himself and mentioned in the Qorán. The government, or rather the Sultán, who represents it, appropriates to himself one-fifth of the plunder taken in war for himself, distributing the rest among the troops. The Zekát, or legal alms, are in reality taxes paid from the produce of the cattle, fields, and the capitals of merchants. This impost, although likewise sanctioned by the Qorán, is a frequent cause of rebellion against the Sultán, who, however, recoups himself by confiscating the property and lands of his recalcitrant subjects whenever he can ; but he has also special domains, all the produce and cattle of which are his private property. In Nejd itself most of the landed property belongs at present to the public treasury or *Beyt-ul-mál*.

According to Colonel Pelly<sup>54</sup> the revenues of Feyḥul, the Sultán of the Wahhábys, was in 1865 as follows, and the names of the various provinces are here given in his own orthography: —

From the Bedouins in general .....	\$ 114,000
From the province of Qásym .....	„ 70,000
„ „ Woshem .. .....	„ 12,000

<sup>53</sup> Burckhardt, p. 301 seq.

<sup>54</sup> Journal, p. 34-36.

From the province of Sedayr .....	\$	70,000
"    "    Ared .....	"	50,000
"    "    Yemamah, Khurj, and Haryq .....	"	30,000
"    "    Howtah .....	"	20,000
"    "    Al Aflaj .....	"	7,000
"    "    Al Saleyl .....	"	7,000
"    "    Wadi Dowasir .....	"	16,000
"    "    Al Ahsa .....	"	270,000
"    "    Kateef .....	"	130,000
"    "    Okair... .....	"	4,000
From districts between Ared and Huzmer Rojee, called Gheraniah .....	"	6,000
		Total... \$ 806,000

In this statement the pilgrim-tax of 72 dollars per head, of which the Nejd government makes over only 20 to the Sheryf of Mekkah, is not included. The number of pilgrims annually passing through Nejd is roundly estimated as follows:—

Via Boçrah .....	18,000
"    Koweyt .....	2,000
"    Al Ahsa .....	30,000
From Damascus and the north...	150,000
	Total..... 200,000

All males are liable to military service at any moment, but there is no standing army, and the Sheikhs of the various tribes must furnish the required quota of men whenever wanted. When a rebellious tribe is subdued, its Sheikh is rendered harmless by being honourably maintained at Ryád where many of them thus reside, and constitute a portion of the Sultán's court.

The Wahháby's do not coin money; but dollars, which they call *Real*, are current among them. At present the Indian rupee and Turkish money are perhaps better known than the Spanish and Austrian dollar. Some old copper coins of the Emáms of Yemen also circulate; and in Haça the *Towylah* or copper long-bit is still available, but nowhere else. Specimens of it, looking like small pincers, may be seen in the Museum of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

The Wahhábys of Arabia possess all the ardor of enthusiasts and of religious reformers, are as fanatic as the Moslems of the first century of Islám, and are therefore animated by the same desire to propagate their faith and to extend their dominions ; but the one fact that we now live in the 19th century of the Christian era, to the civilisation of which they have remained almost total strangers, has nullified all their aspirations. A vassal of the Porte, the Viceroy of Egypt alone, was powerful enough to invade Nejd and to demolish its capital ; not by any extraordinary bravery of his troops, nor by Napoleonic generalship or tactics, but by the common appliances of modern civilisation, comprising in this instance nothing more than some disciplined troops, a few pieces of good artillery, and a well regulated commissariat. Thus expansion by war beyond the wilds of Arabia has been tested, failed, and seen to be for ever impossible ; because if the Porte should in course of time become totally helpless as a State, or even cease to exist as such, the Wahhábys would also, in that case, have to encounter antagonists, and more formidable ones, able soon to drive them back into their deserts, totally ignorant as they are of the modern art of war, against which neither the heroism and skill of their leaders, nor the fanaticism and bravery of their undisciplined hordes would be of much avail. The expansion, or rather promulgation, of Wahhábý tenets by preaching was more successful ; and thus the sect found adherents in distant regions where it could never have penetrated by force of arms, namely, in India, in many parts of which small communities of converts to it are scattered, but to some degree concealed when opposition from the other sects is apprehended. Propagandism, although not attracting as much notice as formerly, still flourishes, and the more so as the missionaries are, and have nearly always been, Indian Moslems converted either during their pilgrimage to Arabia or in this country. Even some of the Indian Wahhábys were at one time fanatic enough to hope against hope that their cause in this country would be promoted by force of arms ; in fact, a religious war, a *jehád*, or crescentade. Mischievous agitators have been disappointed and punished, but Wahhábys are as free as ever to spread their tenets by peaceable means.

#### HISTORY OF THE WAHHÁBYS IN INDIA.

The Wahhábý apostle of India was undoubtedly Sayyid Aḥmad, a man of great energy and perseverance, who Sayyid Aḥmad, the Wahhábý apostle of India. had commenced life as a freebooter, but

turned student, and became an enthusiastic member of the church-militant of Islám, preaching with the sword as well as with the tongue. He boldly attacked abuses, and gathered a large following, necessitating the appointment of four agents named *Khalifehs*, who collected the money required for the promotion and propagation of religious reform; but he imbibed the doctrines of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, which he afterwards preached in India, during his pilgrimage in Mekkah, which he had undertaken when he was about 36 years old.

Sayyid Aḥmad was born in the month of Muḥarram, of the year 1201 (began Oct. 24, 1786), in the British district of Rai Bareli. When yet a stripling, he enlisted as a horseman in the service of Amyr-Khán Pindari, who afterwards became Nawáb of Tonk, but for some years plundered the opium-growing villages of Malwa, and was a celebrated robber. The Moslems of Northern India were much incensed against Runjit Singh, but he was too powerful for them, and at last even robbery became a precarious trade in the vicinity of the Punjáb. This insecurity was probably the cause of Sayyid Aḥmad's retirement from his turbulent career, and of his becoming a saint. He was 30 years old, and became the pupil of a doctor of high repute at Delhi, Shah A'bd-ul-a'zyz, under whom he studied the sacred law for three years. Now he considered himself ripe for beginning his new career of a preacher, and commenced operations in Rohilkund amongst the descendants of the Rohillas, whose fathers had about half a century ago been exterminated by the government of Warren Hastings, and who had sworn eternal hatred to the English. Sayyid Aḥmad had succeeded in gathering around himself numerous and turbulent followers, but nevertheless moved towards the south, probably impelled by his restless spirit and his ambition. At that time already he had learnt to play the part of a saint so well, that during his journey to Patna wealthy and learned men accompanied his palankeen on foot with their shoes off like common servants.<sup>55</sup>

It soon appeared what high aspirations Sayyid Aḥmad entertained, because, after he had for some time preached in Patna, and converted many to his doctrines, he had become influential enough to organize a regular government for the new sect. He appointed missionaries, the principal four of whom were named khalifehs, namely, the Mulvys Viláyat A'ly, E'nayat A'ly, Murhum A'ly, and Furḥat Husayn, with a chief priest whose name was Sháh Muḥammad Husayn. He

<sup>55</sup> Dr. W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Mussalmans*, &c., p. 13.



also sent agents to all the large towns through which he had passed, and where he had preached, to collect a tax from the profits of trade.

Having thus established a central station in Patna, he continued his journey along the banks of the Ganges towards Calcutta, preaching, making converts, and appointing agents. The crowds which flocked to him in Calcutta and became his converts were so large that their initiation by the separate laying on of hands became impossible; those who wished to become the disciples of Sayyid Aḥmad had only to touch his turban, which was unrolled for the purpose, and presented a line of considerable extent. It is not known whether he had come to Calcutta for the purpose of starting on his pilgrimage to Mekkah; he did so, however, and thereby not only gained additional lustre to his renown, but imbibed in the sacred city the tenets of A'bd-ul-Wahháb, which he afterwards propagated with the greatest fervour in India. At that time the Wahhábys had lost all influence in Mekkah, and were even persecuted, but those who came in contact with Sayyid Aḥmad and observed the analogy of his doctrines to their own, soon converted him. Henceforth he was no longer a vague reformer of abuses, but became the adherent of a well-regulated system, the validity of which had been abundantly proved by the establishment of the Wahhábý kingdom in Arabia, and he determined to achieve one in India. He returned by way of Bombay, where he preached again, but he was soon convinced that neither there nor in any towns with populations so mixed, and so influenced by European civilisation, any hopes could be entertained of producing sufficient religious fervour to rebel against the Government. Accordingly he turned to his own native district of Bareli, where he preached his doctrines strenuously, gathered many followers, and the enmity which had always subsisted between the Moslems and the Sikhs furnished the apostle of the Wahhábý religion with a more feasible project of waging war for the faith than to rebel against the British Government, at any rate the flourishing towns of the Punjáb presented an alluring bait. Aware that he could effect but small robberies among his Hindu neighbours, with hordes of marauders, Sayyid Aḥmad determined to enlist the sympathies of the Afgháns in the holy cause of attacking the infidels, and made his appearance, in 1824, among the wild mountaineers of Peshawur, to whom he promised booty and paradise; whilst he explained to the political leaders of the Afgháns the necessity of checking the Sikh power. The following

proclamation was also circulated throughout Northern India among the disciples of Sayyid Aḥmad<sup>66</sup>:—

“The Sikh nation have long held sway in Lahore and other places. Their oppressions have exceeded all bounds. Thousands of Moslems have they unjustly killed, and on thousands they have heaped disgrace. No longer do they allow the call to prayer from the mosques, and the killing of cows they have entirely prohibited. When at last their insulting tyranny could no more be endured, Ḥuḍrat Sayyid Aḥmad (may his fortunes and blessings ever abide), having for his single object the protection of the Faith, took with him a few Moslems, and going in the direction of Kabul and Peshawur, succeeded in rousing Moslems from their slumber of indifference, and nerving their courage for action, Praise be to God, some thousands of believers became ready at his call to tread the path of God’s service, and on the 20th Jumády the latter in 1242 (21st December 1826) the *jehád* against the infidel Sikhs begins.”

Now bloodshed followed soon. The Moslems burst forth from the mountains, and began their plundering excursions, in which they were successful enough, but unable to cope in regular engagements with the Sikhs, who had been drilled by Italian and French officers. In 1827 Sayyid Aḥmad’s forces were repulsed with great slaughter from an entrenched camp which they had attacked; he gathered, however, strength as time advanced, overwhelmed the plains with his adherents, and occupied in 1830 even Peshawur. This was the highest achievement, and at the same time the turning point of his good luck; for although he was bold enough to strike coins bearing the legend “Aḥmad the just, defender of the faith,” he found himself soon under the necessity of evacuating Peshawur on condition of a ransom being paid. Runjit

Defeat and death of Say- the Moslems by bribery and intrigue, and  
yid Ahmad. ill-will between the Hindustani and Pathán fanatics composing the army broke out into open hostilities, especially after a tribe of the latter, the Barakzáys, had declined to fight the Sikhs on the eve of battle near Saidu, and were severely punished for this act of insubordination followed by desertion.

However great the talents of a reformer and a general of an army, which Sayyid Aḥmad now was, may be, they all ultimately fail him if

<sup>66</sup> The text was first published in Oudh in the *ترغيب الجهاد* or “Incitement to religious war,” and this translation of it is given by Dr. Hunter, p. 14 seq.

he possesses no administrative abilities, and no equitable system of raising means for the support of his troops, which fanaticism alone cannot keep together long when discipline cannot be enforced. The apostle naturally trusted his own countrymen, the Hindustanis, more than the Patháns, and was under the necessity of raising tithes for their support from the latter, who first obeyed for the great cause of the faith, but afterwards demurred. He thought it also incumbent upon himself to provide his Indian followers, who were far from their homes, with Pathán wives, which measure no doubt accelerated his fall. The Patháns rose, massacred his Hindustani retinue, and he himself escaped with difficulty from Panjtar to the valley of Palki. Henceforth he ceased to be at the head of his religious, or rather religio-political, movement, and took in 1831 service under one of his former lieutenants, who had set up for himself. The apostle was in the month of May during the same year surprised at Balakot by a Sikh army under the Prince Shir Singh and slain.

Sayyid Ahmad avoided in his teachings to hurt the feelings of the other Moslem sects, and of those of his disciples who had not been able to emancipate themselves from various superstitious usages, and dwelt in his preaching especially on the necessity of trusting to God in all things; but he must nevertheless have gained the confidence of his disciples to a remarkable degree in his own person likewise, as he did not scruple to promulge himself as the Emám Mahdy, the leader of the thirteenth century of the Hejret era, wherefore it was believed that he would again re-appear. This doctrine was preached, and the most conspicuous of the khalifehs who did so, Viláyat A'ly, wrote even a book to support it.

Viláyat A'ly actually began to preach in Bombay in 1832, but the Mulvys proclaimed him to be an infidel, and he fled in dismay. In 1848 Mulvy Suleyman Wahháby preached in Bombay, and distributed a tract called *Tanbih-ul-insán*, "Admonition of man;" but at this period the doctrine seems to have lost its novelty, and no other excitement ensued besides that caused by the paper *Najm-ul-ákkhbár*, which bitterly attacked the Wahhábys.

Sayyid Ahmad had disappeared and would come again, but his continued absence rendered it necessary to elect a leader for continuing the *jehád*. Accordingly the khalifehs of India assembled in Delhi, appointed Mulvy Náçér-uddyn commander-in-chief, and commissioned him to march through Tonk and Sind, which contained many Wahhábys, to

augment his forces, and thence to join the mountaineers of Takhtabad and Bonair on the Afghan side of the Indus. Nâçér-uddyn remained, however, at Shikarpúr, where many recruits from Hindustán and Bengal joined him. He left Sind only when Lord Auckland determined to force Shah Shujah on the people of Kabul, and Dost Muḥammad proclaimed a religious war against the English, inviting the Wahhábys to join in the holy war. Nâçér-uddyn marched towards Kabul with about one thousand men, not more than 300 of whom, however, assisted in the defence of Ghaznyn, which was captured by the English troops, and the disappointed Wahhábys were disbanded. Mulvy Qasim returned to the hills and preached as a khalifeh of Sayyid Aḥmad, in whose name letters were forged and sent to various khalifehs inviting them to join their spiritual chief. The Patna Mulvys responded to the call, and despatched numerous recruits to the hills. Also Zayn-ul-A'ábeydn of Hyderabad, converted by Viláyat A'ly when he first visited the Dekkan, joined the movement with upwards of a thousand disciples, but was defeated by the Sikhs. This Zayn-ul-A'ábeydn was determined to have an interview with Sayyid Aḥmad, who, he had been told, now lived in a certain mountain near Kawai. He entered the cave in which his master was said to reside, and found only three figures stuffed with straw, intended to represent Sayyid Aḥmad and his two servants. No wonder that his approaching the figures had been strenuously opposed by the impostors in charge of the cave, who allowed them to be seen only from a distance, and the disgust of Zayn-ul-A'ábeydn may be imagined when he discovered the truth. He forthwith prohibited his followers to serve under an idolator like Mulvy Qásim, and wrote a letter to Calcutta, in which he exposed the whole fraud.<sup>57</sup> The people had been told by Mulla Qádir, the fabricator and guardian of the three images, that if they were to approach them, the Emám would disappear for fourteen years, accordingly they contented themselves with saláming from a distance.

The internecine troubles which arose among the Sikhs after the death of Runjit Singh—when all parties ultimately came to the compromise of investing the Khálçah, *خالچاه*, i.e., "pure," army, because it consisted entirely of Sikhs, with the supreme power under the darbár of Lahór—were favourable to the movements of the Wahhábys, who obtained dominion over a large extent of territory along the left bank of the

<sup>57</sup> This letter, which fills more than two pages, and is written in an indignant spirit, may be seen in the *Calcutta Review* for 1870, No. CL, p. 190 seq.

Indus, stretching from Hurripúr to Kagan and from Sittána to Kashmir ; but the three great leaders of the Wahháby's in those parts, namely, Viláyat A'ly, E'náyat A'ly, and Muqáúd A'ly, all inhabitants of Behár, lost these conquests as soon as the British Government destroyed the Khálçah army. In 1847 all the Wahháby troops surrendered to Mr. Agnew at Hurripúr, excepting only a few who escaped across the Indus to Sittána. On that occasion the Mulvys Viláyat A'ly and E'náyat A'ly were sent under an escort to their homes, and then bound down in ball of Rs. 10,000 not to leave the city of Patna for four years. This appeared to be a mere formality of Government, because a few months afterwards they entered into communication with Aulad A'ly, who had retired to Sittána, as just mentioned, with the troops that had escaped. In 1850 E'náyat A'ly preached sedition at Rájshahi, then went to Patna, and by the end of the year had joined the Wahháby's at Sittána, with not more than eighty followers. He was a blind fanatic, who actually thought it possible to overthrow the British Government, and urged the Wahháby's to attempt it at once. Viláyat A'ly, however, who had also arrived in Sittána, but had travelled through Central India, the Bombay Presidency, and Sind, and was well aware of the power of the English, considered an invasion of India to be sheer madness. This difference of opinion between the two leaders caused a split in the camp of Sittána, the Hindustanis siding with Viláyat A'ly, whilst the Bengalis supported the views and the claims of E'náyat A'ly to the position of chief Pyr and General. The contending parties were ready to come to blows, and bloodshed was prevented only by the tact of Viláyat A'ly, who, advancing to their front, uttered a prayer that God might avert such a calamity between brothers ; whereon E'náyat A'ly retired from the contest, yielding the supremacy to his rival, who, however, died after a few months, so that he again became the chief leader of the Wahháby's, and endeavouring to carry out his long-cherished design of waging war against the English, he prepared for the struggle by carrying on an extensive correspondence with the khalifehs of Bengal, inciting them to send money and recruits, tampered with the native regiments of the English, and drilled his troops.

Titu Myán<sup>25</sup> was a bad and desperate character, who lived in 1815

Career and end of Titu Myán. as a professional wrestler in Calcutta, then he took service as a Lathyal with some of

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<sup>25</sup> According to the *Calcutta Review* for 1870, No. CI., p. 177, whence we chiefly take the notice of this man, his name was Nisar Ali *alias* Titu Mir ; but we adhere to Dr. Hunter's Titu Myán.

the Nuddea zemindárs, was implicated in an affray, and imprisoned. After his release, he was engaged by a member of the Dehli royal family in 1821 as an attendant during a pilgrimage to Mekkah. In the holy city Titu Myán fell in with Sayyid Aḥmad, who had arrived already a year ago, namely, in 1822, and adopting his doctrines, became his disciple. Titu Myán resided several years in Mekkah, and must there have become deeply imbued with Wahhábý doctrines, for, when he returned to India in 1827 and settled down in the village of Haiderpúr, not far from his former abode, he preached them with great fervour, inveighing against the superstition of honouring pyrs, of invoking the names of saints, of presenting offerings to obtain their favours, &c.

As we have seen above, the success of Sayyid Aḥmad had been so great in 1830 that he occupied Peshawur, and this so re-acted upon his adherents in Bengal, that they were emboldened openly to flaunt their intolerance of other creeds. Now the influence of Titu Myán extended over a tract of country around Narkulbariah, near the river Issamutti, about twenty miles long and fourteen broad; but he had become the spiritual chief of not more than 400 devoted adherents. In 1830 no greater outrage appears to have been committed than the destruction during the Muḥarram of a celebrated Muḥammadan shrine, the perpetrator of which, a fanatic Wahhábý, Punjáb Mulik by name, was for it imprisoned by his zemindár, who also informed the Joint Magistrate of Baraset of the case in the month of August, but in the beginning of 1831 Eastern Bengal was disturbed, when the followers of Shera'yat-ullah of Forydpúr, holding similar views to those of Sayyid Aḥmad, burnt a village because an inhabitant of it had refused to join the sect. In June of the same year a crisis was brought on by Kishen Ráy, a zemindár of Púrna, on the banks of the Issamutti, who imposed a tax of Rs. 2 as. 8 upon each of his tenants professing to be a Wahhábý. As a general rule, the Wahhábýs do not shave, hence they called this new impost the beard-tax, which the zemindár collected in Púrna, but in the adjoining village of Surfarazpúr a riot ensued when some houses were plundered and a mosque burnt. As is usual on such occasions, both parties charged each other with committing arson and robbery, when they made their depositions to the police officer in charge of the Baseerhat Thanah. The zemindár absconded, but at last surrendered himself to the magistrate of Baraset, declaring that he knew nothing of the riot and had been in Calcutta when it occurred. The original complainants were

charged with having burnt their own mosque in order to implicate their zemindár; on the other hand, the followers of Titu Myán did not attend to give evidence in the original case, because attendance would have led to their arrest. The magistrate, perfectly helpless in the network of intrigues involved in the case, at last acquitted all parties. The Wahhábys returned to their homes, but their zemindár harassed them for arrears of rent, which circumstance gave rise to armed resistance and brought on the end of Titu Myán's career.

A strong bamboo stockade was erected round the village of Narkulbariah, in which Titu Myán collected about 500 of his adherents, and determined to begin a *jehád*. The Púrna zemindár being aware that the first attack of the fanatics would be directed against himself, informed the authorities, but obtained no aid. Accordingly the Wahhábys marched on the 6th November to Púrna, where they murdered a Brahman, slaughtered two cows, with the blood of which they defiled a Hindu temple, plundered the shops, insulted those Moslems who did not belong to their sect, and proclaimed the extinction of the British Government!

These and similar proceedings the insurgents carried on in several villages without meeting with any resistance; in this manner three districts namely, the 24-Pergunnahs, Nuddea, and Farydpúr, were at their mercy. These atrocities were to have been checked by Mr. Alexander, who had been sent against the fanatics with a detachment of the Calcutta militia, numbering 120 men, and who made his appearance in front of the stockade of Narkulbariah on the 14th November. Being under the impression that the mere sight of his men would intimidate the Wahhábys, Mr. Alexander, who was anxious to avoid bloodshed, ordered his sepoy to load only with blank cartridges. Accordingly the insurgents were received with a harmless volley, which so emboldened them that they rushed out and slew more than a dozen men, Mr. Alexander himself escaping with great difficulty to Calcutta. Now a detachment consisting of the 10th Regiment N. I., a troop of horse artillery with two guns, and some troopers of the Body Guard were directed to join Mr. Alexander at Baraset. The Wahhábys were found drawn out on the plain of Narkulbariah, with the mangled body of a European, who had been killed on the previous day, suspended in front of their line. The troops advanced firing on the insurgents, who received the attack boldly, and did not retreat to the stockade until successive volleys had told on them severely. The stockade was

carried by storm, and found to contain much plunder, obtained in marauding expeditions. Titu Myán had been slain in action, but his lieutenant, Ghullám Ma'çúm, was, with 350 followers, taken alive.

The Wahhábys are strictly nothing more than Sunny puritans, *i.e.*, orthodox Moslems, as we have seen already from the "Catechism of the Wahhábys," given in full in the first part of this paper. This appears also from a tract purporting to have been written by A'bd-ul-Wahháb himself, the Arabic text and translation of which may be seen in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1848, t. XI., p. 168 seq. Almost all the Muḥammadans of Bengal and the N.-W. Provinces are Sunnys, chiefly of the Hanafy sect, with a few Sháfi'ys,<sup>59</sup> whence it is evident why more converts were made in the just mentioned regions than in the districts where the Shya'hs are dominant. It naturally being the aim of Sayyid Aḥmad to enrol under his banners not only Sunnys but also Shya'hs, he established for the benefit of these—although he himself performed all religious observances according to the rules of the Hanafy sect, which being one of the four orthodox denominations, was repugnant to the Shya'hs, who follow various Emáms—a new sect of *Faqyrs*, who might, according to their previous connections, indulge in some special tenets, like certain orders of Durwayshes, who, indeed, belong to the great body of the Muḥammadan church, but retain their own peculiarities. Accordingly Sayyid Aḥmad called his new sect of Faqyrs by the catholic name of *Tariqat Muḥammadi*, *i.e.*, "the way or doctrine of Muḥammad," without insisting on minute details about beliefs and ceremonies, and chiefly confining himself to doctrines in which all his adherents could agree; the keystone of all naturally being "resignation" to the will of God, *i.e.* *Islám*.

There is also another point already alluded to, in which the Indian Wahhábys differed from their brethren in Arabia, namely, that Sayyid Aḥmad<sup>60</sup> is the Emám Mohdy. Viláyat A'ly, one of the khalifehs, a convert of A'bd-ul-ḥaqq, who had become a Wahháby in Nejd, but

<sup>59</sup> The Sunnys are divided into four sects mutually considered equally orthodox, namely, the sect of *Abu Hanifah* (born about A.H. 80, A.D. 699, died about A.H. 115, A.D. 793); of *Málek* (born also about A.H. 80, died about A.H. 177, A.D. 793); of *Sháfi'y* (born about A.H. 150, A.D. 767, died about A.H. 204, A.D. 819); and of *Aḥmad Ebn Hanbal* (born A.H. 104, A.D. 780, died A.H. 241, A.D. 855). These four sects consider the Shya'hs and all other Muḥammadan denominations to be heterodox and schismatic.

<sup>60</sup> This man's name had, before his conversion, been *Ghullám Muḥammad*, "slave of Muḥammad," which being considered idolatrous, as men ought to be the slaves and servants of God only, he changed it.



lived in Benares, preached this doctrine and wrote a book to demonstrate it, and even the Shya'hs, to whom such doctrines are much more familiar than to the Sunnys, fixed the return of the apostle who had mysteriously disappeared after the fight at Balákót for the year 1260 (A.D. 1844), whilst others abstained from specifying the time, and contented themselves by adducing various authorities according to which the advent would take place during the 13th century, that is to say, between the year 1786 and 1882 of the Christian era. Prophecies and verses were produced, some of which are still sung in Northern India, but the "Ode of Ni'ametullah" inserted in the official record of the Wahhábý trial of 1865, in the *Calcutta Review*, No. C., p. 100, from which twelve verses are published also in Dr. Hunter's *The Indian Musulmáns*, appears to be one of the most celebrated.

Some of the Indian Wahhábys were, however, anxious to carry out practically one of their leading doctrines, which became the cause of the foundation of the Wahhábý empire in Arabia, namely, to wage a holy war, or *jehád*, against all whom they consider infidels. This doctrine they ardently promulgated in India by an inflammatory literature and by a propaganda, the central seat of which was in Patna. The inculcation of moral truths, however beautiful they may be, of self-abnegation, and restraints of every kind, is apt to pall upon the hearers in course of time, and the Wahhábý preachers discovered at an early stage of the movement that the zeal of the faithful was flagging, and in need of a stimulant to keep it alive; hence they soon ceased to appeal to the noblest capabilities of the human heart, and enlisted its lowest passions to promote their religion. The hatred which some Indian Moslems bore towards the English—fanned into flames by seditious preachers, who promised them deliverance or paradise—now became the text of every sermon. Thus the religious became subservient to the political element, and the misguided people were made to believe that they would serve God by rebelling against the British Government. The missionaries were indefatigable, careless of comforts, blameless in their lives, and skilled in organizing a permanent system of supplying money and recruits; they were even excelled by the Patna khalifehs, hence it is no wonder that these stand forth as the brightest representatives of the sect. As time progressed, they found it necessary constantly to strengthen the seditious element, not only by words, but also by deeds. The Patna propapanda became the focus for rebels and traitors; their caravanserais were such a labyrinth of walls and out-houses, that when Government

at length took proceedings against this nest of conspirators, it became necessary to procure a plan of the buildings, just as if they were a fortified town.<sup>61</sup> Crowds of youths destined to carry on the *jehád* were sent from the districts to Patna, where they were instructed by the leaders and sent off to the frontier, whilst others received a training as *colporteurs* or missionaries, and returned as such to their own districts.

The Wahhábý preachers who were commissioned from Patna to travel in the country to promulge the glad tidings of speedy deliverance from the yoke of the infidels, may, without any impropriety, be called sendlings, *i.e.* missionaries. These tidings of rebellion gradually so encroached upon the original tenets of the Wahhábýs, such as morality, purity of life, the abolition of idolatrous usages, &c., which were at first ardently insisted upon, that they threw them completely into the background. Instances when missionaries discoursed only on religious and abstained from political, *i.e.* seditious, topics, were of rare occurrence, and had, moreover, the effect of rapidly diminishing the audience. One such instance in a fanatic district of Eastern Bengal is mentioned by Dr. Hunter,<sup>62</sup> where the preacher, "while fulminating against the corrupt life and idolatrous practices of his Muḥammadan hearers, refused altogether to touch upon the duties of religious rebellion," the effect was as might have been expected. The disappointed multitude soon melted away; and by the time the messengers, whom the Hindus of the neighbourhood, dreading an outburst of zeal, had sent to the head-quarters of the district for help, had returned, they found the so-called apostle of treason absolutely deserted by his co-religionists, and dependent upon the Hindu villagers for fire and a little rice. This preacher appears to have been one of the small number of Wahhábýs who retain their zeal for religion, and are but little tainted with the seditious doctrines which they are expected to, but do not, promulge; such men are not restrained by fear of the police, which would seldom trouble itself with reporting the contents of sermons to magistrates. It is also easy to pursue a middle course, and whilst abstaining from preaching actual rebellion in bazárs and thoroughfares, to dwell upon doctrines which necessarily guide the people to it. The missionaries are of various grades of society, and their preaching naturally depends also from the amount of education they have enjoyed; some are refined and talented enough to captivate their hearers by their eloquence; whilst others, of

<sup>61</sup> *The Indian Muslims, &c.*, p. 68.

<sup>62</sup> p. 72 seq.

low principles, simply make their livelihood by ministering to the lowest classes and pandering to their instincts of hatred against the infidels. Such preaching has been heard in 1879 in Bombay, where, strangely enough, the audience was chiefly composed of Hindus, and the speaker held forth to them his own ideas about the Christian religion. When a sufficient number of converts warranted it, a permanent settlement was established by the Wahhábý missionaries acting under the orders of the central propaganda at Patna. In this manner numerous colonies were formed in Bengal; the ever-changing bed of the Ganges presented on its banks spots unclaimed by any one, which forthwith became Wahhábý villages; two of them are mentioned by Dr. Hunter; <sup>63</sup> they were broken up in 1870 and their preachers transported.

A notorious murderer, Zamin Sháh, a native of Takhtabad, in Bonair, had fled to the mountains beyond the Indus, assumed there the convenient rôle of a hermit, and took up his abode at Sittána, on the bank of the river, where he succeeded by degrees so well in gaining the favour of the mountaineers that they presented him with the lands on which he had established himself as an asylum and neutral ground. There was another ascetic at the head of the territory of Swat. It happened also that two officers of Sayyid Ahmád, the Wahhábý apostle of India, were two brothers and grandsons of the above mentioned Zamin Sháh. When the apostle was in 1831 surprised and killed by the Sikhs, these two brothers retired across the frontier, the one becoming master of Sittána as heir to his grandfather, and the other the secular co-regent with the Akhond of Swat, who thought it proper to associate him to himself. The two brothers, and after them their successors, kept up their connection with India by sending out emissaries, as well as by receiving all malcontents, vagabonds, absconding debtors, and spendthrifts, who chose to seek a refuge at Sittána, which became after the mutinies also the abode of some thousands of sepoy, who had fled there for their lives. By degrees this rebel camp has become insignificant in population as well as in resources, because the supplies of both from British territory have almost totally ceased, and internal dissensions contributed not a little to bring about this result. Sittána indeed still exists, but only in name.<sup>64</sup> Formerly the zeal of the fanatics

<sup>63</sup> p. 77.

<sup>64</sup> Mr. A. Wilson, who was just opposite to Sittána on the banks of the Indus, says on p. 443 seq. of his "The Abode of Snow," published in 1875, of the borderers:—"There was really, however, not the least danger from those people,

for their religion and their hatred of the Sikhs, which they transferred also to the successors of the latter, namely, the English, was so great that recruits and money flowed abundantly into Sittána from British India many years after the apostle Sayyid Almad had perished. The propaganda and organization, although far from flourishing, still exists secretly even at present, and is capable of assuming formidable proportions if only zealous and talented leaders could arise to resuscitate the volcano, which, though far from extinguished, does not even show any smoke. In 1880 the reigning Akhond of Swat is Myán Gul, who, having no larger arena for his talents, is causing excitement in his own little tea-pot. Having been repulsed in a struggle in which the principal Swat chiefs united against him, he declared that he was going to abandon politics and to take to the religious life, which had gained for his father so much reputation; and the people so far believed him, that they lately promised to allow him Rs. 5 instead of Rs. 3 per plough, should he really abstain from political intrigue. This, however, he was unable to do, and has again command of forces numbering 600 men.

In Lower Bengal there is a sect of fanatic Moslems called Farázys, who fraternized with the Wahhábys of Northern India as soon as the sect was propagated in this country. The word Faráz means, among other things, also *high*, wherefore the Farázys rejoice in the name of "Men of exalted faith" and also "New Moslems." The Farázy mosque of Calcutta, where treason has often been preached, is celebrated, and the sect had distinguished itself by its disloyalty already in 1831, when a fanatic assembled some thousands of men, as we have seen in a previous paragraph on "The career and end of Titu Myán." The Farázy communities became also dangerous in 1843, and belonged to a chain of disloyal localities flourishing from Patna down to Calcutta, and continuing to send money and men to the rebel camp from 1864 to 1868, as before the State trials—to be noticed further on in a special paragraph,—and during the last mentioned year these fanatic intrigues involved the Government in an expensive campaign in

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unless from some extreme fanatic amongst them, who would probably be kept away from me; and though Sittána was within sight, I learnt that the colony of discontented Indians there had been removed further into the mountains, as the agitation they kept up in our territory transgressed even the liberal bounds of Afghan hospitality. The question may well be raised as to the expediency of allowing fugitives from English justice to look on us in safety from immediately across the border; but it is at least obvious that we could not well interfere with them without departing from the whole line of policy which we have pursued towards Afghanistan of late years."

the Black Mountains. Also the cost of watching the Wahhábys amounted to large sums.

Besides the Farázy outbreak in Lower Bengal in 1831, alluded to above, no manifestations of hostility towards the Government could be perceived for some time after. The fanatics neither openly preached resistance to the authorities, nor even assumed the name of Wahhábys, by which they became afterwards known; so-called *Gházys* and *Jehádys*, i.e., "combatants for the religion," had, however, made their appearance in 1847 in the Punjáb; in 1850, in the Rájshahi District of Lower Bengal, and in 1851 again in the Punjáb, where the same two khalifehs, E'náyat A'ly and Viláyat A'ly, were with other emissaries found disseminating treason, and ordered to reside in Patna. In 1852 the Punjáb authorities seized treasonable correspondence, showing that the 4th Regiment Native Infantry, which would probably have been one of the first regiments despatched against the Sittána fanatics on their invading the Punjáb, had been tampered with. From this treasonable correspondence it appeared that a plan for sending men and arms from Bengal to the rebel camp was in operation; and in the just mentioned year the leading inhabitants of Patna not only openly preached rebellion, but even the police were leagued with the fanatics, one of whose leaders, Mulvy Aḥmadullah, had assembled 700 men, and was prepared to resist any further investigation of the magistrate by force of arms.

In 1852, the Hindustani fanatics who had taken refuge with the border tribes, incited them to attack a British ally, the Chief of the Amb State, and it became necessary to send troops against them. Afterwards so many disturbances ensued and invasions resulted, which had to be quelled and repelled, that numerous little campaigns were undertaken against the frontier tribes, whom the Sittána fanatics perpetually goaded on to hostilities towards the British Government. "Between 1850 and 1857," says Dr. Hunter,<sup>65</sup> "we were forced to send out sixteen distinct expeditions, aggregating to 33,000 regular troops; and between 1850 and 1863 the number rose to twenty separate expeditions, aggregating to 60,000 regular troops, besides irregular auxiliaries and police."

The fanatics were occasionally at variance with the mountaineers, who sometimes refused to pay tithes for the Faith, and were punished by having their crops cut down. They retaliated, however, in 1858 by

<sup>65</sup> p. 23.

making an attack on Sittána itself and defeating the fanatics, who had already a year before been chastised by General Sir Sidney Cotton when he entered the hills with 5,000 men. On that occasion the Sittána lands had been made over to the mountaineers—who had refused to pay tithes, had attacked the fanatics, and had killed their leader, Sayyid O'mar Sháh—on condition that they would never allow the fanatics or other desperate characters to pass through their country in order to commit depredations within the British frontier. This arrangement, however, soon proved futile, because the Hindustanifanatics had, after the expiration of scarcely two years, so far regained their ascendancy over the superstitious mountaineers, that they allowed them in 1861 to fortify themselves at Siri, just above their old colony at Sittána, after they had advanced from Mulka, their interior retreat upon the Mahában Mountain, into which Sir Sidney Cotton had driven them in 1858. Now they at once recommenced their depredations, but only as robbers. They entered the Rawul Pindi District and murdered, on the 14th February 1861, two merchants upon the high road; afterwards they carried off wealthy persons on several occasions and demanded ransom for them. Now a blockade was established along the frontier, and all communication prohibited, whilst the offending tribes again forced the rebel colony to retire from the Sittána colony to its interior fastness at Mulka. In April 1863 the fanatics again began to plunder in British territory; in July they had recovered their old settlement of Sittána, and in September they invaded British territory again. They attacked the Chief of Amb, destroyed villages on the Black Mountain, fired upon British pickets along the banks of the Indus, declared war against the English infidels in a formal manifesto, and summoned all good Moslems to a holy war.

Of the petty campaigns undertaken to restrain the incursions of the fanatics into British territory and to chastise them, the expedition in October of 1863, under the command of General Sir Neville Chamberlain with 7,000 British troops, is perhaps the most worthy of notice, because several tribes, supposed to be friendly, had cast in their lot with the fanatics, as well as the Akhond of Swat, who governs a population of nearly one lách of inhabitants, and on the frontier of whose territory the rebel colony of Sittána, on the banks of the Indus, was situated. The British army advanced into the Ambeyla Pass, where it was constantly harassed by the enemy to such a degree that it could not march into the Chumla Valley, although the Imperial Government

had ordered all the operations to be completed by the 15th November. Dr. Hunter<sup>66</sup> says :—" On the 18th the enemy had attacked us in force, taking one of our pickets and driving us back with a loss of 114 men killed and wounded, besides officers. Next day the enemy again captured a picket, subsequently retaken after a bloody struggle, in which our General was himself severely wounded, and 128 men, besides officers, left killed or *hors de combat*. On the 20th the sick and wounded, whom it had become absolutely necessary to send away, amounted to 425." The troops being day and night on the alert, could scarcely take any rest, whilst the enemy, being in their own country, poured forth combatants upon them. Accordingly the General despatched a telegram asking for reinforcements on the 19th November, and concluded the message thus :—" I find it difficult to meet the enemy's attacks and provide convoys for supplies and wounded sent to the rear. If you can give some fresh corps to relieve those most reduced in number and dash, the relieved corps can be sent to the plains and used in support. This is urgent." Accordingly a wing of the 23rd Native Infantry was sent to the camp, whilst, on the other hand, fresh tribes strengthened the forces of the enemy, one chieftain alone bringing 3,000, whilst others arrived with smaller detachments ; but the Commissioner of Peshawur induced various Chiefs to retire. The British forces had on the 5th December increased to 9,000 regular troops, and attacked Lalu on the 15th, killing 400, and on the 16th burned the village of Ambeyla, slaying 200 enemies. Now the confederation of the tribes collapsed, and the Bonairs led a strong British brigade through the mountains to the fanatical settlement of Mulka, which was at once burnt, no resistance having been offered even during the march to it. The whole army now returned to British territory, which it reached on the 25th without firing a shot during the return march.

Now the fanatics again kept quiet during several years, and did not venture to commit any large depredations on British territory ; but in 1868 a coalition of tribes was again attempted, a British outpost in the Agror Valley attacked, and a fruitless little campaign ensued, because, although British troops poured in such numbers upon the Black Mountain and overawed the borderers, so that they did not venture to face them, the Punjáb Government, in summing up the results of the campaign, recorded its regret that it " had come to a close without our having been able either to drive out the Hindustani fanatics,

or to induce them to surrender and to return to their homes in Hindustan."<sup>67</sup>

Dr. Hunter was in 1871 of opinion that within a year more another Afghan war might break out, and that "when such a war arrives—and sooner or later it must come to pass—the rebel colony on our borders will be worth to the enemy many thousands of men;" but during the whole Afghan Campaign of 1879 neither the Sittána colony nor the Wahháby malcontents were even once mentioned. A few *Gházys*, however, signalized themselves by attacking British soldiers, but the promptness with which they were hanged, damped the ardour of many more.

As far as special doctrines are concerned, the generality of Moslems, but more especially the Shya'hs, considerably differ from the Wahhábys, although all the Muḥammadans found their belief on the Qorán, which, however, is expounded differently by the commentators, and by the *patristic* writers—if we may be allowed to use the expression—whose edicts are of nearly equal weight with their followers, but often considered blasphemous by antagonistic sects. There is, however, one point in which the contending sects agree, and which has in the mutinies united not only these but also Hindus under the same banner, namely, hatred towards the British Government.

Attempts to bridge over, as far as possible, the religious differences among the various Moslem sects, are also a good political move, and proofs are not wanting that the Hanafys and the Wahhábys really profess one and the same doctrine.<sup>68</sup> Karámatullah, of Júnúr, who had been a khalifeh and ardent partizan of the apostle Sayyid Aḥmad, is probably still living, calls himself always a Hanafy in his book *حجج قاطع* *Hejjet Qat'ah*, of which we shall have occasion to give an account further on in the paragraph on "Literature" under No. 9. He did so probably to conciliate not only the Sunnis, but also the authorities of Lower Bengal, where he lived, and where the Wahháby sect stood in bad odour. The Wahhábys, who are very strong in Lahore and the surrounding districts, at present call themselves *Muvvâhedys*, i.e. "Unitarians," and desire to be not only on good terms with the other Muḥammadan sects, but also loyal to the British Government. They issue a monthly publication, in which they deprecate disloyalty towards

<sup>67</sup> Para. 22 of the Punjáb Government's letter No. 278, dated Nov. 6, 1868; also quoted by Dr. Hunter, p. 42.

<sup>68</sup> See on this point also *Calcutta Review*, No. CII., p. 392.



the British Government, as a breach of Wahnábý religious principles. "The object of the article is to show that not one of the circumstances which would justify a *jehád* exists under the present rule. Mulvy Muḥammad Hussayn, the conductor of the monthly periodical, is the author of a work published two or three years ago, with the object of showing that Wahnábýism is nothing more nor less than what the Hon'ble Sayyid Aḥmad Khán has already described it, viz., the puritanism of Islám. Mulvy Muḥammad, the *Civil and Military Gazette* states, has travelled over India for the purpose of getting the principal *U'lemma* to join in his declaration of Wahnábý professions of loyalty towards the Indian Government"<sup>66</sup> In contrast to the above we may observe that in *The Aligarh Institute Gazette* of July 12, 1879, a well-known gentleman accuses the Wahnábýs of having refused to contribute anything to the Muḥammadan College of Aligarh because they consider English learning and the English language to be *Kufr*, كُفْر, *i.e.*, infidelity; but that it was established and now flourishes in spite of their opposition. Some malevolent persons went so far as to obtain *Fetwas*, *i.e.*, legal decisions from the Muftys of Mekkah, accusing the same gentleman of infidelity, and these *Fetwas*, which they got printed, were distributed over all India, &c.<sup>70</sup>

Although Wahnábý communities exist also in other parts of India, *e.g.*, in the province of Guzerat, near Ahmadábád, in Bhópál, in Bhownugger, in the Central Provinces, &c., they had never been conspicuous for disloyalty, like those of Eastern Bengal, Patna, and the North of India, members of which were tried for high treason, The bad repute, moreover, which the last mentioned communities threatened to bring upon all the Muḥammadans of Bengal, induced them to take measures for showing to the Government that they were not connected with the Wahnábýs who were believed to consider India as a *Dár-ul-harb*, or "country of war," and consequently bound to rebel against the Government, but a *Dár-ul-Islám*, or "country of Islám," in which they must obey the authorities. Accordingly they procured numerous *Fetwas*, *i.e.*, judicial decrees, not only from Indian doctors of the Moslem law, but even from the three great Muftys of Mekkah to that effect, which they published everywhere. Dr. Hunter, in his *The Indian Musalmáns*, &c., devotes a whole and very interesting chapter to this subject, reproducing in the appendices English trans-

<sup>66</sup> *Bombay Gazette*, August 12, 1879.

<sup>70</sup> See p. 418 for more on the same subject.

lations of several Fetwas, from all of which it appears that India is a *Dár-ul-Islám*, as long as even some of the tenets peculiar to Islám prevail in the country, and that therefore it is unlawful to make *jehád*, i.e., to wage a religious war against the Government.

About 1840 a native of Lucknow, A'bd-ur-rahman by name, whom Viláyat A'ly, one of the original khalifehs, had appointed to the same dignity, preached as a missionary in the Maldah District of Lower Bengal, where he was so well satisfied with his sphere of action, that he settled as a schoolmaster, married, preached sedition, and levied contributions, which he sent annually to the propaganda of Patna, for transmission to the frontier camp. One of his tax collectors, Rafyk Mandal, carried on the same business till 1853, when the suspicions of the magistrate were aroused and seditious letters discovered, proving his connection with the holy war which the Wahhábys of the frontier camp had endeavoured to stir up in the Punjáb in 1852, when the 4th Native Infantry were tampered with. The Patna magistrate reported the growth of the Wahhábý sect, and their determination to resist further inquiries in that city by force of arms. Rafyk Mandal was arrested, but shortly afterwards released, and not daring to continue in his office of tax-gatherer, he resigned it to his son, Amyr-ud-dyn, of Maldah, who also despatched many recruits to the frontier camp, and whose share in the general conspiracy was disclosed in 1865 in the State-trial at Patna, when Almadullah was convicted of treason and sentenced to death, but afterwards transported for life. Amyr-ud-dyn would, however, not be warned; he not only continued to preach treason and to levy contributions for the frontier war, but in 1868, when he found the liberality of his people slackening, he brought down the son of the khalifeh of Patna to aid him in reviving their zeal. His jurisdiction included the whole of Maldah, with parts of the districts of Morshidabad and Rájshahi.

In 1864 Sir Herbert Edwardes, as Sessions Judge of Amballa, delivered judgment in a State-trial, in which eleven Muhammadan subjects of the British Government had been charged with treason. They were four Mulvys, an army contractor, a wholesale butcher, a scrivener, a soldier, an itinerant preacher, a house-steward, and a cultivator. They were defended by English counsel, and six of their countrymen sat as assessors with the Judge on the bench. The trial ended with the con-

demnation of eight of the prisoners to transportation for life, and of the three last to death.

Now we shall briefly describe the prisoners in the just mentioned State-trial:—

Mulvy Yahya A'ly of Patna was the chief spiritual director of the Wahhábý sect in India and governor of the propaganda. He had many duties:<sup>71</sup> he corresponded with all the missionaries; he organized and personally worked a complicated system of drafts in a secret language by which large sums were safely transmitted to the rebel camp on the frontier; he conducted the public ministrations in the mosque, examined and passed the rifles sent to the fanatics; delivered lectures on divinity to the students, &c. Although this Mulvy preached sedition in the mosque, he was outwardly on the best terms with the authorities at Patna; he belonged, moreover, to a good family, a member of which held a honorary post under the British Government, whilst another was a chief among the fanatics and their general in attacks on the frontier. The head-quarters of the Wahhábýs in Patna were in their idiom called the Little Warehouse, and the rebel camp beyond the frontier the Great Warehouse, to which arms and recruits had to be forwarded. No little administrative talent was displayed by Yahya A'ly in organizing a series of rest-houses along a distance of 2,000 miles through the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, where the Bengali recruits travelling to the frontier, and stamped as strangers not only by their language, but by their very appearance, met with a hospitable reception. The men in charge of those rest-houses were of so trustworthy a character, and selected by Yahya A'ly with such consummate skill, that in his hour of trial, when they could no longer fear punishment or expect favours from him, not one of them could be induced to appear against him. Sir Herbert Edwardes pronounced sentence of death against him as follows:—"It is proved against the prisoner Yahya A'ly that he has been the mainspring of the great treason which his trial has laid bare. He has been the religious preacher, spreading from his mosque at Patna, under the most solemn sanctions, the hateful principles of the crescentade. He has enlisted subordinate agents to collect money and to preach the Moslem jehád (war against the infidel). He has deluded hundreds and thousands of his countrymen into treason and rebellion. He has plunged the Government of British India, by his intrigues, into a frontier war, which has cost hundreds of lives. He is a highly educated man, who

<sup>71</sup> *The Mussalmans of India, &c.*, p. 91.

can plead no excuse of ignorance. What he has done, he has done with forethought, resolution, and the bitterest treason. He belongs to a hereditarily disloyal and fanatic family. He aspires to the merit of a religious reformer, but instead of appealing to reason and to conscience, like his Hindu fellow-countrymen in Bengal, of the Brahma Somaj, he seeks his end in political revolution, and madly plots against the Government, which probably saved the Muḥammadans of India from extinction, and certainly brought in religious freedom."

Muḥammad Sháfi'y, the wholesale butcher of Delhi and meat supplier to the British forces in the Punjáb, belonged to a family of contractors connected with the Government as early as the times of Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis. He had inherited a large fortune, and following in the footsteps of his ancestors, became a great banker and wholesale butcher, receiving annually many lákhs of rupees from the Government for his meat contracts. He had agencies in all the larger towns of India, and being the banker of the conspiracy, he was enabled, through them, to receive and to forward money to the frontier. He took high percentage for all the money-transactions he undertook in the Wahháby cause, at the same time he also pretended to be very loyal to the British Government, and so completely deceived the Commissariat officers that he obtained a renewal of his meat contracts for the troops even after being accused of treason.

Ja'fer, scrivener of the town of Thaneswar, rose from a very humble position to be lambardár, or fiscal representative of the township in dealing with the officers of Government, and happening one day to listen to a Wahháby sermon, he was converted. From his own manuscript, filed in his trial, it appears that he had in 1856 made such progress in the study of the law and the profession of a petty attorney, that he boasts of all the vakils and petition-writers consulting him as to the Rules, Regulations, and Acts of the Legislature, and that he "came above them all." Ja'fer joined the mutincers in 1857 with some of his companions, but again returned after the fall of Delhi to his old occupation at Thaneswar, and became a member of the Wahháby confederation, which he served by enlisting recruits for it. This fact was discovered by the son of a Panjábí sergeant of mounted police, who happened one May morning in 1853, when on his rounds near Amballa, to perceive four strangers walking on the road, and elicited from them that they were Bengali emissaries coming from the Wahháby settlement of Mulka, on their way back to

their native province to arrange for the forwarding of fresh supplies of money and men. He arrested the four traitors and refused the offer of any bribe he might name, which would be paid to him by a certain scrivener, Ja'fer Khán of Thanesar, but the magistrate refused to commit them, because false charges by the Indian police for the purpose of extorting money are common. The sergeant at once wrote to his son, who had meanwhile departed, ordering him in the name of the family-honour to go to Mulka and not to return till he could bring back the names of the conspirators within British territory, who were aiding the fanatics outside. The son received the letter and obeyed his father's command. It came out in evidence in this State-trial that he had completely deceived the Wahhábys, joined in their descent upon Sittána, repassed the British outposts unscathed, and turning neither to the left nor to the right, presented himself one evening at his father's but, many hundred miles inland, worn out with travel, want, and disease, but charged with the secret that Munshi Ja'fer of Thanesar, whom the people call khalifeh, was the great man who passed up the Bengalis with their carabines and rifles.<sup>73</sup>

After having epitomized an account of the three chief prisoners among the eleven tried at Amballa, we now proceed to record in this place the sentences passed on the remainder:—

“It is proved against the prisoner Rahym that at his house the treasons have been carried on. In his premises the Bengali crescentaders gathered and were lodged. It was his servant who kept the treasure, fed the recruits, and remitted the subscriptions to the fanatics; and it was his brother-in-law, Yahya A'ly, who preached treason at the door of his zenannah. His ability is inferior to Yahya A'ly's, and he is not conspicuous; but he has done what in him lay against the State.

“It is proved against Elahi Baksh that he has been the channel through which the Patna Mulvys forwarded the funds they collected up-country to Ja'fer at Thanesar, to be passed on to Mulka and Sittána.

“It is proved against Husayny of Patna that he is a servant of Elahi Baksh; that he has been employed by him in effecting remittances for treasonable purposes; that a large sum of gold-mohurs was received by him from A'bdul-Ghaffár, under order from Yahya A'ly; that he sewed them up in a jacket, and so brought them from Patna to Delhi,

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 87.

where he delivered them, as he had been ordered, to the prisoner Ja'fer. It is also proved that he carried up money-orders for Rs. 6,000, and that he thoroughly understood the treasonable nature of the service in which he was engaged.

"It is proved against Qády Myán Ján that he preached and recruited for the crescentade in Bengal, and that he has been an active agent for the Patna conspirators and the fanatics in the hills, collecting and remitting funds, forwarding letters, &c. The most treasonable correspondence has been found in his house, from both Patna and Mulka, showing also that he had three or four *aliases*.

"It is proved against A'bd-ul-Karym that he was the confidential agent of Muḥammad Sháfi'y (the meat-supplier) in cashing the Patna money-orders for treasonable purposes, and that he was in communication with Yahya A'ly concerning these purposes.

"It is proved against the prisoner, Husayny of Thaneswar, that he was a confidential agent and go-between of the prisoners Muḥammad Ja'fer and Muḥammad Sháfi'y in these treasons, and that he was seized in the act of conveying 290 pieces of gold (mohurs) from Ja'fer to Muhammad Sháfi'y for remittance to the Queen's enemies.

"It is proved against A'bd-ul-Ghaffár, No. 2, that he was a disciple of Yahya A'ly of Patna; that Yahya A'ly deputed him to be the assistant of the prisoner Ja'fer in the rebel-recruiting depôt at Thaneswar; that he did so assist, and that he corresponded with the prisoner Yahya A'ly on treasonable matters."

The prisoners appealed from Sir Herbert Edwardes's finding, which was confirmed by the highest Court of the Province; but the capital sentence was in the three most flagrant cases commuted to transportation for life, so that the glory of martyrdom could not be attained by any of the prisoners. In this trial the great astuteness with which the conspiracy had been organised and kept secret became manifest. In their correspondence the propaganda called a battle a law-suit; God, the Law-Act; gold mohurs, large red rubies, large Delhi gold-embroidered shoes, or large red birds; remittances in gold mohurs are spoken of as rosaries, and money-orders were called white stones, the amount being intimated by the number of white beads, as on a rosary. The Amballa trial, however, by no means checked the machinations of the propaganda, which continued to preach its doctrines as fervently as ever, although communications with the rebel camp on the frontier had

considerably slackened in consequence of the little retributive campaign of Government against it in 1863.

In bad odour as the Wahnábys always stood with the Government as well as with the other Muhammadan sects, the prisoners Ameer Khán and Hashmadad, whose case was discussed before the Honourable Mr. Justice Norman in the High Court of Calcutta in August and September of 1870, abstained from acknowledging their adherence to that creed according to which all others are idolatrous and the Wahnábys alone Moslems. Hence the editors of a pamphlet bearing the title of "The Great Wahábee Case," but containing only the legal arguments for and against the issue of a *habeas corpus*, observe in their preface that they have merely retained the popular title of this case, and do not mean to say that the men are Wahnábys when they have on solemn affirmation declared themselves to be Sunnys.

The celebrated barrister, Mr. Anstey, had been brought from Bombay to Calcutta, where the case began on Monday, the 7th August 1870, and terminated on Thursday, September 8th, but occupied only nine days at various intervals during this just mentioned period of one month. The prisoner Ameer Khán, aged 75 years, largely engaged in trade as a hide merchant, had been arrested under Regulation III. of 1818, and Mr. Anstey moved for a rule *nisi* to issue, calling on Dr. Fawcus, the Superintendent of the Alipore Jail, and Mr. Barlow, the Superintendent of the Monghyr Jail, to show cause why writs of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum* should not issue to bring up the bodies of Ameer Khán and Hashmadad Khán, now confined in the Alipore and Monghyr Jails, respectively. The case of Ameer Khán was taken up first, but the facts of the two cases are very similar, and the arguments used in the one application were taken to be made in the other. "The petitioner by his lawfully constituted attorney sets forth the following facts:—That the prisoner is a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen, and has for many years resided and carried on business in Calcutta; that on Saturday, the 10th of July 1869, at 1 P.M., he was arrested without lawful warrant at his residence in Colootollah by Mr. Birch, then Deputy Commissioner of Police of Calcutta, assisted by Mr. Deputy Inspector-General Reilly; that he was not aware for what charge and on what authority he had been arrested, although he demanded the grounds of his arrest; that he was removed from his house to the station of the E. I. Railway at Howrah, out of the jurisdiction of this Court, and thence, on the same evening, to Gya, where

he remained till the 20th August 1859, when he was transferred to the Alipore Jail."<sup>73</sup>

As to the other prisoner, Hashmadad Khán, he presented on the 11th May 1870 a memorial to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, praying that he might be discharged from custody or brought to trial with all convenient speed, &c. The Lieutenant-Governor replied that he could neither be discharged nor brought to trial, and that, as he had been confined under the provisions of Regulation III. of 1818,<sup>74</sup> it is unusual and in the judgment of the Government unnecessary to furnish the petitioner with the copy of the warrant on which he is detained.

During the first three days in which Mr. Anstey pleaded, the word Wahháby had not been uttered, but on the fourth the "Standing Counsel" pronounced it during the following little scene :—

"*Mr. Justice Norman.*—Do the Regulations and Acts now empower the confinement of British subjects?"

"*The Standing Counsel.*—I think not. If they did, and the power was bad as regards British subjects, it would only be bad *pro tanto*. But Act III. of 1858 only extends the provisions of Regulation III., and the Regulation of 1818 never could have been intended to apply to British subjects. It was passed at a time when British subjects did not hold lands in this country. It is said that they might have held lands under a licence; but they were all exceptional holdings. It was never thought in former days that half-a-dozen Europeans could affect the tranquillity of the realm, and therefore what your Lordship has to consider is, what were the classes of people who were feared at that time? I argue further that although Europeans could hold lands, they were not the persons who were designated zemindars and talookdars. These names apply only to natives, and could never apply to British-born subjects. Now, my Lord, one word more. Mr. Spankie says that this is a country in which the Government of Bengal have to deal with persons of all sorts of religious persuasions, and some of them possessing fanatical notions, who believe that the extermination of the British Government from this country—Wahabees and others—who at the time of the Muharram" —

<sup>73</sup> p. 3 of *The Great Wahabee Case*.

<sup>74</sup> The Regulation III., 1818, was passed immediately after the long war which destroyed the great Mahratta Confederacy, and several State prisoners were on hand, *e.g.*, Baji Rao, who was relegated to Bithoor, and Appa Saheb confined at Allahabad. It was amended in 1850 at the close of the Sikh War, to make arrangements for the custody of Runjit Singh's family. It was again amended in 1858, when the king of Oudh and Great Moghul became prisoners.



“*Mr. Anstey.*—That is not evidence.”

“*The Standing Counsel.*—But that is a matter of history.”

“*Mr. Anstey.*—The infamous lawyers who conducted the State prosecutions in the time of the Rye House plot in the reign of Charles I. endeavoured to prejudice the minds of juries by giving evidence of conspiracies. The House of Commons afterwards reversed those verdicts. Now my learned friend is doing worse than that. He is not going to offer evidence. He is going to talk about fanatics of Patna, and then say that the Governor-General knew that this man was one of them, that this man is a Wahabee, and God knows what else.”

“*The Standing Counsel.*—I submit I have a perfect right to make the remark I am making,” &c.

After this followed quotations from Indian and European cases on the legality and illegality of imprisonments, which took up several days. On the seventh day Mr. Anstey quoted also phrases from the Queen’s Proclamation, and commented on them in the following extravagant manner:—“What a portrait presented by herself and by Lord Mayo. Here we have a Queen, like an affectionate mother, ready to receive and pardon all her subjects. The Viceroy says, She is a black and implacable tyrant. The Proclamation, my Lord, is the Magna Charta of India, against which no local Government can struggle for a moment.”<sup>15</sup>

On the 8th day, the Honourable Mr. Justice Norman delivered at the sitting of the court a judgment of enormous length, full of quotations, or rather consisting only of such, from a great variety of cases, terminating it with the following words:—

“For the reasons given above, I am of opinion that no writ of *habeas corpus* to bring up the body of Ameer Khán ought to issue, and the rule will therefore be discharged.”

Then Mr. Anstey made his application for the writ of *Mainprise*, the meaning of which he explained and supported by abundant quotations, but it was likewise refused. After his return to Bombay *The Englishman* insinuated that he was dissatisfied with the smallness of his fee, whereon Mr. Anstey replied in a letter in which he said among other things,—“There never was at any period of the shameful case, miscalled the *Wahhábby Enquiry*, any question raised on my part as to my fees or remuneration, and it is just as untrue that my *return* was occasioned

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 137. We may here observe that both the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, and Mr. Justice Norman, although in different localities and times, fell by the knives of assassins.

by any *dissatisfaction* of mine at the manner in which my poor services have been valued by my late clients, or that I had ever any grounds for dissatisfaction upon that account."

A strong opinion prevailed at the time that Sergeant Ballantine—whom we afterwards learnt to know in the trial of Mulharrao, the Gaikowar of Baroda—would come out and defend Amyr Khán, and would have Mr. Anstey for his colleague. Eventually, however, Mr. Ingram, who was at that time a Professor at the Krishngur College, became the counsel of the defendant. At that stage already the expenses incurred by Amyr Khán are said to have amounted to something incredible; Mr. Ingram was the envied of the Bar, and one lách of rupees is the very lowest sum put down as his earning. As to Amyr Khán it was asserted that he could fairly say with the Irishman: "The honest attorney took me coat; illoquent counsel me shirt; and the learned judge skinned me."

Application was made for the transfer of Amyr Khán's case from Patna to Calcutta, but refused by the High Court, the strenuous opposition of the Advocate-General having been directly prompted by the Supreme Government. The case had almost become a personal one, and the official opinion was that the Government, to save itself from a very great difficulty, *must* get a conviction, and this might have become impossible in Calcutta. Although ever since the Wahháby movement had come to light, all parties agreed that it ought, when connected with sedition, to be pursued unremittingly; an apprehension, and a very true one, likewise existed, that the Wahháby affair, like the mutiny, might be perverted to purposes of gain, especially by certain individuals of the police, whose occupation was so bound up with the Wahhábys that it could not exist when investigations concerning their movements or intentions ceased.

In February 1864 Amyr Khán was dragged to prison, kept to bail, and discharged. We have seen above that he had again been imprisoned in 1869, and he was kept up to the first of May 1871, when his trial at Patna began, in confinement for nearly two years without legal warrant at the mere will of the Governor-General. The trial lasted throughout the months of May, June, and July. Many witnesses were examined, and after wading through a mass of evidence, the astonishing fact is revealed that very little has been brought home to the prisoners which admits of no doubt. The large mass of evidence refers to letters and telegrams and to money paid and received for seditious purposes.

In money matters Amyr Khán seems to have been very liberal, but it appears exceedingly difficult to connect him in any way with the *jehád*. Hashmadad Khán was set free at last in the beginning of July by the Sessions Judge of Patna, the evidence not being deemed sufficiently strong to establish a *prima facie* case against him. He was released without his defence being taken; also Pir Muḥammad was liberated after trial, the Judge considering the evidence insufficient to warrant a conviction. Only the just mentioned two prisoners of this Wahhábý trial were released, and the remaining five, including Amyr Khán, condemned to transportation for life. This aged man appealed, but ineffectually; his sentence was, however, so far mitigated that he was not transported, but kept in prison in India nearly till death released him, as he died one or two days after being liberated in 1879. The most curious feature of Amyr Khán's trial was that a majority of the assessors were for acquitting him of all the charges, and that he was convicted only on two of the counts preferred against him.<sup>70</sup>

The same works and decisions of U'lemma, *i.e.*, doctors of the law, are often used by antagonistic parties to demonstrate the correctness of their respective tenets. In this matter strong traditionalists enjoy, however, greater latitude, whereas strict Sunnys, and more especially the extremest party of them, *i.e.*, the Wahhábýs—the puritans of Islám, as the Honourable Sayyid Ahmed, C.S.I., has called them—have drawn a strong line of demarcation between authentic and spurious sayings of the prophet or his companions, and the accumulations or falsifications of later times. On the whole it may be said that as no litigant has so bad a case that he may not find a barrister to defend it, so also no sect need despair of being able to produce Fetwas from U'lemma, not only in India, but also from Mekkah or Medinah to support its tenets—for a consideration. The value of such legal decision naturally depends from the degree of authority enjoyed by the Muftys, Qádys, &c., who issue them, but that cannot be estimated by *everybody*, and this is the reason why such Fetwas may be freely produced in controversies and even forged, as detractors of them often assert. We shall have occasion to allude to such Arabic documents in our review of some Urdu writings which we now proceed to give. The very name of Wahhábý has become distasteful in many parts of India, not only because the sect desires to

<sup>70</sup> See *Friend of India*, July 6, 1871, also *Indian Daily News* and other papers.

purge Islám from whatever it considers to be obnoxious though practised by other sects of Moslems, but also for political reasons. Hence Wahháby authors do not promulge their doctrines as those of an isolating sect, but write against various usages, such as the visitation of tombs, the worship of saints and of the prophet as intercessors with God, the observances of the Muharram, the mechanical lifting of the hands at certain stated times during prayers, &c., all of which they stigmatise as idolatrous.

No. 1.—*Nacyhat-ul-Muslimyn* نصيحة المسلمين "Advice to Moslems." The author, Khurram A'ly, avers that in our times numerous Muhammandans have ignorantly fallen into idolatry, from which he is desirous to save them. To pronounce the name of God only with the lips, but to make vows to the prophet and to saints in order to obtain one's wishes is idolatry. The prophet knows nothing about futurity, and cannot grant requests; then how much less can martyrs or saints? This appears from many passages of the Qorán, to quote all of which would take a long time; in the following, God spoke thus to the prophet:—"Say, I am unable neither to produce advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief from me, but as God pleaseth. If I knew the secrets of God, I should surely enjoy abundance of good, neither should evil befall me. Verily I am no other than a denouncer of threats and a messenger of glad tidings unto people who believe." (VII., 188.)

Ignorant Moslems consider the lowest kinds of Pyrs as their paramount lords, whom they visit and request to grant their wishes. Trusting to such intercessors they do not fear to sin against God; the fools also carry presents to Pyrzadahs, who not only pardon the sins of their disciples, but issue to them also written certificates to that effect. A curse be upon them; for God has said:—"He ought to be invoked, and those whom they invoke besides Him shall not comply with their requests at all, except like him who spreads out his hands to the water that it may reach his mouth, but cannot reach it; the supplication of the unbelievers is utterly erroneous." (XIII., 15.) Some persons who have read one or two Persian books argue that as an upper storey cannot be reached without a ladder and a king without the mediation of the vezier, so the intercession of saints is required to obtain the favour of God. The reply is that the prophet enjoins men to ask help from God alone, who is omnipresent, and not, like a king, in need of veziers for intercessors to convey to Him the prayers of men. The invocations—"O prophet of God! O A'ly! O Abd-ul-Qáder Jylláuy," &c.,

are all sinful. "Do the unbelievers think *that I will not punish them* for that they take my servants for *their* protectors besides me? Verily we have prepared hell for the abode of the infidels." (XVIII., 102.) This is the reply to those ignorant Moslems who make puja at the sepulchres of holy men and pray to them.

Some persons think proper to keep fasts for the sake of A'ly or for a Pyr. When they slaughter an animal, they invoke A'bd-ul-Qáder Jyllány, or say "Ya Sheikh Saduká," or "Ya Bhovány," instead of invoking God. The idolatrous usages of Indian Moslems are innumerable; they consult Brahmans about lucky or unlucky days, astrologers to fix the time for weddings or other ceremonies; they also recite mantras or incantations for a variety of purposes. These Moslems give names to their children, such as "Gift of the prophet, Slave of the prophet, Servant of A'ly, Servant of Ḥasan," &c., all of which are wrong, as it is plain from the Qorán that no prophet nor Pyr can bestow gifts, and that God alone is to be served. To cover tombs with embroidered carpets, to burn lamps before them for the worship of Pyrs, to tie a string to the arm, to abstain from eating beef, to place eatables and drinkables on tombs with a view of thereby acquiring merit, are all customs to be reprobated.

The author supports all his assertions by verses from the Qorán, and adduces not more than two sayings of the prophet. He also warns his readers to disregard all traditions not approved of as authentic by respectable doctors of the law, and to consider those as altogether erroneous which are contrary to the tenets of the Qorán.

No. 2.—*Hedayet-ul-Mumanyñ* هداية المؤمنين, "Guidance of believers," with a marginal tract called *Sowállát A'shrati Muḥarram* سوالات عشرة محرّم, "Questions about the decade of the Muharram." In the preface we are informed that the prophet had propagated Islám both by the word and the sword; that it had flourished in all its purity until some members of his family were slain, and afterwards became defiled by strange corruptions because during the Khalifate of the Ommiades those kings and nations who had secretly cherished ancient pre-islámitic customs and unbelief used the opportunity for introducing novelties, which, although strenuously impugned by doctors of the sacred law, obtained so firm a footing that they have become the cause of the weakness of Islám, especially in India, where it has been debased to such a degree that at present many persons who profess the faith,

also worship idols.<sup>77</sup> Moslems adorn and worship tombs with Lingams upon them, which are in charge of Pyrzádahs or Mujávèrs, who receive offerings and shout "Gangajkyjy, or Bam Mahadév," &c. ; they also go on pilgrimage to Mathura, Benares, Ajmyr, Makánpúr, &c., and observe a thousand other idolatrous customs. Hasan Qandj, the author, although aware that many persons are inaccessible to reasoning, nevertheless hopes to convince some of the evil of their ways. He asks, in what place God or the prophet said that after the Emám Husayn was martyred a ta'zyah ought to be made annually in order to obtain merit? Then he shows that the usage is sanctioned neither by the Qorán nor by common sense. He insists that the ceremonies of the Muharram are but a tamasha and a play, which often terminates fatally, especially in Lucknow, where many lives have been lost. He says nothing of other towns, but everybody knows what brawls take place annually in Bombay, and what precautions the authorities are compelled to take for preventing greater disturbances.

Some unthinking persons, continues the author, when they hear that a man disapproves of innovations and of ta'zyahs, say "he is a Wahháby, such sentiments are uttered by the Wahhábys;" the reply is:—"What I assert is sanctioned by the Qorán and by the Hadyth; if Wahhábys reject idolatries and novelties according to the Qorán and the Hadyth, then I am one of them." Some stupid persons say that to be a true Muhammadan it is necessary to eat beef and to abstain from making a ta'zyah. The reply is that as to eating beef there is neither an obligation nor a prohibition entailing peither merit nor demerit, but the worshipping of tombs is sinful. People disregard the Qorán and the Hadyth, abandon prayers, do not go on pilgrimage to Mekkah, and pay no legal alms, but consider him to be a true Muhammadan who builds a house of paper, has singing with music near it, and then carries it in procession about the streets. Verses are quoted from the Qorán to show that martyrs are happy in paradise, and are neither to be called dead nor to be lamented for, as well as a saying of Bayhaqy, according to which whoever goes on pilgrimage to an empty grave is an idolater.

In the marginal tract alluded to above, which surrounds the just discussed text on three sides, the making of tabuts, the displays of the Muharram, the reading of Merathyahs, or threnodies, and extravagant manifestations of grief for deceased persons, are all reproved in the

<sup>77</sup> كلور بهي كهت بن اور بت بهي پوجتے بن

answer which is subjoined to each question. To make lamentation over the sacred relic of a hair is also improper, although the *Fatehah* may be recited over it. Usually, however, such relics are not genuine.

No. 3.—*Tanovy-ul-a'ynyn fy ethbát-ul-yadyn* تنوير العينين في اثبات اليدين “Enlightenment of the eyes on the lifting of the hands.” This is entirely interlinear, in Arabic and Urdu. It is a treatise of Muḥammad Esma'yl of Delhi, a fervent Wahhábý khalyfeh, but has not excited the animosity to which his *Tuqvyat-ul-émán*—to be discussed under No. 4—gave rise. It begins with the statement that the mechanical lifting of hands, at the beginning of prayers, at the genuflections, and at the termination of the orisons is not a well established custom; the keeping or omitting of it is optional. Then a multitude of traditions and authorities are quoted on both sides of the question, and the manner in which various doctors of the law viewed it.

No. 4.—*Tuqvyat-ul-émán ma' Tadkyr-ul-ekhván* تقوية الايمان مع تذكير الاخوان “Corroboration of the Faith and admonition to the brothers.” The volume in my possession has long after the demise—martyrdom according to the Wahhábys—of its author, the Khalifeh and Mulvy Muḥammad Esma'yl of Delhi, been reprinted at Lucknow in 1876. The *Tuqvyat* consists of pp. 66 and the *Tadkyr* of pp. 226. The book is written in a more calm and less offensive tone than Nos. 1 and 2, but had already in 1836 occasioned so great a stir in Madras, that when Muḥammad A'ly of Rampur was there accused before the Nawáb Seráj-ul-omara A'zym Jah, of misguiding the people, and forced to recant his Wahhábý doctrines, he was compelled to declare that whoever believed in the book *Tuqvyat-ul-émán* of Mulvy Esma'yl of Delhi, should be held an infidel. This declaration he was forced to give in a writing, which was published and hung up in several mosques and schools in Madras. The abstract of this notification is that Mulvy Muḥammad A'ly had denied the intercession of the prophet with God for the pardon of sinners, that he had trusted in the abovementioned book of Mulvy Esma'yl of Delhi, and in the treatises of Viláyat A'ly of Patna and of Khurram A'ly—see No. 1—the successors of Sayyid Aḥmad; but as the Mulvys of Madras had declared all to be infidels who believed in these books, and the Nawáb had convinced Muḥammad A'ly of the error of his ways, he now renounced the Wahhábý doctrines, and made a solemn declaration to that effect. From the subsequent relapse of the said Mulvy and from a new Fetwa of excommunication hurled against him by twenty-eight Mulvys,

Qádys, and Musháykhs, it may be concluded that his first recantation had been extorted under pressure. In the same year the Mulvys Suleymán and Muḥammad A'ly of Rampúr, both Wahhábý chiefs, were actually imprisoned by the Mulvys of Madras, and not released till they had abjured their creed. Also Mulvy Sálem had been confined for being a Wahhábý, not, however, in British territory, but in Hyderabad.

The following is a brief review of the book:—Many persons trust in custom and the sayings of religious guides because they think that the Qorán is too difficult to understand. This is a mistake, for it says: "And now we have sent down unto thee evident signs, and none will disbelieve them but the evil-doers." (II, 93.) Those who would have only learned men to consult the Qorán, and excuse themselves by their ignorance from doing so, are like those who would advise persons in good health to seek a physician and not the sick.

The book consists of two chapters, in the first the contrast between monotheism and idolatry, and in the second that between the *Sonna*<sup>73</sup> and novelties is explained. Verses from the Qorán are quoted to show that prayers to saints and prophets as mediators between God and man are improper, e.g., "But as to those who take other patrons besides Him, saying, we worship them only that they may bring us nearer to God,

<sup>73</sup> *Sonna* is the general practice of the prophet and *Hadith* are the traditions or accounts in which the descriptions of that practice are said to be preserved. We here insert a passage from the *Book of Definitions* كتاب التعريفات given in Freytag's "Lexicon Arabico Latinum," t. II., p. 361:—

فالسنة ما واظب النبي عليه السلام ما فيها مع الترك احيانا فان كانت الواظبة المذكورة على سبيل العبادة فسنن الهدى وان كان على سبيل العادات فسنن الزوائد فسنة الهدى ما يكون اقامتها تكميلا للدين وهي التي تتعلق بتركها كراهة و اساعة و سنة الزوائد هي التي اخدها هدى اي اقامتها حسنة ولا تتعلق بتركها كراهة ولا اساعة كسير النبي عليه السلام في قيامه و قعود و لباسه و اكله

"And the *Sonna* is what the prophet (salutation to him) generally practised, but sometimes omitted. If the said general observances concern religion, they are called *Sonna of Guidance* (Sinin-ul-huda), but if common usages, they are named *Sonna of Excess* (Sinin-ul-zováyid). By practising the *Sonna of Guidance* the religion is perfected; its omission entails guilt and wickedness. The taking of the *Sonna of Excess* for a guide, namely, the observance of it is good, but its dereliction is connected neither with guilt nor wickedness. Such are, for instance, the habits of the prophet (upon whom be peace) in his rising, sitting, dressing, and eating."



verily God will judge between them concerning that wherein they disagree." (XXXIX., 4.) Quotations from ancient doctors of the law and sayings of Muḥammad are also made; one of the latter, taken from the *Mishkát*, is as follows:—"Razyn has recorded that the apostle of God (benediction, &c.,) said, I verily do not want you to exalt me above my station, to which God the Most High has appointed me. I am Muḥammad Ben A'bdullah, His servant and His apostle."

The second part of this book, namely, the *Tadkyr*, had been translated from Persian into Hindi already in 1250 (1834). The only standards of religion are asserted to be the *Sonna* and the *Qorán*, every tenet not sanctioned by them being a novelty (بدعت), which must be abandoned. To this effect various authorities are adduced, such as Ebn Májah, Byhaqy, Bokháry, Muslim, the book *Mishkát*, &c., in four chapters, but the fifth is entirely taken up with arguments against the visitation of tombs and the worship of saints with the usual accompaniments, which are said to be observances learnt by the Moslems from the Jews and Christians, although their books also prohibit them and their religions are monotheistic like Islám. Those who do *puja* at tombs will have to rue it on the day of resurrection.—"They worship, besides *God*, that which can neither hurt them nor profit them, and they say these are our intercessors with God." (X., 19.) Christian Mulvys and Durwayshes engrafted various usages upon their sacred books, which have in course of time attained great authority; and when the prophet beheld Jews and Christians paying homage to sepulchres, he said: "Do not make my tomb a place of festivity, but utter benedictions, and they will reach me." In the book *Mishkát*, in the chapter on mosques and oratories, Bokháry and Muslim report a tradition of A'áyshah, according to which the prophet said during the malady from which he died:—"The curse of God be upon the Jews and the Christians, because they make masjids of the tombs of their prophets." For this reason it is an accursed thing for Moslems to burn lamps on tombs, and make in honour of the dead illuminations of which they have no need, and it is idolatrous to build a mausoleum. According to the just mentioned chapter of the *Mishkát* the prophet said: "The whole earth is a masjid [place of worship] except cemeteries and baths." Therefore prayers are not to be uttered in them; whereas at present fairs are held and pleasure parties and picnics take place near tombs without any pious motives.

The sixth chapter contains refutations of the novelties introduced

by Mulvys, Durwayshes, &c., and imitated by the people, although they are contrary to the injunctions of the Qorán and of the Hadith. The seventh is on bad customs, such as listening to ludicrous stories and attending at musical entertainments where courtezans perform: such things are not only sinful in themselves, but their remembrance survives in the mind to such a degree that they defile it, and a man may even, when he is engaged in prayers, have his imagination troubled with scenes of this kind. Our author would, no doubt, have been glad to quote some verse from the Qorán against nautch parties and theatres, but they existed in Muḥammad's time only in a rudimentary form. A man had, however, brought from Persia the romance of Rustum and Esfendyár, which he recited in the assemblies of the Qoreysh, whereon the following verse was revealed, which our author quotes to show the sinfulness of such entertainments: "There is a man who purchaseth a ludicrous story, that he may seduce men from the way of God without knowledge, and may laugh the same to scorn: these shall suffer a shameful punishment." (XXXI., 5.) Sayings of the prophet are adduced and commented upon very forcibly to show the wickedness of such entertainments, and the writer regrets that at present no wedding, circumcision, banquet, &c., can take place without music, which is one of the devices of Satan for ensnaring men, as is shown both from the Qorán and the Hadith. Pride of ancestry is also reprov'd, for "Verily the true believers are brethren." (XXXIX., 10.) To bind ornaments or amulets on the body, to forbid widows from re-marrying, inordinate lamentations for the dead, the keeping of Hindu festivals, going on pilgrimage to Hurdwar, Benares, &c., are idolatrous usages. Sayings of the prophet, condemning the wearing of silk garments, are quoted, and we find one, according to which it appears to be sinful to put on a red coat, because a man thus dressed saluted Muḥammad, whom he happened to meet, but his greeting was not returned.

No. 5.—*Munajjy-ul-muslemyn* منجى المسلمين "Deliverer of the Moslems," lithographed at Lahore in 1294 (1877). This is the reprint of a work twenty years old, and bears, like the preceding one, testimony to the vitality of the Wahhábý movement in some parts of India, but, as already observed above, the adherents of it in the Panjáb prefer to call themselves Mováhedys, *i.e.*, Unitarians.

The author, Qády Muḥammad Husayn, an inhabitant of the Zillah Achra, in Malwa, states that in the year 1271 (1854) a great revival of

religion had taken place in Ahmadnagar, so that most of the people had begun to return to the right road, but although many hypocrites [literally, those who show wheat but sell barley] had tried to raise disturbances, and forcibly to put a stop to preaching, it is plain from the writings of the spiritual director and guide Nur-ul-huda<sup>79</sup> that for one truth his opponents uttered ten falsehoods, and thus produced aversion in the hearts of the Musalmáns. On that occasion long controversies took place, which induced the author to publish this book from the notes of the just mentioned Mulvy. He states that among the Sunnys innovators had arisen to misguide the people, and had even produced a book called *A Refutation of the Wahhábys*—a little tract to be noticed under No. 10—because these bats felt themselves aggrieved by the *Light of Guidance*—a treatise on the other side—which they vainly hoped to extinguish; whilst others, assuming the garb of infidel Çufys, put forth the doctrine of disciple-worship, and wrote a treatise on *Indulgence*, whereby they plunged smatterers—literally, ignorant men showing themselves off as scholars—into doubt.

Three classes of Muḥammadan devotees, namely, a Pyr, a Faqyr, and a Molla,<sup>80</sup> are held in great horror by the writer, because they mislead the people, remit sins, and grant indulgences for adultery, drunkenness, idolatry, &c., basing their decisions upon the weakest of traditions, and flattering delinquents for the sake of money.<sup>81</sup>

A Persian poem called *Muzahhar-ul-haqq* مظهر الحق, "The manifesters of the truth," said to have been composed during the reign of Aurangzyb, A'álumgir I. (began to reign in 1659), is inserted, exposing the superstitions then current, but existing also at the present day. The people are said to worship idols for the sake of preserving their children from the small-pox, to adore the tombs of the dead, and to wor-

<sup>79</sup> *Marginal note.*—This Mulvy is an outspoken, well known, and pious scholar; he is fearless like Mulvy Esma'y [author of No. 4], and lived first at Shaharpúr, but has on account of the oppression he suffered from the innovators [*i.e.* the anti-Wahhábys] removed to Bombay.

که بهر تینون بدن آنت جانی	بچنا پیر و فقیر و ملا سے
عمل بر اضعف روایتها کنند	بر حدیث و نسخ و متشابہ روند
که هوایی نفس را تابع شوند	آنکسان بی عقل و معجزون جاہاند
بہر زر احکام حق پنهان کنند	مال مردم از راه باطل خورند
بہر جاہ و زر خوشامدہا کنند	بہر آن اضعف روایتها دہند

ship living saints.<sup>32</sup> Even doctors of the law are accused of profligacy, and of encumbering weddings with expenses and innovations.<sup>33</sup> One issues Fetwas on the weakest, whilst another requires strong authorities, in which manner the truth is obscured and confusions arise.<sup>34</sup>

Returning again to simple prose, the author admonishes the learned to guide the ignorant, who are merely imitating their betters; but how will their advice be listened to, says he, if they practise in their own houses customs contrary to the tenets of Islām? Then some objections are refuted in detail, namely, that the Wahābys deem themselves the equals of the prophet and deny his intercession, &c. The author asserts that Muḥammad will intercede with God on the day of resurrection for the faithful, but is not to be worshipped.

One of the reasons for which Vilāyat A'ly had been expelled from Bombay, was because he found fault with the manner in which the birthday (مولد Maulud) of the prophet, which falls in the month Rabi' anterior is kept; and we observe that our author considers this festival to be an innovation that obtained currency only after the third century, and had been altogether unknown before. He quotes various Arabic authorities to prove his assertion, and considers banquets, illuminations, and musical entertainments to be highly improper on the occasion of the Maulud festival, which ought to be abolished, and the day observed in a pious, quiet manner, without any dinner parties. He complains bitterly that in our times the lamp of the Sonna has been extinguished by the cold blasts of innovations, and the truth has become so perverted that these are called lawful ancient usages, whilst true adherents of Islām are opprobriously styled Motazzelites and Wahābys. At present a thousand innovations are, according to our author, current, not only among the ignorant, but also among the

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بهر چپچک بُت پرستی میکنند	خود حرام و ظلم و بدعتها کند
قبر و تصویر و ولی مرد را	بهر طغی و زن کافر شوند
میکند بوسه رکوع و سجدها	هم بزرگ و اولیاء زنده را
در نکاح اسراف و بدعتها کند	عالمان خود فسق و بدعتها کند
یک دهد بر قول محکم فتوها	یک دهد بر قول اضعف فتوها
مدینه را پیدا بگردان آن زمان	راه حق پنهان شود زمین در جهان

higher classes of Muhammadans : they are such only in name ; they begin to worship Krishna and Rāma.<sup>65</sup>

Then quite a number of practices, considered to be religious, are enumerated. They are observed at childbirths, marriages, at the Muḥarram, &c., but among them the festivals of the Hindus are also included ; and the Muḥammadans are repróached with keeping the Ganpati, the Hully, and the Devally feasts, and attending at jattras, melas, &c. Only those who observe these usages are considered good Moslems, and those who blame them are represented as Wahhábys, who pay no regard to the prophet or to saints, but take instead of them A'bdul-Wahháb and Sayyed Aḥmad Čáheb (the mercy of God be upon him) for their prophets, and adopt the Mulvy Esmá'yil Gházy (who fell a martyr in the way of God) as the Emám of their sect, whilst they consider his *Tuqvyat-ul-émán* to be the Qorán and the Ḥadith, &c.

There are also numerous questions proposed to the U'lemma of Delhi, of the Panjáb, and of Peshawur, with answers to which their signatures are appended, *e. g.*, whether it is lawful to invoke the name of the prophet, to beg for alms in the name of A'bd-ul-Qáder Jyllány, and proper after prayers to walk eleven steps in the direction of E'ráq for his sake ? Whether the index-finger is to be lifted up after prayers, and whether journeys to tombs may be legally performed ?

To the question whether the book *Tuqvyat-ul-émán* of Mulvy Esmá'yil of Delhi (reviewed under No. 4) is good, several affirmative replies are given. In one of them its author is particularly extolled ; his conversation is said to have been radiating with the light of the Faith, into the fold of which he had by his advice and preaching brought back thousands of atheists and deniers of the prophetship of Muḥammad ; he had reclaimed and brought to repentance also thousands of profligate men and drunkards. He knew the Qorán by heart as well as the Hadyth ; he was a Gházy and a Mujáhed—warrior and combatant for the way of God—an exile for the love of the prophet ; he sacrificed his property and life for the religion, and died a martyr, &c. This Fetwa is signed by several doctors of the law of Delhi. Then come several more to the same purport, with signatures from various localities of the N.-W. Provinces.

65 عام کا کیا ذکر کیجے اس جگہر خاص لوگوں کا ہوا ہے حال بہر  
پوچنے لائے کرشن اور رام کو رو گیا اسلام باقی نام کو

No. 6.—*Rah-i Sunnat* راه سنت “The way of the Sonna,” by Mulvy Aulād Ḥasan Ḥāheb, lithographed in Bombay in 1285 (1863). This is a little collection of Urdu verses on sayings of the prophet and some passages of the Qorān placed at the head of each piece. In several strophes arguments are adduced to prove that the clothing and illuminating of tombs, the holding of fairs or melas near them, and the building of mosques over them is sinful. The ceremonies of the prophet’s birthday are likewise considered to be an innovation<sup>86</sup>

To prove that loyalty towards the H. E. I. Company is blameworthy *خير خوراه كه پني مردود هي*, the following verse from the Qorān (V., 56) is cited:—“O true believers! take not the Jews and Christians for your friends; they are friends the one to the other,” &c. There are stanzas against pyrs and faqyrs, who are described as lazy fellows, hypocrites, greedy for money, which makes them the spiritual guides even of courtézans, of whose patronage they are not ashamed to boast.<sup>87</sup>

Those persons who keep or set up idols, ta’zyahs, and punjahs are all condemned to hell, which being insatiable to receive them, asks in the words of Surah L. 29, “Is there any addition?”<sup>88</sup>

The author terminates his admonitions with a glance at the present state of the world—in which men are subject to women; children distress their mothers; sons eject their fathers; mosques resound with noise; the profligate occupy high stations; the low become chiefs; men are respected because they are dreaded; worthless fellows enjoy good

<p>۸۶ مجلس مولد چو یہاں ایجاد ہی          حد دل کی جب وضع کا آوے منقام          گویا حضرت آمنہ کا ہی حضور          اس ادب میں ہوئے خود ہی آدب          امر بہ پردی کا ہی مستور ہی          اس زمانے کے یہ بابا پیر پین          فخر سے کوئی بیان کرنا پلید          ۸۷ سارے بت اور تمزیہ پنچے نشان          جن وانسان سارے شیطان کے مرید          اس قدر مخلوق ہوں دوزخ رسید</p>	<p>یہ بھی بدعت سے غرض آباد ہی          ہووین تعظیماً کہتے سب خاص و عام          اور حضرت کا یہ ہی وقت ظہور          اس شناخت کو نہ سوچے ای عجب          سامنے سب کے نہیں منظور ہی          قلنبانوں کے جو دادا پیر پین          ہی بترے صاحب کی بی بی بھی مرید          سینکڑوں اشجار جنکی تھی امان          مابد و معبود جو جو تھے پاید          پھر بھی دوزخ یوں کہے هل من مرید</p>
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luck ; whilst wise men are resigned to their fate ; everywhere singers and musicians of both sexes perform on the tanbúr, sáranghy, and u'd, drinking is indulged in universally,—and expects that red-coloured winds, earthquakes, and the raining of stones from heaven, all of which are harbingers of the resurrection, will usher it in soon.

No. 7.—*Háraq-ul-ashrár* حارق الاشرار “ Burner of the wicked.” The best portion of this tract, lithographed at Delhi, consists of 256 quatrains, written diagonally in frames (with a horizontal line under each), of which every page contains six. Here we meet with the same warnings against the visitation of adorned sepulchres as well as against the deceits of pyrs and other false guides, already noticed in the preceding treatises ; here we are also informed that as Husayn is in the uppermost paradise, the making of ta'zyahs and tumultuous lamentations are superfluous.<sup>99</sup>

Esma'yl Gházy, the Mulvy of Delhi, is praised for having composed the *Tuqvyat-ul-émán*. Then comes a long tirade against the profligacy of pyrjys. The Shya'hs—here insultingly called Ráfedys, *i.e.* heretics—are taunted with concealing their sect and passing themselves off for Sunnys when they are in Mekkah, but in the next quatrain an incitement to get at once ready for a *jehád* occurs.<sup>99</sup>

In conclusion, the heroic fighting and lives of Mulvy Esma'yl, whose body could not be found, and of Sayyid Aḥmad are alluded to, whom the Almighty had favoured with the same distinction.<sup>91</sup>

The marginal portion is the *Resalah-i redl shark* رساله رد شرك “ Refutation of [Muḥammadan] idolatry.” Here the aid of God is invoked against superstitious Moslems, whose idolatry cannot be removed except by the sword.<sup>92</sup> The author, however, soon works

رزق پاتے ہیں وہاں کرتے ہیں چین	۹۰ جنت امی میں ہی روح حسین
کرتے ہیں ناپاک ماتم شور و شین	پھر بھلا کوا سطر بہہ غم کا بین
اُس نصارے سے کیا ہی امتزاج	۹۰ رافضی کا لکھنؤ میں ہی رواج
گر جہاد ہو تو ابھی میدہا ہو آج	بچ رہا ہی اس سبب سے لاملج
لاش اونکی کا نہیں پایا پتا	۹۱ سید احمد کو بھی وہ رتبہ ملا
کھینچتے اور کرتے رسوا جا بجا	ورنہ اون دونوں کو کافر بیچیا
بہر نجاویگا بجز شہ شیر سے	۹۲ شرک اب جانا نہیں تقریر سے
ظل مس جاویگا اس اکیر سے	عالیوں کی ہڈ سے تدبیر سے

himself into enthusiasm, and prays God to grant him the favour of dying as a martyr whilst purifying India from innovations.<sup>90</sup> He envies the fate of Mulvy Eama'yl and of Karymullah, exposes a few more superstitious customs, and ends the tract with a prayer.

No. 8.—Five little poems lithographed at Kánpúr [Cawnpoor] in 1269 (1852-53). The pieces on the first and on the second A'ád *قصمء عاد اول* and *قصمء عاد ثانی* merely treat of the story of two well-known pre-islámitic infidel mythological notions, from which of course inferences may be drawn concerning the present time, but the third piece is very out-spoken, and also bears the title of *Resálah Jehádyyah* رساله جهادیر “Tract on holy war.” It is a very fanatic call to begin at once against the infidels a religious war, a duty imposed upon all Muḥammadans by the Qorán and the Hadyth, for the performance of which they will most certainly be rewarded by the glories of paradise.<sup>91</sup> The people are exhorted to sacrifice their property and lives enthusiastically; the more so as infidelity is overwhelming Hindostan, and Islám was always maintained by the sword.<sup>92</sup> No overt exhortations occur, however, to wage war against the Government.

No. 9.—*Hejjet Qáti'ah* حجت قاطعه “Cutting proof,” by Kerámet A'ly Júnpúry, composed for the eradication of the Khárejys of Bengal, and reprinted at Calcutta in 1282 (1865). The author had been not only a stout adherent, but one of the khalifehs of the Wahháby apostle Sayyid Alḥmad, after whose death, however, he still more adapted the Wahháby doctrines to those of the Hanafy sect than was customary with the apostle, so that their more striking peculiarities almost totally disappeared from his preaching.

حشر میں صجھکو شہیدوں میں اونہا	ہند کو بدعت سے جب کر دوں صفا
ہوں کہترآ زیر لوای مصطفیٰ	پھر شہادت کر صیغے یارب عطا
اوسکا سامان کرو جلد اگر ہو دیندار	فرض ہی تم پر مسلمانو جہاد کفار
وہ جہنم سے بچانا رہے ہی وہ آزاد	جسکی پیروں پہ پڑی گرد صف جنگ جہاد
روضہ خلد برین ہو گیا واجب اوسپر	جو مسلمان رہ حق میں لڑا لحظہ بہر
غالبہ کفر سے اسلام تباہ جاتا ہی	دین اسلام بہت مست ہوا جاتا ہی
ہند پھر کس طرح اسلام سے ہونا آباد	پیشوا لوگ اسی طرح نکرتے جو جہاد
مستی اگلی جو کہہ ہی کرتے تو ہوتا گہ نام	زور شہ شیر سے غالب رہا اسلام مدام



The treatise begins with the remark that Islám has become considerably corrupted in Bengal, and that no religious books are known except in large towns. The Khárejys are said to possess no work on the law *فقہ* except the *Taryqat Ahkám* *طريقة احكام*, which is written in the Bengali language, and contains many legal statements in a perverted form. The author had already in 1252 (1836) carried on a controversy with Shera'yét-ullah, whom he calls the chief heretic of Bengal, but we are not quite sure whether that individual is the same with the Shera'yét-ullah who took an active part in the disturbances of Eastern Bengal, and whom we have noticed in the paragraph on the "Career and end of Titu Myán." In 1272 (1855-56) a kind of synod was held in Bengal in the town of Barysál *بريسال* for the discussion of six questions, one of which was, whether, as the country is under the English Government, it would be proper to hold public prayers on Fridays, and it was decided affirmatively after the majority had agreed. This naturally implies that India was by the synod considered to be a country of Islám and not of war—*Dar-ul-harb*. In the chapter headed "Informations," *Akhbár*, the Khárejys are, however, accused of prohibiting the holding of the just mentioned prayers, and also of considering themselves alone to be true Musalmáns, but the word "Wahháby" is not even once mentioned in the whole book. The people of the towns of Dhákáh, Ferydpúr, Barysál, and of the districts surrounding them are said to be unable to distinguish between the Faith and the practice of it, to be ignorant of the religion, and to have been misled by the Khárejys to such a degree that they call a believer an infidel who is not able to perform prayers, and do not utter any over his bier when he dies. They do not salute persons of another sect, and do not go to their mosques, but have even defiled many belonging to the Sunnys, by throwing impurities upon the pulpit, so that neither preaching nor Friday-prayers can be held in them; and all this mischief had been produced by the Hajy Shera'yét-ullah, the chief of the Khárejys, with his son Dúda Myán. These heretic doctrines are reprovéd, but A'bd-ul-Jabbár, a khalifé, invited the author to write his refutation of them, whereon he would give a reply, and both documents would be sent to Mekkah to the great Mufty for decision. Kerámet A'ly assures us that the obnoxious tenets had already been refuted in the holy city by the same Mufty, and sent to India on a former occasion to put down their promulger Shera'yét-ullah; but that A'bd-ul-Jabbár unblushingly put his own name to this reply, so that the original writer at

once recognized the Fetwa when it was brought before him, and affixed to it the following remark :—

الجواب صحيح واصله لنا اجبتنا به علي سوال رفع الينا سابقا من  
الهند فاهل المسجد نقله ونسبه لنفسه والله سبحانه وتعالى اعلم امر  
برقمه الراجي لطف ربه الخفي جمال بن عبدالله شيخ عمه الحنفي  
مفتي مكة المكرمة

“The answer is correct, but the original is ours; we have given it to a question which had formerly been brought to us from India; perhaps the replier has copied it and attributed it to himself; but God (may He be praised and exalted) is most wise! This was ordered to be written by him, who hopes in the secret favour of his Lord, Jumál Ben A'bdullah Sheikh O'mar, the Hanafy Mufty of the honoured city of Mekka.”

Also another emphatic note to the same effect, written by the Mufty of Mekkah, is inserted, in which the forger is called a liar, كذاب and admonished to fear God. Many other accusations are levelled against the above-mentioned A'bd-ul-Jabbár, who is stated to have been completely refuted at the synod of Barysál, where many U'lemma had been assembled. Lastly, the people, being illiterate, are admonished in a special chapter at the end of the book to remain faithful to the Hanafy sect, and not to listen to heretic preachers; a hope is also expressed that A'bd-ul-Jabbár will repent of his doctrines.

It may have been observed that the author of this work accuses the people, whom he names Khárejys, only of iguorance, and not of idolatry, as was the case with those of the seven other treatises hitherto reviewed.

No. 10.—*Fatwah Muftyán va U'lemmai Mekkah fy redd Tuqvyat-ul-*

Anti-Wahháby treatises. *فتوة مفتيان و علماء مكة في رد تقويت الايمان وهاييه نجد به*

“Fetwa of the Muftys and U'lemma of Mekkah, refuting the Wahháby Nejdyan Tuqvyat-ul-émán.” This is but a pamphlet of 16 pages, lithographed at Madras in 1871, and translated into Urdu by Mulvy A'bd-ul-Subhán Çáheb Pesháwury, but the Arabic Fetwas are also given. It purports to refute the work we have reviewed under No. 4.

We have already observed above that Fetwas may be forced or procured by various sects at Mekkah, and in many other places of less significance than the sanctuary of Islám. When A'bd-ul-Subhán returned from the pilgrimage by way of Bombay and travelled to Mysore, he was not a little surprised to meet with a Fetwa printed at

the *Anvár a'zým*—literally, great lights—press in Madras, approving of the *Tuqvyat-ul-émán*, and bearing the signatures of Arab and Indian doctors of the law. This Fetwa he declares to be a forgery, and states that the Malvys of Rampur, Lucknow, Bombay, and Madras, &c., had already issued Fetwas stigmatizing as infidels all who accept the *Tuqvyat-ul-émán* for a guide.

The first Fetwa is a reply to the question whether the doctors of the law consider that some statements in the *Tuqvyat* tend to diminish the honour due to prophets, or to deny their mediation, and whether its author is to be deemed an infidel or a believer? The six individuals whose signatures are appended to this Fetwa all declare that they have read the book from beginning to end, and have found it containing no statements whatever contrary to what every orthodox Moslem professes to believe.

This Fetwa A'bd-ul-Subhán considers likewise to be a forgery, and produces several little Fetwas from Mekkah, the first of which, signed by A'bdul-Rajy Ahmad and others, is the most severe, as it states that the book is not a *corroboration* (*Tuqvyat*), but a *laceration* of the Faith. Most of the other persons whose Fetwas are given merely state that they have never seen the book, nor even heard of the six men whose names are appended to the first Fetwa. All these little Fetwas had, however, not been brought from Mekkah by A'bd-ul-Subhán himself, but by A'bd-ul-qudús Cáheb Qáderý in 1285 (1868), when he went to Mekkah and brought them at the request of the Sunny community of the Quçbah Nypettah, near Bangalore, in which town the publication of the book *Tuqvyat-ul-émán* had produced such a schism that now two cemeteries and two E'ydghás have become necessary. A'bd-ul-Subhán invites the people to refer this matter to the Resident and Chief Commissioner of Mysore for decision, whether the Fetwa produced by the Wahhábys is a forgery: in which case all the people ought to abandon the Nejdian creed and to become Hanafys, as they had been before.

No. 11.—*Ryádd-ul-muqáçed* ریانى المقاصد “Gardeus of intentions.” This pamphlet bears on the title page the date, Bombay 1277 (1860), but at the end 1288 (1871). It was translated into Urdu by A'bd-ul-ħakym from the original Arabic of Muħammad Qásem, a celebrated preacher at Delhi, who died there in 1263 (1847). The tract consists of extracts of the opinions of various doctors of the law and traditionalists, from which it appears that the giving of alms for the sake of the dead is useful to them. According to a report of Ebu-Abbás even the

prophet had said, "A dead man in his grave is like one about to be drowned. He is waiting for the prayers of his father, mother, sons, or friends, to reach him, and when they reach him, he is more pleased with them than with the world and all its contents." The following verse from the Qorán is considered to sanction prayers for the dead :— 'And they who have come after them say, O Lord, forgive us and our brethren who have preceded us in the faith.' (LIX., 10.) As to the reading of the Qorán for the benefit of the dead some of the Sháfi'y sect believe that no advantage accrues therefrom, whilst others are of a contrary opinion, and assert that the reader must, after having finished his lection, add the words, "O God, let my reading be a merit to the deceased." The custom of assembling and eating food upon graves is held to be meritorious, and supported by quotations, although it is acknowledged not to have been practised during the early ages of Islám, nor by the prophet, who, however, did not oppose the introduction of any good customs, for, according to a tradition of Muslim, in the *Mishkát*, he said :—"What the Musalmáns deem to be good, God deems to be good ; and what the Musalmáns deem to be wicked, God considers to be wicked." This tract is said to be of the Sunny persuasion, founded on the decisions of the four great Emáms or leaders of it.

No. 12.—*Tilka a'shraton kámalaton* تلك عشرة كامة "This is a perfect decade." Bombay 1288 (1871). The writer is the same, and the contents are analogous with those of No. 11. On the top of the title-page the verse of the Qorán LIX., 10, which has already been quoted in the preceding number, occurs. As the title implies, the tract consists of ten questions and answers, all of which are about the dead. In the prefatory note A'bd-ul-ḥakym makes his profession of a Hanafy, and enumerates not less than fifty-six titles of books consulted.

The allegations permissive of usages reproved by the Wahhábys are given in Arabic with Urdu translations. It is proper to write certain passages, and to put them upon a corpse ; a few specimens of such are given, and the utility of the proceeding is exemplified in the case of a man who had enjoined his son after his demise to wash his corpse, and then to write upon his forehead and breast the words, "In the name of Allah, the merciful, the clement." The son obeyed, and seeing his father in a dream after he had died, asked him about the effect of the inscription. The father replied : "When I had been placed in the grave, the angels of torment arrived, but on beholding the words written on my forehead and breast, they abstained from tormenting me."

There is a tradition that the prophet said: "Redeem your dead from the angels of the grave, even if only with half a date fruit as alms for the soul of the deceased before he is buried, to be a ransom from the angels of torment." He also said: "The deceased experience not a more terrible night than the first night; have mercy therefore upon your dead with some alms." It is proper to feed the poor as alms for the dead, whose merits are thereby increased. It is also suitable to read the *Qorán* upon a grave, to put flowers or a cloth upon it, and even to kiss it. These customs are said to have been practised and sanctioned by the prophet himself, whose *Maulud* and dying day are likewise to be celebrated in a suitable manner.

We learn from several of the questions and replies in this book that consciousness is attributed to the dead; but in the ninth answer it is expressly stated that a corpse in the grave knows its visitor; hears and understands everything he says. According to a tradition of A'áyshah, the prophet said: "No man visits the grave of his brother and sits down on it without the corpse being pleased and replying to the salutation." Abu Haryrah said: "When a man passes near a grave which he knows and salutes, his greeting is replied to by it." The spirits of the deceased even pay visits to each other, and according to a tradition of Jáber the prophet said: "Shroud your dead well, because they pay visits to each other in their graves;" they do so chiefly on Fridays, on the 10th of Muḥarram, and on other festivals according to Ebn-A'bbás, but according to the book *Fetawa Nasfyah*, "the spirits of the believers make their appearance every Friday night in the vestibules of their houses, and each of them exclaims in a mournful voice, 'O my family, O my children, O my relatives, favour me with your alms, remember us and do not forget us in our absence and scantiness of life in our narrow graves, strong prisons, long grief, and terrible destitution. All the property in your hands was ours; had we spent it in obedience to God the Most High, no account of it would be asked; but whilst you are eating and drinking, we have to give an account and are tormented.' Then they return with a mournful voice: O Lord bestow upon them Thy mercy, as we bestow our alms."

Not a word is said about the Wabhábys till we come to the last page, which contains a poem consisting of twelve distichs; every one of them is, however, a shaft levelled against the Wabhábys, who are accused of having swerved from the straight path, perverted the *Qorán*, and the *Ḥadyth* of the prophet, &c.

No. 13.—*Hedayat-ul-Haramyn* هداية الحرمين "Guidance to the two sanctuaries," by A'bd-ul-Hakym; lithographed at Bombay in 1288 (1871).

The book contains fourteen chapters, and in the first of them, the most striking passage is the following of Ebn-Hajar-al-Makky quoted from his *Sharḥ-ul-urba'y'n*, where he says:—"The prophet knew everything that would happen after his time in its totality and detail, since it is certain that everything was revealed to him which would happen until those destined for paradise and for hell shall enter their respective domiciles." In the first passage of the second chapter it is said that the prophet still abides and moves about in various portions of the earth and in the heavenly regions in the same form as before his death, and nothing of him is changed.<sup>66</sup> In the last portion of the third chapter it is asserted that God has placed the treasures of His bounty and the tables of His beneficence into the hands of Muḥammad. The fourth chapter treats on the intercession of the prophet with God for the believers, and many sayings of Muḥammad himself as well as various traditions are quoted to that effect; but only one passage from the Qorán itself is interpreted to mean that he had been raised to be a mediator between God and man, namely, "Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to a praiseworthy station." (XVII., 81.)

The fifth chapter treats on the miracles of the prophet, such as splitting the moon in twain, causing a stone to speak, a tree to moan, a fawn to salute him, &c., but before all these the miracle footprint is explained, namely, that even when Muḥammad walked over rocks he left marks of his feet, and those who cavil at this miracle are said to be merely ignorant fools, since the footprint he left at Jerusalem during his miraculous Night Journey is still pointed out to this day and venerated. In the sixth chapter the high station of the prophet is dwelt upon, and two quotations from the *Al-Hadyth-al-quddy* adduced, namely, that God said, according to a tradition of Hákim, "Had it not been for Muḥammad, I would not have manifested my dominion," and that God had said to Muḥammad: "I have not created

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« قال الحافظ اليسوطي في التلويح ان النبي صلي الله عليه وسلم  
حي بجسده و روحه و انه يتصرف و يسير في اقطار الارض و في  
الملكوت و بهيئته التي كان قبل وفاته و لم يبدل منه شي

a creature more honourable to me than thyself; and verily I have created the world and its inhabitants that they may know thy honourableness and station near me, and hadst thou not been I would not have created the world." This is the tradition of U'sáker. The 8th chapter treats on the *Maulud sheryf*, the "noble birthday," on which the faithful partake of social dinners, bestow alms, and make rejoicings. In chapter 9th a saying of the prophet is quoted, according to which the mere utterance of the profession of faith after each prayer is "more excellent than the worship of a thousand years." The kissing of one's own finger tips is recommended on hearing the call to prayers, and to prove the benefit of it various authorities are adduced, the chief of which is naturally that of the prophet himself, who said according to the *Musnad-ul-Ferdaus*, written by the Emám Hafez Shehrdár: "Who kisses the nails of his fingers when he hears the Mueddín pronounce the words, 'I bear witness that Muḥammad is the apostle of God,' I shall guide him into the ranks of paradise." The 11th chapter treats on the invocation of the dead, and first of all a quotation occurs from the *Fetáwa zád-ul-lahyb va Khazánat uljellály*, according to which the prophet said: "When you are distressed in your affairs ask help from the tenants of the graves;" also other authorities are adduced, and the objections of some Faqihs, *i.e.* lawyers, refuted, who assert that the dead cannot hear, &c. ; but the spirits of the departed saints enjoy the favour of God, and the power of intercession with Him ; accordingly they can get the prayers of those granted who invoke them. A man is for such a purpose to pray as follows:—"O God, I beseech Thee to comply with my request, by the blessing of this Thy servant, upon whom Thou hast bestowed mercy and honour," or thus:—"O saint of God and O servant of God, intercede for me, and ask thy Lord to comply with my request." According to chapter 12 it is proper to go on pilgrimage to the prophet's tomb, because he said: "Whoever visits my grave has a claim to my intercession." All Moslems visit his sepulchre before and after the pilgrimage. The 13th chapter treats on the accumulation of merit for the dead by reading the Qorán, feeding the poor, giving alms, &c., for their benefit. The 14th and last chapter deals with the Emáms of the four orthodox Sunny sects, any of whom may be followed and led to salvation, namely, Abu Hányfah, Málek, Sháfi'y, and Ahmad Ebn Hanbul, whose contiguous domes as they are standing in paradise on the banks of the river of life may be seen in the book represented in a figure, but in connection with that of the

prophet. Various Fetwas, declaring the book to be orthodox, are appended to it.

No. 14.—*Tayyid-ul-haqq* تأييد الحق “Confirmation of the truth,” by the Mufty Sayyid A’bd-ul-Fattáh, of Bombay, lithographed in 1291 (1874), pp. 287. This book consists of many chapters on a great variety of religious subjects, with extracts and translations from other works. The author states that in our times certain Wahhábys and Motazzelites have declared the four orthodox sects to be an innovation, بدعت on the ground that whatever usage was not current during the life of the prophet must be considered to be an innovation; but they are not endowed with sufficient discernment to distinguish between a good and a bad innovation. Whatever novelty is introduced into the religion and does not contradict its law cannot be sinful, but certain ignorant persons lay too much stress on the word *every* in the saying of the prophet: “Every innovation is an aberration,” because it is understood that a good, or even indifferent, innovation cannot be an aberration.

We observe that according to this author both the Maulud sheryf and the Muharram are to be kept, but he abstains from giving his opinions about the rejoicings and nautch-parties of the former, or the ta’zyahs and the lamentations of the latter festival. There is a special chapter on the intercession of the prophet with God for sinners, and ten kinds of it are described. Another with questions and replies concerning new sectaries, but the subject of the legality or illegality to lift up the hands in prayers, is first discussed. The invocations “O apostle of God ! O Sheikh A’bd-ul-qáder Jyllány, &c.,” are approved of ; prophets and saints are to be asked for their aid, because they can grant it, as is well established by miracles. On the other hand, it is entirely against the law to construct mausoleums and tombs in which there are no corpses, to consecrate them in the name of saints, to visit them, to burn lights on them, &c. There is also a chapter on Anti-Christ, *i. e.*, *Dujjil*, one about the proper way of eating dinner, on the blessedness of visiting true tombs or the mausoleums built upon them, &c. A regular calculation of the alms to be given for the redemption from hell of the soul of a deceased person who omitted to say his prayers, to fast during the month of Ramaçán, &c., has been made, and the result of it appended to the book in the form of a table, so that the heirs or executors may pay the required quantity of chenna, ghee, or their value in money for any number of years, to forty-five of which



the required amount is appended in khandis, maunds, paylys, and seers, and the author adds that "strong hopes are entertained from the bounty and graciousness of God that he will grant salvation to the deceased person, and deliver him from the torments of the grave."

No. 15.—*Redd-ul-Hind* ردالهند "Refutation of Hindus," by Mulvy Muḥammad Esma'yl Çáḥeb Kokany, of Rutnagiri, lithographed in Bombay 1278 (1861).

We take notice of this pamphlet, not from any connection of its contents with the Wahhábys, but merely as a specimen of proselytizing literature. The author carefully abstains from propounding the peculiar tenets of any sect, and expounds only the leading doctrines of Islám. The whole treatise is presented in very plain Hindustáni, in the form of a dialogue, the questions and objections being always raised by a Hindu, and the answers with explanations given by a Muḥammadan.

ART. XIX.—*Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics.* (Part 2nd.)—By J. GEBSON DA CUNHA, M.R.C.S.

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[Read June 8th, 1880.]

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I.

It is nearly eleven months since I had the pleasure of presenting to this Society the First Part of this series, and I regret that my almost incessant professional duties have prevented me from following up the subject at a shorter interval. Still, some consolation may perhaps be derived from the delay thus caused having enabled me to collect more materials and to procure a few rare, and in two or three cases unique, specimens of coins to illustrate them. These coins, which the few numismatists who have written on the subject consider as irretrievably lost, have been found underground, some while laying the foundations of a house at Ribandar, one of the suburbs of the city of New Goa, and others amongst the ruins of Bassein, Tannâ, and Chaul, one having been brought from Supâra.

It was in the reign of D. Manuel the Fortunate, under whose auspices India was discovered by the route of the Cape of Good Hope, and who ruled from 1495 to 1521, that money was first minted in Goa during the governorship of Affonso d'Albuquerque, which lasted from 1509 to 1515. This coinage was at one time current all along the western coast from the Persian Gulf to the Indian Archipelago, and in some parts of the eastern coast as far as the Bay of Bengal. It was originally meant to supersede the coinage of the Muḥammadan ruler of Goa, while the coins of the Hindu princes of the adjacent countries were admitted freely into circulation.

D'Albuquerque's scheme, like that of the founder of the Pathân dynasty, was avowedly adaptive. No historical parallel can ever be quite exact, but finding on comparison more points of similitude than of contrast, it seems that the central idea of the coinage of the founder of the Portuguese Empire in the East was analogous to that of

Muhammad Ghori. Both of them retained the mechanical identity of metal, size, and value of the coinage of their predecessors introductory to the more systematic mintages of their successors. Thus, while assimilating gradually, or without any violence, the issues of former Governments, and attempting to maintain the supply of the local currency, they proclaimed at the same time the conquest, the one by joining, as Mr. Thomas has shown in his excellent *Chronicles*,<sup>1</sup> the names of Muhammad bin Sam and of Prithvi Râja on one and the same coin, the other by stamping new symbols, such as the cross of the Order of Christ, and a style of epigraphs, the first perhaps that India ever witnessed within her boundaries since the introduction of Christianity into the world. Thus the coinage of the Great Albuquerque was not only a fiscal necessity of his new government, but a Portuguese *Fatah-nâmah*, so to speak,—a declaration of his success as a victor and of his supremacy, designedly avoiding simultaneously all interference with the course of trade by any unnecessary monetary complication.

Now, before describing the coins struck by D'Albuquerque, some remarks may be necessary on the mints. In my previous paper the foundation of the first Portuguese mint in India was briefly sketched, and only incidentally five mint cities—viz., Goa, Cochin, Ceylon, Malacca, and Diu—were mentioned. To these I have to add three others, Damaun, Bassein, and Chaul. And in considering the subject of the Indo-Portuguese coinage in all these mints, I believe it will be conducive to clearness if I take it up in chronological order under successive sovereigns of Portugal and their Viceroy in India, beginning with the first minting of money in Goa on the 12th of March 1510 and ending with the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, dated the 26th of December 1878, which has considerably altered the currency of the country, bringing it, according to the 5th Art. of that Convention between the two allied nations, to the uniform standard with the British coinage in India. The Indo-Portuguese coinage then represents 370 years of the annals of Portuguese India, a chapter which has hitherto remained unwritten to complete the history of the currencies of the Indian peninsula.

The subject is, however, so vast that the present paper can scarcely go, I am afraid, beyond a period of seventy years, ending in 1580, which is an important epoch in the history of the Lusitanian kingdom, when Portugal witnessed a dynastic change, the whole peninsula being united under one head, and that most unfortunately Phillip II. of Spain.

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicles of the Pathân Kings of Delhi, &c.*, by Ed. Thomas: Lond., 1871, pp. 17 and 18.

How different would have been the history of the Asiatic possessions of the Portuguese if that head had been the Duke of Bragança? But one must say with Ovid, *Sic erat in fatis*.

The Chronicles tell us that D'Albuquerque caused money in gold, silver, and copper to be minted in Goa. His gold coins were, according to some, called *cruzados*, and according to others, *manues*, in honour of the King D. Manuel, this name being again given to a tower erected in the city by the great warrior. The *Commentaries of Affonso D'Albuquerque* inform us that all coins struck by the order of D'Albuquerque were stamped with a cross of the Order of Christ on one side and with a sphere—the device of the King D. Manuel—on the other; that the silver coin was equivalent in weight to a *bargani*, which coin was called *espera*, *i. e.*, esfera or sphere; that there was also a *mea-espera*, or a 'half-sphere,' and lastly there were copper moneys called *leaes*, and other smaller copper pieces called *dinheiros*, three of which went to the *leal*. According to this authority, the gold coins, here called *cruzados*, were equal to seventeen *barganis*, but their value was raised in order to prevent their being taken away out of the country. This may be tabulated thus:—

#### COPPER.

Dinheiro ..... the smallest copper coin.  
3 Dinheiros ..... = one leal.

#### SILVER.

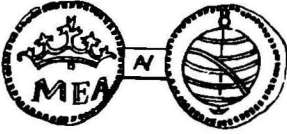
Meia (or half) *espera* = one vintem or 20 reis.  
One *espera* ..... = 40 reis, which were again equal  
to one *bargani*.

#### GOLD.

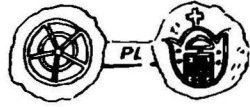
Cruzado ..... = 680 reis, or seventeen *barganis*.

A somewhat different version is given of this coinage by Gaspar Correa in his *Lendas*, Cap. XI., Liv. II., p. 76. He tells us that the coins current in Goa at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese there were the gold *parāo*, *i. e.*, pagode or hûn, of the value of 360 reis, the silver *bargani* of 40 reis, and the copper *bazarucco* of 2 reis. D'Albuquerque's monetary system being analogous in size and value to the native one, although dissimilar in type, the object of the conqueror being, as above remarked, to displace the former currency by his own, he caused to be issued the gold cruzado of 420 reis, the silver *bargani* of 2 vintems, and the copper leal of the weight of a

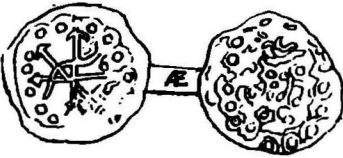
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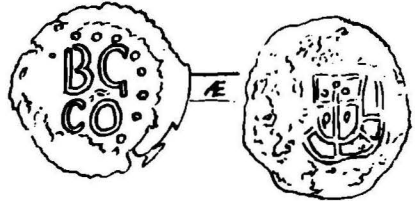
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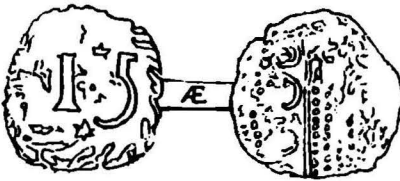
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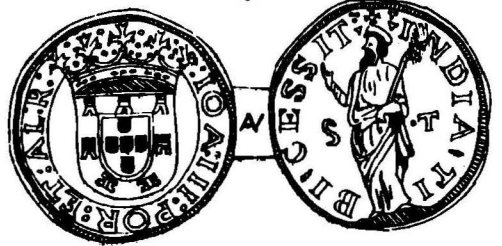
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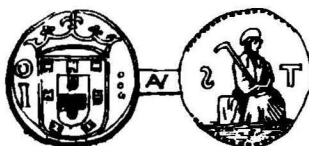
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7



bazarucco, each leal being again sub-divided into four smallest copper pieces called cepayqua. This *statement* reduced to a table runs thus :—

## COPPER.

*Cepayqua*, the smallest copper coin, of the value of half a real, and of the weight of 115 grains. Four *cepayquas* were equal to one *leal*, or one bazarucco of 2 reis of 460 grains.

## SILVER.

10 leaes, or meia espera = 20 reis of 40 grains.

20 leaes, or uma espera = 40 reis of 80 grains.

## GOLD.

10½ esperas, or um cruzado or manuel = 420 reis of 65 grains.\*

The excess of 60 reis in a cruzado over the value of a pagoda is ascribed to the object D'Albuquerque had in view of raising the value of his gold to prevent its exportation. It was eventually raised to 480 reis.

The annalists are silent upon the existence of a meio manuel in gold, although a specimen of this coin is described by Mr. Lopes Fernandes in his *Memoria das Moedas correntes em Portugal*.<sup>3</sup> Its weight is 32½ grains, 22 carats fine.

*Obv.*—MEA. Above it a crown and a point.

*Rev.*—A sphere. Circular area, *grènetis*, or dotted rim. (See Plate II., fig. 1.)

Both the silver and copper coins bore on the obverse the letter A, probably the initial of Asia, and on the reverse the sphere.

The fineness of the gold and silver coins is said to have been of the highest degree.

As regards the word MEA, some writers, such as Severino de Faria, in his *Noticias de Portugal*, believe it to be the Latin for 'mine,' intended to show that the sphere given to D. Manuel for a device by King John II. had been deserved by the former, through the glorious acquisition during his reign of lands in India and Brazil to the Portuguese Crown; while others are of opinion that it stands for the Portuguese *meia*, or 'half,' the coin being a half-cruzado or manuel.

\* The weight has been fixed by referring the value of these coins to that of the coins current in Portugal in the reign of the King D. Manuel.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, p. 121, Lisbon, 1856.

Two points of considerable interest in the numismatic history of this as of the succeeding periods are the relative values of gold and silver, and the metrical division of money. Leaving out of account copper, which has always been less liable to fluctuation, we learn that at the time of the Pathán rule the relative value of gold and silver was 8 : 1. In later times of the same dynasty the ratio was raised to 10 : 1, and in the reign of Akbár it remained the same. Between these two periods D'Albuquerque's system was brought in vogue, which, according to Gaspar Correa, maintains the proportion of 10 : 1, the  $\frac{1}{2}$  above 10 being the excess established on the ground of preventing its exportation. When later on the value of the cruzado was raised to 480 reis, the ratio became 12 : 1.

As regards metrology, D'Albuquerque's system appears to have been a mixture of the decimal and duodecimal division of money. Although the quaternary scale has always prevailed in India, and is indeed "the heritage of the masses" in this as in other countries, still decimal division has often been enforced by law. But in spite of this and of men of science and legislators recommending the adoption of the latter on account of the greater practical facility in arithmetical operations and accounts to be performed with numerals, people still persist in thinking duodecimally, even when obliged by law to express themselves decimally. The reason of this is believed to be the value of the products of nature and of human industry being regulated by the time and labour involved in them. Now these two elements, especially the time—which is in reality the usual measure of labour, its exchangeable value being well expressed in the English proverb "time is money"—is divided by nature duodecimally. The four seasons, the twelve months, the four weeks, the twenty-four hours, the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and so on, are all duodecimally divided. This natural arrangement is not less exemplified by our rupees, annas, and pies, than by the regulations contained in the *Ain-i-Akbári* of Abúl-Fazl and by the ordinances of the old Code of Manu. We do not exactly know, then, what must have induced the eminent statesman to mix the two modes of reckoning, and thus to produce a hybrid monetary system.

The conquest of Goa took place on the 25th November 1510, and was followed the next year by that of Malacca, where D'Albuquerque established another mint, and coins in gold, silver, and tin were directed to be struck. The gold coin was called *catholico*, of the weight of a quarter of *tundia*, a native weight, and of the value of 1,000 reis. The

silver coin was called *malaquetes*, weighing also a quarter of *tundia*, and meant to set aside the Malacca coinage of equal weight and value. The tin coins were of three kinds, viz., the *dinheiro*, equivalent to the native coin of the same material called by the Portuguese 2 *caizas*, ten *dinheiros* called *soldo*, and ten *soldos* called *bastardo*. This looks something like a decimal scale.

Now about this time a tin coin called *roda* was uttered by the Senate or Municipality of Goa. In the First Part of this series I have already described the tutenag coins, which were the successors of the tin coinage. The *roda*, which had stamped on the obverse a wheel, representative of St. Catherine's wheel, the patron saint of Goa, and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom on the reverse (see Plate II., fig. 2) was the lowest coin. Its almost insignificant value gave rise to the proverb still current in Portuguese India "isso não vale uma roda," "that is not worth a *roda*," although the coin has since a long time disappeared from circulation. The *roda*, again, is the only Christian coin which bears some resemblance to the Buddhist *chakra* or 'wheel,' the most prevalent symbol occurring on the numismatic and other monuments of that once widely-spread religion. It was either in the form of a disc surrounded by rays, the rays sometimes resembling an umbrella; others a loop containing the crescent-shaped termination of a *chaitya*, or in that of a disc joined with the *sánkha*-shell, which is now sacred to Vishnu.

The above-mentioned facts lead to two important results, viz., that tin was first used in comparatively recent times for currency purposes by the native princes at Malacca, from whence it was introduced by the Portuguese into Goa and other settlements; and that the word *cash* found stamped on the Madras copper coinage of the East India Company, with a Roman numeral attached to it to denote its value, may perhaps be traced to the *caixa* of the Portuguese, just as pagoda has been to *pagode*. Tin is indigenous to the Indian Archipelago. It is found in the island of Banca, in the Malayan Peninsula, and the islets on its coasts, from whence it is carried to China and other countries. J. Crawford<sup>a</sup> tells us that in the countries which produce tin, this metal seems naturally enough to have had recourse to as coin, and that tin coins called *pichis* form the small currency of several States in the Indian Archipelago, 5,600 *pichis* being equal to one Spanish dollar. Tin, lead, or tutenag coins appear to have been current from time immemorial. M. Lenormant<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Hist. of Ind. Arch.*: Edin., 1820, vol. I., p. 280.

<sup>b</sup> *La Monnaie dans l'Antiquité*. Paris, 1878, Tome I., pp. 207 et seq.



tells us that lead coins were current in Egypt and in France during the first and second centuries of our era under the Roman emperors and the kings of Numidia. Of tin pieces he mentions those of the King Dionysius of Syracuse and of the Roman Emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, in their province of Gallia, especially Brittany, the country of tin *par excellence*, and where Severus had undertaken an expedition. Lead or tutenag coins were also minted by the Andhra-bhṛītya kings of Southern India during the second century A.D.,<sup>6</sup> where they were also current under the princes of the Chalukya dynasty from the 6th to the 9th century.<sup>7</sup> Thus it seems that these metals were used for currency at an archaic period, and there is no evidence of their being employed at later times, such as at the advent of the Portuguese to the East, except at Malacca, from whence the fashion must have been imported into Goa and other Portuguese mint cities, such as Diu, Damaun, Bassein, and Chaul. Tin coin was current in Portuguese districts round about Bombay, and the English of Bombay issued—it may be for the sake of uniformity—theirs of the same material. The specimens of the latter coinage which have hitherto reached us appear to have been struck between 1708 and 1773, subsequent to the mutiny of the Bombay troops under Keigwin, the fusion of the old and new East India Companies into the United East India Company, and the creation of the three Presidencies ruled by Governors in Council, those of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, each of them absolute within its own limits, until the appointment of a Governor-General for all India in 1773. It is true that during the time of the Commonwealth pewter was employed in coining farthings, and some *pattern* farthings of tin were also prepared in the reign of Charles I. and the early part of that of Charles II., which were made current in 1684, and continued to be coined until 1692, when this currency ceased.<sup>8</sup> These dates are, however, too early to account for the existence of the Bombay tin coinage, which appears to be an imitation, from reasons to be mentioned hereafter, of a similar Portuguese mintage.

With regard to the word *caixa*, the *caches* of the French and the *cash* of the English, such as one finds on the Madras paisâ, coined in England in 1803, bearing on the obverse the East India Company's arms and on the reverse the legend 'XX Cash' and the Persian بیست کلس چهار

<sup>6</sup> *Jour. B. B. R. As. Soc.*, 1877, pp. 308 *et seq.*

<sup>7</sup> *Madras Jour. of Lit. Soc.*, N. S., vols. III. and IV., pp. 220 *et seq.*; and 75 *et seq.* respectively.

<sup>8</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1877, pp. 358 *et seq.*, and 1878, p. 394.

فلوس اسی (Bisť kás chahár falús ast), or 'Twenty kas make four fals,' its origin may perhaps be traced to the Sanskrit name of the metal itself; for it is not rare in the history of numismatology to meet with the designation of a coin by that of the metal it is made of, as in the instance of the *aureus*, a gold coin, introduced by the Romans into the Spanish peninsula, and current as late as the first two or three reigns of the Portuguese monarchy. The Sanskrit word above referred to for tin is कस्तूरी (Kastūra), from which is supposed to be derived the Greek *κασσιτερος*, a word used by Homer, hence the name of *Cassiterides insulæ*, literally, 'the tin islands' applied to the Scilly Islands near England, and the Arabic *kasdir*, referred to by Prof. Rehatsek in his remarks on the present paper, and which latter word is said to have been imported by the Phœnicians from the East, possibly from Malacca, into western countries. The first syllable of *kastūra* may then have given origin to the *caixa* of the Portuguese. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Persian *kas* is also derived from the Sanskrit कर्ष (karsha), an ancient Indian weight, also called *karshapana*, being in Tamil corrupted into *kasu*, Toda *kas*, Chinese *cash*, and Ceylonese *kahapana*. The last term is also found in western cave inscriptions, having its exact counterpart in the *ket* of the Egyptian metrology.

At a somewhat later period the Portuguese in India issued *rodas* and their multiples of both tin and tutenag. This alloy, which has from time immemorial been used by the Chinese in the manufacture of the *gong*, is whitish in appearance, sonorous when struck, tough, strong, malleable, easily cast, hammered, and polished, and does not readily tarnish. With these attributes, this amalgam recommended itself to the mintmasters to the extent of superseding latterly the tin coinage altogether. When analysed, it yields of copper 40·4, zinc 25·4, nickel 31·6, and iron 2·6. Its name is believed to have been given to it first by the Portuguese in India, who must have got it from the Malayalam language, in which *tutti* is the name of a tutenag coin equal to 20 cash, or  $\frac{1}{4}$  pice; if it is not derived from the English tutty, *tutia* in low Latin, *tuzia* in Italian, and *tuthie* in French for a sublimate of zinc or calamine collected in the furnace. The word for tin used by the Portuguese in India is *calaim*, while in Portugal it is called *estanho*. *Calaim* is evidently derived from the Indian vernaculars, for it is कलहई (*kalhai*) in Marathi, कलई (*kalai*) in Gujarathi, and قلعي (*kalai*) in Hindustani.

But to return to the imitation tin coinage of Bombay. It was not only by the adoption of this material for their coinage, but even by the

imitation of types and symbols, which were originally Portuguese, that the rising power of the English of Bombay gave a tacit proof of their appreciation of the inventive power of their allies and neighbours, the Portuguese, whose star was now declining, but were still masters of all the districts round about Bombay up to the year 1740. The Portuguese of Chaul had struck a copper *bazarucco*, bearing a sheaf of arrows and a bow on the obverse, and the coat-of-arms of the kingdom on the reverse (see Plate II., fig. 3). This coin was issued some time prior to 1577, and must have been current in the environs of Bombay. This device is found engraven on one of the ruined gates of that once famous city. The gate was built in 1577, as testified to by an inscription a facsimile of which, with a lithograph representing the gate itself, are inserted in my work on that city.<sup>9</sup> The gate is surmounted by the well-known D. Manuel's terrestrial globe, three arrows in a sheaf, the coat-of-arms of the kingdom of Portugal, and the cross of the Order of Christ above them all. Here the globe denotes the power, the broad belt which encircles it being intended to represent the conquests and discoveries of the Portuguese throughout the world, and the three arrows tied together peace, which the Portuguese of Chaul had enjoyed, before the building of this part of the fortifications, uninterruptedly for thirty long years, which was an unusual occurrence in those troublous times.

Now the three arrows tied together were not only engraven or represented on lithic, but even on numismatic monuments of the Portuguese in India. The English of Bombay copied this emblem on their copper pieces, bearing on one side a crown and on the other three arrows tied together, flanked by the letters *G.* and *R.* in italic for Georgius and Rex, with the legend *Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angli* below. To the Portuguese, who appear to have imitated this device from a Spanish coin current in Portugal between 1557 and 1641, called *real de prata*, or 'silver real,' it was an emblem of peace, to the English of Bombay probably a mere ornament, if not a meaningless type.

## II.

D'Albuquerque died on the 16th December 1515, at the age of 63, after serving ten years in the East, and was succeeded by Lopes Soares de Albergaria. His coinage supplied the monetary need of Portuguese India to the extent of his successors for some years minting only copper

<sup>9</sup> *History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* : Bombay, 1876, p. 81.

money. Two important documents give us a glimpse of the operations carried on in the Goa mint about this time. Fernão D'Alcaçova, *Vedor da Fazenda*, or Superintendent of His M.'s Treasury, in his *Regimento*, or 'Mint Regulation,' says that to mint one *quintal* of copper (a Portuguese weight equal to 129 lbs. 5 oz. and 5 drs.) in 1517, it cost 1,042 reis, yielding 3,744 *leaes*, equivalent to 23½ *pardaos*, or 18 *cruzados* and 288 reis, each *pardao* at the rate of 320 reis. Then, of each *quintal* five parts were coined into *leaes*, and one into *pequeninos*, i. e., *cepayguas*.<sup>10</sup> On the 13th November 1518 the Governor Diogo Lopes de Siqueira, who governed India from 1518 to 1522, published a proclamation allowing people to carry away out of the country all sorts of coins, that is, copper and tin pieces, except gold and silver ones.<sup>11</sup> And in a legislative enactment dated the 23rd March 1519 the same Governor allows the Portuguese coinage to leave the country, especially the copper money, hoping thereby to increase its circulation, but forbids the minting of more silver or gold coins. This was probably the result of having an abundance of the latter coinage on account of its value having been raised to prevent exportation.

Then follows a long interval of time, during which no change appears to have been made in the above-mentioned mint regulations. In the mean time King D. Manuel died in 1521, being succeeded by D. João III.

During the governorship of Nuno da Cunha, from 1529 to 1538, copper money was ordered to be coined, the cost of the metal being 16 *pardaos* per one *quintal*, which indicates a considerable fall in the value of copper from the time of the two immediate successors of D'Albuquerque. D. Garcia de Noronha, who ruled between 1538 and 1540, also directed the issue of copper pieces, the document noticing this fact stating that the price of copper was now rising, being 18 *pardaos* per one *quintal*.

In the year 1542, the first of the Governor Martim Affonso de Souza's rule, which ended in 1545, the denomination of copper pieces was changed from *leaes* into *bazaruccos*. The value of copper was raised to 36 *pardaos* per one *quintal*, which is said to have given rise to discontent among the people, as the market value of the metal was only 18 to 20 *pardaos* a *quintal*. Of *bazaruccos* there were three different types, first the one bearing on the obverse a sheaf of arrows above de-

<sup>10</sup> *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasciculo V., Pt. I. : Goa, 1865, pp. 8-9.

<sup>11</sup> *Archivo ut supra*, p. 31. *Opus. cit.*, p. 19. *Opus. cit.* : Fasc. I., p. 25, and Fasc. II., p. 174.

scribed and struck at Chaul ; the second the letters BCCO on one side, and the royal coat-of-arms on the other ; and the third a number, such as 15, with a star above and below, to indicate its value on the obverse, and CCC to the left, and dotted area to the right, on the reverse. (See Plate II., figs. 4 and 5.) All these bazaruccos have some dots round the area, which may be intended to mark the number of bazaruccos, not unlike the dots on the silver coins of King D. Affonso VI. of Portugal, each dot standing for one hundred reis, and those on the sub-division of the Roman *as*, the *uncia* having one, the *sextans* two, the *quadrans* three, and the *triens* four, or a partially obliterated dotted rim.

The Viceroy D. João de Castro, whose rule extended from 1545 to 1548, directed the issue of copper bazaruccos alone, with the advice of the Bishop of the Diocese, D. João de Albuquerque, at the rate of 25 pardaos the quintal, that being near the market price. D. João de Castro's successor, Garcia de Sá, who governed from 1548 to 1549, introduced during the brief tenure of his office an innovation into the monetary system, which had a lasting effect, and made his name, next to that of D'Albuquerque, the most memorable in the Indo-Portuguese annals of currencies. He directed the issue of a gold coin called S. Thomé, or 'St. Thomas,' 20½ carats fine, weight 193¼ grains, and value 1,000 reis. (See Plate II., fig. 6.)

*Obv.*—IOA III., POR. ET. AL. R. The coat-of-arms of the kingdom in the centre of the area.

*Rev.*—INDIA TIBI CESSIT. The figure of St. Thomas, standing, head to the right, letters S and T on each side of the saint. Dotted rims. Very rare.

A quarter of the above coin was also struck ; weight 48 grains. Also very rare.

*Obv.*—The coat-of-arms of the kingdom in the middle, and  $\dot{\text{I}}$ . on the left and  $\frac{3}{8}$  on the right.

*Rev.*—The figure of St. Thomas, seated, to the right holding a club on the right shoulder, and the letters S and T on the sides. (See Plate II., fig. 7.)

The  $\dot{\text{I}}$ . on the left side of the coat-of-arms stands for IOÃO, and the three points on the right for III., *i.e.*, King John III. Some authors call the first coin Double St. Thomas, and the second, Half St. Thomas, and the weight of the latter shows it to be a quarter of the former. Diogo do Couto, in his *Decadas*, says of this coin :—" Feeling

the want of money in the city, the Governor commanded the issue of a gold coin of the fineness of the *round pagodes*, which are brought from the mainland, of 43 points, equal to  $20\frac{1}{4}$  (carats), each mark of gold yielding 67 coins of 2 *tangas*, 8 grains, and 16 parts of a grain. He directed to strike this coin, stamping on one side the figure of the blessed Apostle St. Thomas, the Patron Saint of India, and the *quinas* or the royal coat-of-arms of Portugal on the other. This coin was called *S. Thomé*, which is current now throughout India. Private individuals coining gold money in the Royal mint had to pay for each mark of the bullion coined two St. Thomés, one to the King and one to the officers of the mint." *Dec. VI., Liv. 7, Cap. I.* Diogo do Couto began to write his history in 1597, in continuation of the *Decadas* of João de Barros. With regard to the words *pagodes redondos* or 'round pagodas,' which are elsewhere called *pardaos redondos*, and *tanga*, I reserve my remarks for the Third Part of this series.

The Viceroy Affonso de Noronha, who governed India from 1550 to 1554, ordered the coining of S. Thomé of silver, sometimes called *patacões*. This was the first silver coinage by the successors of D'Albuquerque, for from 1510 to 1550 no silver coin was minted, except the *esperas* struck during the first days of the conquest of Goa. All these forty years the silver coins were supplied from the neighbouring countries as well as the gold coinage.<sup>12</sup> The *patacões* directed to be minted by the Viceroy Affonso de Noronha were of the fineness of 11 *dinheiros*, this fineness representing 11 of silver and 1 of copper, or  $916\frac{2}{3}$  of silver and  $83\frac{1}{3}$  of copper in 1,000. One mark of silver yielded 8 *patacões* and 4 *tangas*, which was eventually raised to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  *patacões*, and at last to  $9\frac{1}{2}$ , which is said to have been done to the prejudice of the Royal Treasury.<sup>13</sup> In the year 1554 Antonio Nunes, who was about this time *tanadar* or *almozarife* (receiver of imports, superintendent of royal demesnes) at Agassi, in the settlement of Bassein, wrote his *Livro dos Pesos, Medidas, e Moedas*, or "Book of Weights, Measures, and Coins," published as late as 1868, under the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, which is an important document, considering the time when it was written, and the amount of information it contains. He gives a long table of the coins current in the Portuguese settlements in the East, as well as in the neighbouring States, giving at the same time

<sup>12</sup> *Arch. Port. Orient.*, Fasc. II., p. 175.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

their value in Portuguese reis. I append below a few extracts, essential for the due elucidation of the subject, in alphabetical order :—

*Coins current in Bassein in 1554.*

Fedea (a nominal coin) .....	=	15 reis.
Pardao, equal to 5 tangas in silver .....	=	300 „
Tanga in silver, equal to 4 fedeas. =	60 „	

BENGAL.

Larim .....	=	48 pones or 60 reis.
Pone .....	=	80 cauris.

Cauri is the shell imported into India from the Maldive Islands, known to the naturalists as *cypra moneta*, and sometimes called by the Portuguese *buzio*.

Caille, Calicut, Chale, Cananor, Ceylon, Coulão, Negapatão, and Paleacote—

Fanam of base gold, also called chacram .....	=	25 reis (variable).
Raja of base gold, current in Coulão .....	=	40 „
Portuguez in gold, current in Ceylon, worth 15 xerafins ...	=	4,500 „

Fanão or fanam varied in value from 10 reis in Ceylon to 29 in Negapatão. In Paleacote 10 fanams made the *pardao de fanões*.

COCHIN.

Pardao of gold .....	=	360 reis.
Xerafim .....	=	300 „
Fanam .....	=	21 $\frac{3}{4}$ „
Cruzado of gold .....	=	390 „

The value of this cruzado rose from 390 reis to 426 in the governorship of Martim Affonso de Souza. In the purchase of pepper, 19 fanams made one cruzado in gold.

DIU.

Axiry (silver coin), worth 60 fedas, or 11 perogis .....	=	111 reis.
Pardao of 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ perogis .....	=	360 „

Fedea was a nominal coin of the value of nearly 2 reis, and a perogis was equal to 8 reis.

GOA.

Tanga of 50 leaes .....	=	60	reis.
Pardao of 5 tangas .....	=	300	„
Pardao in gold of 6 tangas. .	=	360	„ (liable to fluctuate).
Leal.....	=	1½	„
Tanga in silver .....	=	72	„ (liable to fluctuate about 8 or 10 per cent.)
Tanga branca of 4 barganis. =	115½	„	
Bargani of 24 leaes .....	=	28¾	„
Vintem of 15 leaes .....	=	18	„

Besides the above, there were current at Goa the Venetian sequin, the sultani, abraemo, and cruzado in gold, as well as the xerafim of Aden and Ormuz—the former four worth 7 tangas, or 420 reis; the latter two 360 and 300 reis, respectively. The same coins were current also at Chaul and at Batecala, with the addition of the copper bazarucco in use in Chaul of the value of 3 reis each. The madrafaxão of Cambay was equal to 1,440 reis, variable.

ORMUZ.

Faluz of 10 dinars .....	=	1½	reis (nearly).
Cadi of 100 dinars .....	=	13	„ „
Azar of 10 cadis .....	=	140	„ „
Pardao of 2 azares .....	=	280	„ „
Xerafim in gold .....	=	300	„
Tanga in silver, also called larim. =	62	„	(liable to fluctuate as far as 70 reis). <sup>14</sup>

But to return to the chronological series. Between the years 1554 and 1555, during which time D. Pedro Mascarenhas was Viceroy, the silver *patacões* were continued to be coined, raising at the same time the price of a mark of silver to 3,540 reis. His successor, Francisco Barretto, who ruled from 1555 to 1558, made no change in the issue of this coin, which he kept on minting at the same rate of value, the 3,540 reis per one mark being divided into 3,300 for the owner of the bullion and 240 for signorage, expenses of mintage, and so on. The unwarrantable elevation in the price of silver gave rise to some conten-

<sup>14</sup> *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, by R. J. de L. Felner: Lisbon, 1868, Pt. I., pp. 61 *et seq.*



tion. This elevation seems to have resulted from the Government allowing private individuals to issue coins, when the latter not only raised the price of silver, but even deteriorated the assay fineness of the coin. In Rome, under the Republic, a similar state of things appears to have existed, and was eventually put a stop to, as prejudicial to the interests of the State. Though the State held the management of the mint, any family or *gens* or private individual was entitled to coin money at the public expense, deriving of course some profit to himself. This system was, nearly eighteen centuries after, found as obnoxious at Goa as it was in Rome.

We have now arrived at an epoch of considerable historical importance, a period of transition, the turning-point, so to speak, in the fortune of the Portuguese in the East. In 1557 King D. João III. died, and was succeeded by his grandson D. Sebastião. The first Viceroy of King D. Sebastião was Constantino de Bragança, who ruled India from 1558 to 1561. Although his name is famous in the conquest of Damaun and in the destruction of the *dalada*, or tooth relic of Gautama Buddha, said to be in Ceylon still, in the history of numismatics he is the least conspicuous of all the Viceroys of India. The only thing he did, was to direct the issue of copper money at the rate of 42 xerafims the quintal, when the market value of copper was only 25 pardaos. He was succeeded by Conde de Redondo, who governed from 1561 to 1564. He commanded the coining of copper bazaruccos at the rate of 35 pardaos of tangas the quintal of copper, including all expenses. His successor, D. Antão de Noronha, who ruled between 1564 and 1568, issued a proclamation forbidding the coining of silver S. Thomés, or patacões, as prejudicial both to the State and people, directing those extant to circulate for their silver value. The cause of this prohibition will be explained in Part III.

Between the years 1568 and 1571 the Viceroy D. Luis d'Athaide held the helm of government, and has an important place in the numismatic history of Portuguese India. It was he who gave the first Code of Regulations for the mint, and commanded to continue the issue of gold S. Thomés of 43 points, or  $20\frac{1}{4}$  quilates, each mark of gold yielding 67 S. Thomés and two tangas, and each S. Thomé weighing 68 grains and 16 parts of a grain. A Portuguese mark of gold is equal to  $3,542\frac{1}{2}$  English grains. The fineness of gold is expressed in *quilates* or carats, the mark fine being 24 carats. *Carante* is also an old Portuguese expression for carat.

This Viceroy also directed to utter silver coins known as *bastião*, the double *bastião*, and the half, and silver tangas. The value of the first was 300 reis, 600 of the second, and 150 of the third. His silver was 11 dinheiros fine, the mark fine being 12 dinheiros. None of these coins are extant, nor have we any examples of the coinage of the six of his predecessors. His *bastião* had the figure of St. Sebastian, in honour of the king of this name, on one side, and the royal coat-of-arms on the other; while his silver tangas had an arrow on the obverse, probably a symbol of the martyrdom of the saint, and the same coat-of-arms on the reverse. The same Viceroy, by his order dated the 16th November 1568, commanded the issue of gold and silver coinage by the Cochin mint.<sup>18</sup>

His successors in the viceroyalty, D. Antonio de Noronha, Antonio Moniz Barretto, and D. Diogo de Menezes, between 1571 and 1578, made no alteration in the coinage, nor do they appear to have directed the continuation of the former issues until D. Luis de Athaide came out to India a second time as Viceroy, honoured with the title of Conde de Attognia, on the 31st August 1578, and died in Goa on the 10th March 1581. The currency ordered by his proclamation, dated the 27th August 1569, to be referred to hereafter, continued to prevail during his absence from India, and now he commanded the coining of xerafims of 5 tangas of the assay fineness of one larim of copper in two larims and a half of silver.

In the mean time King D. Sebastião disappeared, was most probably slain in his African expedition, and Cardinal D. Henrique mounted the throne of Portugal. On his death in 1580, Philip II. of Spain was crowned at Lisbon.

We have thus arrived at the end of the first period of our Numismatic History of Portuguese India. Two other papers will conclude the series, filling up exactly the space of three centuries, each paper describing the numismatic period of 150 years, viz., the first from the union of Portugal with Spain in 1580 until 1730, and the second from that date to the present year 1880.

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<sup>18</sup> *Arch. Port. Orient.*, Fasc. V., Pt. II., p. 692.

ART. XX.—*The Doctrines of Metempsychosis and Incarnation among nine heretic Muḥammadan Sects.* By E. REHATSEK.

[Read 6th April 1880.]

The doctrine of metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul into different bodies, was first promulgated in Europe by Pythagoras, who is believed to have been imbued therewith among the priests of Egypt or the Brahmans of India,<sup>1</sup> and whatever scanty traces of this belief are yet discoverable in the fragmentary remnants of the pre-Islamic history of the Arabs, would apparently point to the same sources for their origin,<sup>2</sup> as they voyaged already in early times for commercial purposes to both these countries. Doctrines of this kind did, however, not meet in Arabia with a congenial soil for their reception, and disappeared altogether soon after the promulgation of the Qorán. The case was, however, different in Persia, where these ancient dogmas had obtained admittance from India at an early date, and infiltrated themselves even into the Muḥammadan religion, in the very bosom of which the Persians, unable to bear the yoke of the Arab spirit, formed for themselves religious tenets accommodated to their own instincts. The contrast

<sup>1</sup> According to Diogenes Laertius, Lib. VIII, Cap. I, No. III seq., Pythagoras had lived among the Chaldeans and Magi. He remembered to have been Æthalides, the son of Mercury, to have aided the Greeks during the Trojan war in the character of Euphorbus, to have been Herotimus, afterwards a fisherman, and last of all Pythagoras. No. XII. He asserted that the soul gradually occupies various bodies. No. XX. Once when a dog was being beaten he exclaimed, "Cease! Rather strike me who am unhappy; for the very voice indicates to me a dear friend of mine." According to the same author Pythagoras flourished during the 60th Olympiad, which began 540 years before the Christian era, whilst others place his death 497 years before it.

<sup>2</sup> The belief in two souls and the remarkable owl issuing from the head of a corpse are briefly alluded to in the beginning of my paper: "Some beliefs and usages of the pre-Islamic Arabs," &c., Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. S., vol. XII, p. 163 seq. Mr. C. Doughty, who paid a visit to the ruins of Medyn Çalib, or el-Hejjer, near the Haj route from Damascus to Mekkah, along the coasts of the Red Sea, believes the sculptured birds he there saw about the door-ways to have been representations of the above mentioned owls. See his paper "Notes of a Visit to Inner Arabia," Journ. Bom. Br. R. As. S., vol. XIV, p. 161. Also Shahrastani states, p. 177, that there were pre-Islamic Arabs who believed in metempsychosis: see also Masudy *Principes d'Or*, t. III, p. 310 seq., edition and translation of Barbier de Meynard, where in connection with the above mentioned owl, also the transmigration of souls is alluded to.

between the Semitic and the Aryan genius, which had always been considerable in every respect, could not be effaced even in the religion of Muhammad when professed by two races so different from each, as the Arab and the Persian. The divergence manifested itself soon after the murder of A'ly among the Shya'hs. when they added to the profession of Faith the words "and A'ly is the *Vely* of God," which means that, after the death of the prophet he became the chief *Emám*, or head of the religion. On this point all the Shya'hs agreed and still agree to this day, whatever their differences on the doctrines and numbers of the various *Emáms* may be; in course of time, however, when ancient Buddhist legends, doctrines, and traditions were revived, numerous opinions about A'ly's divine nature originated, some of which culminated in considering him as an incarnation of God and calling him Allah. The Omniade as well as the Abbaside Khalifehs more or less persecuted the Shya'hs, who, being forced to conceal their tenets, pretended to be Sunnis; they invented and took refuge under the dogma of *Taqiah* (prudence, or mental reservation), which they practised till the invasion of Husayn Khán, who, being a Buddhist and a Mongol, was totally indifferent to the religious controversies of the Moslems; he destroyed the Khalifate in 1258 and with it the supremacy of the Sunnis in those parts. There being no longer any necessity of concealing their Faith, the Shya'hs not only abandoned the *Taqiah*, but have since that time become dominant by degrees in Persia and in other parts of the East.

Although the doctrine of *Tanásukh*, i. e., transmigration, is repudiated by orthodox Moslems, the animal fables which originated from it, and wherein beasts are made to speak and to conduct themselves like men, enjoy considerable reputation. There exist also analogous pieces of poetry which cannot be traced to an immediate Hindu source, like the celebrated Fables of Bidpay or Anvari Suhaili, so well known in many languages. In some heterodox sects, however, the doctrines of metempsychosis and of incarnations have assumed the form of dogmas of religion. How, when, and whence they have been introduced into each of them cannot be ascertained with much precision; but that these doctrines are essential characteristics of various sects will be abundantly proved by the authorities now to be quoted. Before doing so, however, it will be proper to quote three definitions given by *Shahrastani*<sup>3</sup> in his *Kitáb al-Melal wan-Nehal*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Died A. D. 1153.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 197 and 209 seq.

ERRATUM.

Page 419, line 18, read *Hulagu* for *Husayn*.

I.—The *Tandasukhiyah* believe in the transmigration of spirits into bodies, and in their transition from one individual to another, encountering rest or trouble, comfort or misfortune, according to the deserts of a previous existence in another body as a requital for them. Man being for ever in one of these two states, *i.e.*, either acting or being requited, his state is either that of reception of requital for what he has done, or expectation of it for what he is doing. In these bodies both [the requitals of] paradise and hell exist, the highest degree being that of prophetship and the lowest the degree of serpent, there being none higher than the former and none lower than the latter. Some of them assert that the degree of angels is the highest and that of devils the lowest. This doctrine is, however, contradicted by all the other Dualists, who mean by the days [or period] of salvation the return of the particles of light to its own noble and praiseworthy world, whilst the particles of darkness remain in their own base and despicable world.

II.—Among the *Khárbanyah*, a class of Sabians, transmigration consists in the infinite repetition of cycles and periods, so that in each [succeeding] period that happens which had taken place in the first, as to rewards and punishments in this, and not in the next, world where the acts [entailing them] have not been committed. The acts we are here subject to are requitals for those we committed during former periods [of our existence], so that the repose, joy, pleasure, and comfort we experience are in accordance with the good acts previously performed by us, whilst the sorrow, grief, anxiety, and trouble we encounter, depend from the wicked acts we have formerly committed. Thus it was in the beginning, and thus it will be at the end; to a sage, cessation is in every respect impossible.

III.—*Hulúl* [in-dwelling or incarnation] is the assumption of individuality either by the in-dwelling of an essence, or by the in-dwelling of a portion of an essence, according to the capacity of an individual's nature.<sup>6</sup>

Now we shall describe these doctrines as professed by various heretic Muhammadan sects:—

#### I.—*ḤAYṬYAH*.<sup>6</sup>

These are the adherents of Alḥmad B. Ḥáyṭ and also the Ḥadathyah, who follow the opinions of Fadl B. al-Ḥadathy. They have added

<sup>6</sup> The chief kind of this metempsychosis, or rather incarnation or Avatár, occurs in the sect whose profession of Faith is concentrated in the words *A'ly Allah* (*A'ly* is God); the Almighty being supposed to dwell in the person of *A'ly*, as will be shown further on.

<sup>6</sup> Sh., p. 12 seq.

three new heresies to the doctrines of An-Nazzám, which they profess; one of these is metempsychosis. Both these sects maintain that God had created men healthy, prosperous, and extremely intelligent in another world than that which they are in at present. He created them with a cognition and knowledge of himself, overwhelming them with His blessings. What He first created could be but wise, shrewd, and noble; wherefore He laid them in the very beginning under obligations of gratitude. Some obeyed and some disobeyed Him in all things, whilst some partly obeyed and partly disobeyed Him. Those who obeyed Him in all things, He left in the blessed abode where He had created them, but those who disobeyed Him in all things He expelled from that abode to the place of punishment, which is [hell] fire; whilst those who obeyed Him in some things and disobeyed in some He expelled into this world, invested them with these coarse bodies, tried them with privations, calamities, miseries, prosperity, sufferings, and enjoyments in the shapes of men and all kinds of animals, in conformity with their transgression, so that he whose sin was less and obedience more, obtains a more beautiful form and suffers less pain; whilst he who was a greater transgressor obtains an uglier form and suffers more pain; nor does the animal cease to remain in the world, assuming one form after another as long as its sins and obedience endure. This is the very essence of the doctrine of metempsychosis.

A contemporary of the above named two men, and likewise one of the disciples of Nazzám, namely, a Sheykh of the Mo'tazelah, whose name was Aḥmad B. Ayúb B. Mánús, taught doctrines of transmigration and the creation of all mankind at once, similar to those of Ebn Háyṭ, except that during the period of animality the duties to be fulfilled [by ordinary human beings] remain in abeyance [because animals are inferior to men] as well as during the period of angelity and prophetship [because these are superior to men]; both these periods, namely, constitute the world of requitals [for acts committed in the ordinary human form]

## II.—GHALYAH.<sup>1</sup>

The literal meaning of this sect is the *exaggerators*, because they went so far in extolling their Emáms, that they removed them from the boundaries of created beings and invested them with divine attributes, comparing sometimes one of their Emáms to the deity, and sometimes the latter to a creature, so that they exaggerate both by

<sup>1</sup> Sh., p. 132

excess and by diminution. Their comparisons originated from the tenets of the *Hulúlyah* [adherents of in-dwelling or incarnation] and from the tenets of the *Tanáukhyah* [adherents of transmigration], and from the tenets of the Jews and Christians, as the Jews compared the Creator to the creature, whilst the Christians compare the latter to the former. The exaggerating Shya'hs went so far in their comparisons, that they invested some of their Emáms with divine attributes, so that at last this comparison became the fundamental doctrine [literally, the root and foundation] which was afterwards adopted only by a few Sunny sects, who took up also Mo'tazelah doctrines when they discovered that they were more rational and more removed from assimilation [to] and in-dwelling [of God]. The heresies of the Ghályah are four in number, namely :—Comparison [to], change of mind [of God], return [of the Emám], and *metempsychosis*.

### III.—KAMELYAH.<sup>8</sup>

These are the adherents of Abu Kámel, who accused all the companions [of Muḥammad] of unbelief, because they had failed to pay allegiance to A'ly; he also blamed the latter for abandoning his right; nor did he excuse him for having kept aloof from the contest [of election after the demise of the prophet]. Abu Kámel asserted that it would have been the duty of A'ly to come forth and to assert his rights in spite of his habit of exaggerating them; he also used to say that the Emámship is a light transmigrating from man to man, so that in one of them it becomes prophetship and in another Emámship, or *vice versa*; he asserted that the transmigration of spirits takes place with death. The Ghályah in all their sub-divisions agree with respect to *Tanáukh* [transmigration] and to *Hulúl* [in-dwelling or incarnation of God].

### IV.—VAHEDY.

Váhed Maḥmúd, who flourished about A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203-4), and was a native of the province of Gaillán, near the Caspian Sea, considered himself to be the individual in whom the prophetic mission and nature of Muḥammad were perfected; he applied to himself the verse of the Qorán, in which God is supposed to address Muḥammad and to inform him that he would be resuscitated by metempsychosis in the person of Maḥmúd. The verse is this :—

ان يبعثك ربك مقاما محمودا

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 133

“Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to a praiseworthy station.” (XVII., 81.) The word here translated “praiseworthy” is *Maḥmūd*, which this heresiarch asserted meant nothing else but his own name and person. He is the highest and the most perfect specimen of creation, as would appear from the following tenet on the perfectibility of matter, by gradually changing from mineral to vegetable, then to animal life, and lastly culminating in *Maḥmūd*; for we read in the *Dabestan*, Calo typogr., ed. 1809, p. ۳۷۴ the passage:—“When some elements acquire by coagulation such force that they assume a mineral form, the latter may have the capacity to be transformed into a vegetable substance, which in its turn, acquiring increased force and worthiness, is invested with animal life. Such a mixture of the elements then may, thus ennobled, become fit and matured to produce a complete man. In this way the constituent parts of the human body advanced since the appearance of the illustrious Adam, until they reached the degree of *Muḥammad*, which was the [high point of] ascension. In these times, however, when they have become more perfect and illustrious, *Maḥmūd* has made his appearance: wherefore it is said:—

از محمد گریز در محمد گاندر آن کاست و اندرین افزود

“From *Muḥammad* you must to *Maḥmūd* flee;

“The former is less and the latter more perfect.”

From what has been said above, it would appear that the *Vāhedys* interpret the *Ḳorán* in their own way. They have their peculiar tenets, but we shall consider only that on their transformations or doctrines of *metempsychosis*, of which one of them gives the following account (*ibid*, p. ۳۷۶ seq):—“When a person descends from the human state to that of a beast, then to that of a vegetable, and lastly to that of a mineral, or contrarywise, he carries a certain mark by which he may be recognized.” This mark is called *maḥç* and also *iḥça*. Thus people are enabled to recognise the former state of certain animals, by observing the *maḥç* they bear, and to find out what profession they followed in a former birth when they were men. Thus, for instance, roguish *Hájis*, who wear a striped garment, which they call the *A’bá* of *Kerbella*, but practise hypocrisy, become in their animal state by *metempsychosis* squirrels which the *Hindus* call *Galhari*, or in their vegetable state striped pumpkins; whilst lawyers and ecclesiastics who are very fond of white dresses as well as ablutions, become geese in their animate *metempsychosis* and constantly play in water; in their inanimate metamorphosis they are transformed into prayer-carpets, toothpicks, &c. All minerals,



vegetables, or animals of black colour have formerly been black men, whilst whatever is white has been a human being with a fair skin. The celebrated "Methnavy" of Jellál-ud-dyn Rúmy contains many beautiful pieces in which the doctrine of metempsychosis plays an important part and animals are the actors. In one of these poems a mischievous and impertinent dog with an upturned tail is represented to have been a Kuzlbásh in the human state, with a sword which he perpetually wagged about, but now only in the shape of a tail.

#### V.—A'LY ALLAH.<sup>9</sup>

In this sect A'ly is deified; its followers assert that at every period of time God was incarnated in the bodies of prophets and saints, from the time of Adam down to Muḥammad and A'ly; in this manner they explain the transmigration of the light of God to the persons of the Emáms. Some state that the manifestation [or incarnation] of God took place in A'ly Allah, and after him in his illustrious descendants; they acknowledge Muḥammad and A'ly to have been the prophets and apostles of A'ly Allah. H. T. Colebrooke maintains that this sect has become numerous in India,<sup>10</sup> but does not mention in what part of it, except vaguely, as being found in the dominions of the Nawab Nizam-ul-Mulk, by which no doubt Haiderabad in the Dekkan is meant. He condenses the account of the sect given in the Dabestán as follows:— "The *A'li-ilahiyas* hold that celestial spirits, which cannot otherwise be known to mankind, have frequently appeared in palpable shapes. God himself had been manifested in the human form, but especially in the person of A'li Murteza, whose image being that of A'li Allah or A'li God, these sectaries deem lawful to worship. They believe in the metempsychosis; and, like others who maintain that doctrine, abstain from flesh-meat. They imagine that A'li Murteza when he quitted this earth, returned to the sun, which is the same with himself, and hence they call the sun A'li Allah," &c. Also the A'uvys, who are a sub-division of the sect just described, adhere to the doctrine of metempsychosis.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Dabestán, p. ۲۶۸ seq.

<sup>10</sup> Asiatic Researches, vol. VII., p. 337.

<sup>11</sup> *Dab.* p. ۲۷.—Some of the I'lbanyah sect believe in the deity of the five persons; Muḥammad, A'ly, Fatimah, Hasan, and Husayn, and that these five constitute one, the spirit being equally present in them all, so that one is not superior to another. They are the *Aḥab-al-Kesa*, i.e., companions of the cloak. *Shar.*, p. ۱۲۳ also *Maracci Prodromus*, P. III., p. 83, and *Mishkát*, vol. II., p. 779.

## VI.—NOÇAYRYAH.

This sect, which is at present much reduced and confined only to Syria, where it bears the name of *Ançary*, was described by Shahrastani, but has in course of time adopted doctrines not known to him. The Noçayryah are ultra-Shya'hs, or exaggerating Shya'hs. They believe that God has appeared in the form of various persons, and that after His prophet there was no person more excellent than A'ly, and his children having after him been the best creatures, God appeared in their shape, spoke their language, and therefore they attribute divinity to them. They quote certain miraculous acts of A'ly, from which they conclude that a divine essence and omnipotent virtue resided in him; they assert that God spoke in his shape, created by his hands, and commanded by his tongue. They add that therefore A'ly existed before the creation of heaven and earth.

According to the best authorities, this sect originated about A.H. 270 (A.D. 891), and therefore more than a century and a quarter before that of the Druzes, which arose in the beginning of the fifth century of the Hégret, during the reign of the Egyptian Khalif Hâkem. They nevertheless pretend that the Noçayryah are seceders from them, and in their formulary (*De Sacy Rel. des Druzes*, t. II., p. 560 seq.) the following question and reply occur concerning them:—

“44th Question.—How have the Noçayryah separated from the unitarians and abandoned the unitarian religion?”

“Reply.—They have separated themselves according to the doctrine of Noçayry, who said that he was the servant of our Lord the Commander of the Faithful, who denied the divinity of our Lord Hâkem, and made a profession of believing in the deity of A'ly, the son of Abu Tâleb. He said that the deity had manifested itself successively in the twelve Emâms of the family of the prophet; that it had disappeared after having manifested itself in Muḥammad, the Mohdi, the Ḳaym; that it had concealed itself in the sky, and having wrapped itself in a blue mantle, fixed its abode in the sun. He also said that every Noçayry, when he has purified himself by passing through various revolutions by returning to the world and again taking up the garment

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The symbol called *Punja*, i.e., hand with the five fingers spread out, is well known and carried about in the solemn procession of the Muharram in Bombay; but when Niebuhr was at Meshed-A'ly, he saw it on the top of the great mosque instead of the crescent customary on such buildings. The I'lbanyah with other sects who believe in metempsychosis flourished early, because Masu'dy mentions them A.H. 332 (A.D. 943). See *Prairies d'Or.*, Text et trad.; C. Barbier de Meynard, et Pavet de Courteille, t. III., p. 266.

of humanity, becomes after this purification a star in the firmament, which is his first centre. If, however, on the contrary, he has made himself guilty of a sin, by transgressing the commandments of A'ly, the son of Abu Táleb, the supreme lord, he returns to this world as a Jew, Sunny-Musalmán, or Christian, which is reiterated in such a manner, until he becomes pure like the silver which has been purified by lead; and then he becomes a star in heaven. As to the infidels who have not adored A'ly, they will become camels, mules, asses, dogs, sheep destined to be immolated, and other similar things. But if we wished to explain all this, and particularly the transmigration of souls, brute and irrational animals, it would lead us too far. They have various other dogmas and many impious books, treating on similar subjects."

Abu Sa'yd Maymún, the author of their code of festivals, makes in his preface a solemn profession of Faith, in which he gives thanks to the God A'ly, distinguishing three principles in him:—1. Properly so-called divinity or essence of being. 2. The light or veil, *al-ḥejáb* الحجاب which manifests itself to men in their own form, in the persons of apostles and prophets. 3. The gate *Al-Báb*, which is the Faithful Spirit, *Al-rúḥ Allamyn* الروح الامين, or water, *Almai* الماء. An account of their belief in metempsychosis and incarnation, as displayed in the description of the Núrúz or vernal equinox festival, given in the just mentioned code, is here subjoined<sup>13</sup>:—

"The Núrúz festival is every year and for evermore celebrated on the 4th of April. This is the first day of the Persian year, of the month called *Efzuz dyr mah* افروز دیر ماه. This day is very sacred, very solemn, and of great merit in the sight of God and of our lords; may your trust be in them!

"I shall accordingly, with the help of God, narrate to you, O Lord, the great miracles which have been performed on this day, accounts of which I have obtained partly from the traditions of our lords and partly from our books.

"Know, then, (may God direct you on the path of obedience) that the *Kesrewis* hallowed this day and acknowledged its excellence. On this day they wore crowns of myrtle and chrysanthime, and performed the ceremony of aspersion with water; for this reason the day has been called *Núrúz* نوروز. The *Kesrewi* sovereigns celebrated this festival by congratulating each other, and by sending to each other branches

<sup>13</sup> Journal Asiatique, 1848, t. XI., p. 149 seq.

of myrtle, chrysanthime, and olive; they considered this day to be pregnant with great blessings.

"The Lord (may His glory be honoured) has manifested Himself in the persons of the Persian kings, and in them He separated the manifestations of His *names*, of His *gates*, and of His sacred hierarchies, which compose the great luminous world.

"Our Lord Al-Khusseybi (may God sanctify his soul) has explained to us this point in one of his epistles, and has made it clear to us in his *treatise of Sybqat* رسالة سباقته in which he says:—

"After having disappeared, Adam manifested himself in the person of Enoch; the *ma'na*, who was at that time *Seth*, caused him to disappear, and manifested himself under his similitude.

"Adam having manifested himself in the person of Alexander the two-horned, the *ma'na*, who was at that time Daniel, caused him to disappear, and manifested himself under his similitude.

"Adam then manifested himself in the Persian cupola in the person of Ardeshir, the son of Bábek, the Persian, who was the first of the Kesrewi kings; and the *ma'na*, who was at that time in the form of the two horns (of Alexander), caused him to disappear, and manifested himself under his similitude.

"Adam having manifested himself in the person of Shápúr, the son of Ardeshir, the *ma'na*, who was at that time Ardeshir, caused him to disappear, and manifested himself under his similitude.

"Adam afterwards manifested himself in the Arab cupolas, and firstly in the person of *Lavva* لَوَّى, the son of Kaleb, the latter being called Lavva (he who turns away), because he turned away the lights from the Persians, to make them reign in Arabia, on account of the manifestation in that country of the *ma'na* مَعْنَى, the *ism* اِسْم, and of the *báb* بَاب.'

"On leaving the Persians to manifest itself among the Arabs, the deity bequeathed to the former the *maqáms* مَقَام of its wisdom, to be successively transmitted to their kings, and designated as personifications of the *ma'na*, of the *ism*, and of the *báb* those named Sherweh, Kharweh, and Kosrewa; then other trinities, as far as Kesroes, Abrnzeh, and Anishirwan; but changes having taken place in the latter, who had given himself up to pride and disobeyed the lord Muḥammad, the Persians lost their royalty by their disobedience, &c."

These quotations show only the various incarnations of Adam, and though no traces occur in the treatise of the general applications of the doctrine, it is presumably current as among kindred sects, where

metempsychosis applies to all animate beings. But M. Clément Huart (*Journ. As.* Août, Sept. 1879, p. 195) gives the following definition of the chief tenets of the Noçayryah:—"The Noçayryah believe in a trinity composed of three persons, namely, a metaphysical first principle called *ma'na*, 'sense,' and two distinct personalities formed from the former by way of emanation, called *ism*, 'name,' and *báb*, 'gate.' The *ma'na* is the archetype-divinity, the essence itself of God; the *ism* is destined to represent the divinity to the eyes of men in a concrete form; it is its external manifestation, its word; the *báb* is charged to explain the doctrine of which the *ism* is the living emblem. This trinity has incarnated itself in human bodies at seven different epochs, designated by the name of *cupolis* قباب in the mystic language of these sectaries. The last of these incarnations took place at the time of the mission of Muḥammad. Then the *ma'na* manifested itself in the person of A'ly, the son of Abu Ṭáleb; Muḥammad was the *ism*, and Selmán Fársy the *báb*. As a symbol of this manifestation, the Noçayryahs invented the cabalistic word سمو, which is composed of the three initial letters of the names A'ly, Muḥammad, and Selmán."

#### VII.—ISMA'YLYAH.

The *Isma'ylys* are exaggerating Shya'hs, have Emáms for their chiefs, and constitute many sects under various names, which may be considered as two general divisions, namely, the western, embracing the *Isma'ylys* of Egypt and Syria, whilst the eastern are those of Persia and India, known by a variety of names as well as differences in their tenets and even in their Emáms and great saints; all agree, however, that these, whatever their human state may have been, were always incarnations. The tenets of the *Isma'ylys* were, however, always influenced by those of other religions with whom they came into contact. Thus we find that they believed in Syria, not only in the incarnation of Christ, like other Moslems, as laid down in the *Korán*,<sup>13</sup> but also that the Virgin Mary was no other than Aminah, the mother of Muḥammad,<sup>14</sup> whose form she assumed; whilst among the Khojahs of India, who are likewise an *Isma'yly* sect, A'ly is the tenth incarnation, *i.e.*, Avatár of Vishnu as explained in the *Desatir*, composed by Pir Çadr-uddyn, an *Isma'yly* missionary from Khorásán, for his converts from Hinduism

<sup>13</sup> *Surah* III., v. 40.—"When the angels said, O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings, that thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from himself; his name shall be CHRIST JESUS, the son of Mary, honourable in this world and in the world to come," &c. Some other verses to this purport also occur.

<sup>14</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1848, t. IX., p. 156.

in Sind, about four centuries ago. In the great Khojah Case of 1866, tried by Sir Joseph Arnold in Bombay, many interesting facts concerning this sect were brought to light, and the documents have been published.<sup>15</sup> The Bohoras are also Isma'ylys, but in Gujerát Sunni and even Wahháby Bohoras are found.

Hasan Çabbáh, educated at Nisápur and school-fellow of Nizám-ulmulk Tusy as well as of O'mar Khayyám, was connected with both the eastern and the western sects; for he went first to Egypt, where Mastançer Billah, an Isma'yly Khálif, reigned (from A.H. 427 till 487, A.D. 1035 till 1094), then to Syria, and finally returning to his country, he propagated his sect diligently. He entered Gaillán, near Kazvin, in A.H. 484 (A.D. 1091), and the Fort Alamant, which soon afterwards fell into his possession, became the centre, whence he commanded the surrounding country, and remained under the government of his successors after his death until it was taken by Hulagu Khán in A.H. 654 (A.D. 1256). The number of grand-masters who had succeeded each other at Alamant from A.D. 1090 or 1091 till its fall amounted to eight; their history has been treated by several European authors.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Some remarks on the Isma'ylys by De Sacy, in his *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, Introd., p. lxiv. seq., may be appropriately inserted in this place:—“The Isma'ylys belong to the general class of Ráfedias, that is to say, they make profession of an exclusive attachment for A'ly and his descendants, and of implacable hatred towards Abu Bekor, O'mar, and O'thmán, as well as Moawyah, all of whom they regard as usurpers. They acknowledge no legitimate Emáms except in the descendants of A'ly, and follow all the external practices of the religion characterizing the Shya'hs. The name *Isma'yly* proves that they originally formed a party in favour of an Emám named Isma'yli, and this Emám must be Isma'yli, the son of Ja'fer Çadyq. Ja'fer is the sixth of the twelve Emáms admitted by the dominant *Ethna-a'sheryah*, i.e., *duodecimal* sect of Persia, who caused the Emámship of Ja'fer to be inherited by his son Músa. The Isma'ylys, on the contrary, admit only seven Emáms, namely, A'ly, his two sons, Hasan and Husayn, A'ly-Zayn-ala'bedyn, the son of Husayn, Muhammad, the son of A'ly, Ja'fer Çadyq, son of Muhammad, and Isma'yli, son of Ja'fer. Accordingly this sect must have originated in A.H. 148 (A.D. 765), when Ja'fer died.”

<sup>16</sup> The Isma'ylys of Alamant have by the Crusaders and others been called *Assassins*, as they committed numerous murders. That name, however, is a mere corruption of the word *Hashyshyn*, their sobriquet in the east, because they were much addicted to the eating of *Hashysh*. Burckhardt in his “Travels in Arabia,” vol. I., p. 48, note, mentions the shops of Jeddah in which this drug is sold, and says:—“Of hemp flowers they use for the purpose the small leaves standing round the seed. The common people put a small quantity of them upon the top of the tobacco, with which their pipes are filled. The higher classes eat it in a jelly or paste made in the following manner:—A quantity of the leaves is boiled in butter for several hours, and then put under a press; the juice so expressed is mixed with honey and other sweet drugs, and publicly sold in Egypt, where shops are kept for that purpose. The Hashysh paste is politely termed *basty* (cheerfulness) and those who sell it *basty*.”

The Isma'ylys believe in metempsychosis. According to them the souls must return to the earth and undergo various transmigrations until they at last attain perfection by acknowledging the Emám of the period. This doctrine, as far as we are aware, was greatly encouraged by Ráshed-uddyn, the fourth Grand-Master of the sect in Persia, who succeeded Abu Muḥammad in A.D. 1169, and was chiefly intended for the initiated of the lower degrees composing the corps of Fedavis or Assassins. A tract on the virtues of this Grand-Master had been sent by Mr. Catafago to the Asiatic Society of Paris. These virtues are displayed in thirty-one anecdotes, which M. St. Guyard published with a translation, and a very interesting preliminary dissertation of his own in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1877, t. IX., pp. 324—489, from which those bearing on the subject of metempsychosis, six in number, are here subjoined:—

1. Some faithful companions have informed us that the Lord Ráshed-uddyn (peace be *from him*) was for some time sojourning in Qadmús, and often going up to the mountain tops during the night. His attendant remained on these occasions at a distance from the spot, and took care of his horse. One night, however, he ventured to approach it, so that he could see his master. He had stood there for an hour, when lo! a light stretched itself from the sky until it reached the Lord Ráshed-uddyn, and a great green bird with two wings rushing to him amidst that light. They conversed with each other till the end of the night, when the bird rose, flew away, and the light disappeared. Then the Lord Ráshed-uddyn got up and proceeded to mount his horse. The attendant informed him of what he had seen, and asked him about that bird. He replied "The Lord Hasan [a so-called Emám of the Assassins of Persia] has paid me a visit."

2. Some companions informed us that when the Lord Ráshed-uddyn was coming down from Qadmús to Maçyáf with a retinue, a large serpent appeared on the road. The men approached and intended to kill it, but the Lord Ráshed-uddyn prohibited them from doing so, saying "This is Fahd B. Al-Ḥayṭyah; he is now for his sins under punishment; do not deliver him from it."

3. A companion narrated to me that the Lord Ráshed-uddyn saw at Kahf a monkey with a vagabond who made him dance. He said to a bystander, "Take this dynár and give it to the monkey." When the monkey had taken the coin, he turned it in every direction, looked at it for a while, and expired. Now his owner began to cry and

to lament, saying, "With what am I to procure a livelihood for my family after this?" The Lord Ráshed-uddyn said: "Ask him what he paid for the monkey?" The man replied, "I bought him for one hundred dirhems;" and Ráshed-uddyn ordered this sum to be given to him. When the man had received the money, he said: "I adjure thee by Him who has given thee this dignity and has distinguished thee by this rank, to inform me of the cause of the monkey's death?" The Lord replied: "This monkey was formerly a king, and this dynár had been struck in his name. When he had seen the coin God made him remember the pomp of his royalty and the degradation he now endured, so that he died from excess of grief."

4. An aged companion related to me that a dove flew about the apartment in which the Lord Ráshed-uddyn was sitting, then entered by the window, gyrating around the carpet, and cooing to him. Then the Lord Ráshed-uddyn said: "May Allah overwhelm us with his blessing! Call A.B., the son of C.D." When he came in, the Lord asked, "Is this thy dove?" and receiving an affirmative reply, he continued: "Verily she has complained of thee, and by Allah if thou again slayest any of her little ones, I shall burn thee with temporal before the eternal fire afflicts thee." The man asked forgiveness, and swore that he would henceforth no more neither kill nor eat pigeons, nor their little ones after them.

5. A trusted companion told me, that when the Lord Ráshed-uddyn was in some village, a fellow mounted on a most beautiful mare came to consult him on some important business. When the man alighted, the mare fled from him, approached Ráshed-uddyn with tears in her eyes, and rubbed her face against the ground. He said: "Yes! yes! I shall do it!" The owner of the mare, astonished at this, looked at her and at the Lord Ráshed-uddyn, who said: "Yes, we shall do thy business; return to thy master." She did so, but expired after a short while. The man said: "My lord, I have now seen something greater than what I intended to ask thee about. I adjure thee by Him who has bestowed on thee this dignity to inform me why this horse died." He said: "It is a matter above thy comprehension." The man besought him more pressingly for an explanation, and he said: "This horse is the daughter of a certain king; she complained to me about thy cruelty to her, and asked me to implore Allah to deliver her from thee."

6. A companion narrated to me that a native of Roçáfah loved the Lord Ráshed-uddyn (peace be *from him*) very much, but his son felt



neither love nor inclination in his heart towards him. This displeased both Ráshed-uddyn and the father of the young man, whose efforts to change his sentiments always met with a repulse and increased his aversion. Seeing his endeavours thus frustrated, the father complained to the Lord Ráshed-uddyn, who said to him : " Bring him here to-morrow." When both made their appearance, had saluted, and stood before him, he looked at the youth and said : " Go to such and such a locality, where thou wilt perceive a heap of stones ; approach it and say, ' A. B., son of C. D., I bring thee a message from E. F. to come forth from thy place and to enter this sack, that I may carry thee to him, and he will deliver thee from thy present state.' Then a large serpent will come out and will enter the sack ; be not afraid, but tie the mouth of the sack over it and bring it here." The youth said that he knew not the locality of the stone-hillock, accordingly a man was sent with him to point it out. When he arrived at the spot he uttered the words " A. B., son of C. D., the Lord Ráshed-uddyn has sent me to thee," and the rest of the message. A dreadful serpent issued from the hillock and entered the sack, which he tied up and tried to lift, but could not. His companion aided him and he progressed a little, when his soul suggested to him that to carry the snake to him who had sent for it would be profitless and an act of folly or insanity ; then the serpent became so heavy that he was compelled to bend his knees and was unable to get up. Now he implored the help of his companion, who, however, advised him to throw his burden away, but he replied : " I am unable to do that ;" accordingly his companion assisted him, and he threw it away, but acknowledged that what had befallen him happened on account of his evil thoughts, and reflected thus within himself : " He whom the serpent has obeyed, and who knew it to be in this place ; he by whose orders the serpent came forth on hearing itself called by the name by which he had designated it, and receiving his command, surrendered itself voluntarily to me when I came from him whose messenger I was, he must surely be the creature nearest to God the Most High, and the most honoured by Him, the most considerable in power, the most noble in dignity, and the most exalted in rank !" Now his companion again aided him to carry the serpent, and lo ! it was much lighter. Thus when evil thoughts pervaded his mind, the burden became heavier, and when the bad imaginations of his heart disappeared, it became lighter, until at last all his doubts and suspicions vanished and entire conviction took possession of his heart. Thus he arrived

before the Lord Ráshed-uddyn, who at once ordered the sack to be untied. Then the serpent came out, and placing its head on the slipper of the Lord Ráshed-uddyn, expired. Then the lord said: "O my companions! This is A.B., the son of C.D., whom Allah transformed into a serpent and imprisoned him in this stone-hillock five hundred years. This day Allah has delivered him." As to the youth, he became the best directed of men in his love for the Lord Ráshed-uddyn (peace be from him).

#### VIII.—DRUZES.

The Druzes, who dwell in the Lebanon, have often been considered as schismatic Moslems, but although in their schools the Qorán is taught by their priests,<sup>17</sup> and they outwardly assimilate themselves to Muḥammadans and call themselves unitarians or monotheists, they can in reality not lay claim to that name, because they worship Hákem<sup>18</sup> as

<sup>17</sup> To this fact also Lamartine bears witness in his *Voyage en Orient*, t. II., p. 394, London edition.

<sup>18</sup> Hákem-biamr-ullah, that is, "he who is judge by the command of God," was the title of Mançúr, the sixth khalifeh of the Fatimite dynasty, and the third prince of it, who reigned in Egypt. He was born in Cairo A.H. 375 (A.D. 985-86), and became in course of time not only a singular example of eccentricity, but also a monster of cruelty. He was an ultra-Shya'h, and caused in A.H. 395 (A.D. 1004-5) anathemas in golden letters and in various colours against the three first Khalifehs, Abu Bekér, O'mar, O'thmán, and other persons supposed to have deserved the hatred of A'ly, to be written on the mosques, public schools, and even on shops, private houses, as well as in cemeteries; and the inhabitants, although extremely shocked, were at the same time so frightened that they flocked in crowds to get themselves initiated in the tenets of this khalifeh, who, however, did not openly proclaim himself before A.H. 407 (A.D. 1016-17) as the incarnation of the deity. During that year also Darazi, a missionary of the Báteny sect, which believes in metempsychosis, arrived in Cairo, but his actual name was Muḥammad B. Isma'yl. No reason, however, for the first mentioned sobriquet—after which the sect he established is called—appears to have been given by any writer. He came to Egypt and attached himself to the service of Hákem, who overwhelmed him with favours. Darazi aided him in putting forward his pretensions to divinity, and began publicly to teach that Hákem is God, the creator of the universe, and to initiate the people in this doctrine. He composed a book, in which he asserted that the soul of Adam had passed into A'ly, and that the soul of the latter, having passed into the ancestors of Hákem, had at last fixed itself in him. It is related that a Turk rushed upon Darazi when he was in a chariot with Hákem himself, and slew him; but it is certain from the books of the Druzes that Darazi had not perished on that occasion. The most probable account is by Ab-ul-mahsen and of some other historians, the substance of which is as follows:—"Hákem dared not openly to take the part of Darazi, but secretly provided him with money, and with the injunction to propagate his doctrine in the mountains of Syria, which he did. Also Akhram promulgated the divinity of Hákem, but only in Cairo." A third individual, however, attained more celebrity, namely, Hamza, whom the Druzes of to-day still consider as the founder of their religious system, and who preached it even before A.H. 408, when Darazi was converted to it. Hamza constructed the edifice of his system upon the ideas and allegories which had for a long time been current among the Muḥammadan sects, but above all upon those which professed a special devotion for the descendants of A'ly.

an incarnation of the deity, which dogma having been propagated in Syria by one Darazi or Duruzi, they are called Druzes.

Although Hamza, one of the chief propagators of the Druze, or unitarian religion—as the professors of it like to call it—formally denied the transmigration of souls into the bodies of animals, and wrote a treatise to refute the Noçayryahs, who believe in this tenet; it is nevertheless a doctrine of the Druzes that the human soul passes gradually into various bodies, and thus forms various persons. The union of all persons forms a world or a class of beings distinct from the upper and from the nether world. The number of persons is always and at all times the same; it neither increases nor diminishes. The first *Nâteq* *ناتق*<sup>19</sup>, says Hamza, is the same as the last. He has only assumed different forms by the *envelopes* *في الاقمه* under which he has appeared at different times. A chastisement that may be inflicted on a man is to cause him to pass from a higher to a lower rank in the order of the religion; to cause him to pass according to this retrograde order from one *envelope* into another *ونقلته من قويم الى قويم*

When the souls have by their union with the dogmas of the unitarian religion attained the last degree of perfection, they cease to be subject to transmigrations; they are definitively united to the Emám. This doctrine De Sacy<sup>20</sup> explains as follows:—"The souls remain subject to transmigrations (if I have well understood the doctrine of Hamza) during all ages and during all revolutions, and do not acquire their last degree of perfection until the last of all the revolutions, until the age of Hákem and of Hamza. But since the manifestation of Intelligence in the person of Hamza, all the revolutions have been completed; there is nothing more to be waited for, except the resurrection; the last judgment, which is to separate for ever the unbelievers from the

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Whilst, however, Hamza proposed Hákem to the adoration of mankind, he did not forget to promulge himself as the minister of the God he served, as the channel through which His orders were communicated, His favours to be bestowed, and His punishments to be inflicted. Hamza says of himself: "I am the lord of the day of resurrection, by me are given the blessings, which succeed each other without interruption. I am he who abrogates previous laws, and exterminates the adherents of polytheism and of falsehood. I destroy the two Qibláhs, annihilate the two laws, and abolish the two professions of Faith, that is to say, the *tanzil*, or literal Muhammadanism, founded by Muhammad, and the *tawil*, or allegorical Muhammadanism, the origin of which is attributed to A'ly and to the Emáms of his family. I am the Messiah of the nations," &c., &c. See *Vie du Khalife Hákem Biamr Allah*, p. cclxxvii, in De Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*.

<sup>19</sup> The five *Nâteqs* are: Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad.

<sup>20</sup> *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, t. II., p. 445.

unitarians, and to fix irrevocably the destiny of both. During the lapse of this last epoch, and whilst waiting for this last judgment, the souls which, having reached the highest spiritual attainments, and having acquired a perfect figure by their union with the truths that have emanated from the intelligence, are separated from their bodies by death and do not again pass into other bodies; they are re-united to the Emám, who is the abode of light; they are confounded with, and remain as it were hidden in him, waiting for the moment when he is to re-appear full of glory, to exercise his judgment, and then they will re-appear with him and form his retinue. The souls thus disengaged from the trammels of the body and united in the Emám, are called *the elevated people, the most high people, the inhabitants of Arááf,*<sup>21</sup> *the horses of Arááf, the lights, the holy lights, the wicks of the great lamp," &c.*

#### IX.—BÁBY.

The Báby sect has been stamped out by the Persian Government in the last years of the first half of the present century, and now exists only as a secret fraternity. A community of it was, however, discovered lately in Ispahan; a number of Bábys were arrested, and some of them were put to death in a very cruel manner according to the *Times of India* of the 25th October 1879. The Báby sect had been preceded by the Sheykhites, whose doctrines had been rapidly propagated. There are many such religious associations containing scholars, men of letters, and poets, all of whom are more or less philosophers; as long as their speculations do not interfere with the established religion and government, they have nothing to fear from the authorities. Sheykh Ahmád, the founder of the doctrine of Sheykhites, lived in the beginning of this century, and spent the last years of his life at Kerbela. From his youth he had devoted himself to the *Tariqat*, or way of truth, and founded a particular school of mysticism. Disciples flocked to him from all sides, and he soon acquired great popularity. As his doctrine had no political object, and he sought glory only in a good name, he was left unmolested by the government. His doctrine was that the Supreme Being permeates the whole universe, which emanates from him, and that all the elect of God, all the Emáms, all the just are the personification of divine attributes. Starting with this principle, he believed that the twelve Emáms of the Shya'h religion, from A'ly to Almohdy, are the personification of the supreme and most perfect attributes of God,

<sup>21</sup> See Qorán *أعراف* Surah VII., 46.

and that, therefore, they are eternal and omnipresent. Among the twelve Emáms, A'ly occupies the first rank; he is superior to the angels and prophets. Although this view is in perfect opposition to the dogmatic teaching of the Emámy-Shya'hs, and the doctors of religion arose against the Sheykh, the ancient inclination of the Persians—originally derived from India—for the doctrine of incarnation and re-incarnation, *i.e.*, metempsychosis, had nevertheless asserted itself even in our days, in their constant pleasure for similar discussions, and it has always served as the chief motive power to the progress of the ancient schisms in the *Taríqat*. The learned Sheykh, distinguished also by a most exemplary and austere life, was surrounded by a multitude of disciples, many of whom came from the interior of Persia and EIRÁQ, where Ná'yíbs, or representative vicars, were appointed by him for the propagation and defence of his doctrine. When Sheykh AHMAD died, Sheykh SAYYID KÁZEM, one of his nearest disciples, was elected as his successor, who confirmed the old Ná'yíbs in the various districts of Persia in their functions. As soon as Sheykh Sayyid Kázem had been confirmed in his dignity of Murshyd, or spiritual teacher, new disciples flocked from every direction to Kerbela, and among them also Báb,<sup>22</sup> the chief of

<sup>22</sup> The proper name of Báb—born in Shyráz about 1813—was Myrzá A'ly MuHAMMAD; being also a descendant of the prophet, he was a Sayyid; having, moreover, performed the pilgrimage to Mekkah, he was likewise a Hájy. At the age of 23 years he went to the famous shrine of Kerbela, where he attended the theological lectures of the Sheykh Sayyid Kázem, and was not only an assiduous student, but obtained, on account of his austerity and singularity of life, the name of *Majzub*, extatic, or illumined. In his 28th year Myrzá A'ly MuHAMMAD returned to Shyráz with the title of Kerbeláyi and began to preach. He blamed the people for not observing the sacred law, and said: "The passions which govern us have prevailed over the word of Allah, and if we do not mend our ways as quickly as possible, we shall entirely depart from the straight road." Morality preached by a young man of this kind, whose words were in perfect harmony with his acts, had an extraordinary effect on his hearers. His words were repeated and amplified; he was spoken of as a true teacher, and quickly a society of disciples gathered around him blindly, but their unqualified admiration for his character must have gradually led him to conceive a very high opinion of himself. One day he became subject to an access of *Jazzb*, *i.e.*, divine attraction and illumination. In this trance he made the discovery that he was the Báb, literally the *door* of truth, and that he was commissioned by Allah, that seekers after the truth might find it through him. From that time he began to be known as Báb and his followers as *Bábys*. He no doubt knew the saying of MuHAMMAD:—"I am the city of knowledge and A'ly (his first convert and son-in-law) is the door of this city." The religious movement increased rapidly, and threatened to become also political. Rumours became current among the populace about the advent of the expected saviour and protector of Islám. "Happy times are coming," said the people, "this is the beginning of the visible kingdom of the *Sáheb-zu-Zemín* (the lord of the period who invisibly governs the destinies of Moslems according to the Shya'h persuasion), let us assemble under his standard; let us devote ourselves body and soul to his holy will," &c. Báb was in 1847 obliged to flee from Shyráz to EEFIÁHÁN, the governor of which city

the Bábí sect, who there imbibed, among other doctrines, also those of metempsychosis.

We have just observed how in the belief of the Sheykhites the attributes of God are personified in their saints, a belief which we again meet with among the Bábíys. They assigned to their spiritual guides names taken from the attributes of God; moreover, they gave to some members of the family of these masters the names of the male and female saints of Islám, by attributing to them the qualities and virtues which distinguished those saints during their lifetime. Thus, for instance, Hájj Muḥammad A'ly bore the name of The Most High, and Mir A'bd-ul-Karym that of The Eighth Emám. In the first the personification of an attribute of God (The Most High) was perceived, and in the second the personification of Reda, the Eighth Emám of the dominant Ethná'a'shery, *i. e.*, duodecimal sect of Persia. They were,

installed him as a honoured guest with the highest ecclesiastic of it. The latter being desirous to find fault with Báb, allowed everybody free access to him; but Sayyid A'ly Muḥammad, either from cunning or from sincerity, replied to all the questions addressed to him, in conformity with the tenets of Islám. The governor having asked what the Sayyid might be accused of, received the answer that he had prohibited the use of tobacco and of coffee, which accusation was, of course, puerile as it in no wise touched the dogmas of Islám. Báb, however, actually abstained from smoking tobacco and drinking coffee, declaring openly that as both are prejudicial to health, they must be sinful. The real crime of Báb was, that he had acquired too great an importance even with such persons as had never seen nor heard him preach one word against the clergy who became his sworn enemies, merely because he ardently craved for reforms. He was conveyed to Teherán and then to Tabriz, whence he was exiled to Maku, and where the people sought him as diligently as ever, so that not a day passed in which his house was not besieged by crowds. Báb with his disciples tried their utmost to gain the confidence of the people. When replying to questions suggested either by curiosity or by a desire to probe him on his real sentiments, Báb never openly disparaged the dominant religion, but nevertheless fearlessly expressed his views by appealing to the fundamental principle of the Shyahs, which is, that the *Burhán* or *Hujet* (literally, the most certain argument) may change the regulations of the law (Shera'yyet) and by freely hinting more than once, that he was himself one of these authorities. He is said to have even preached his own Qorán at Maku and to have asserted that "the clergy had partly falsified the traditions and partly misunderstood them." At last Báb, having been condemned as a dangerous innovator, was, with several of his disciples, shot at the end of July in 1849. Care had been taken to assemble the most inveterate foes of Báb on the place of execution; and whilst waiting for it, the governor of Maku with the delegates of the clergy perpetrated on the disturbances and bloodshed caused by the obstinate hostility of the Bábíys in various districts of Persia. Báb never uttered a word; his pale and handsome visage, framed in a black beard and small moustache, his distinguished gait and manners, his white and delicate hands, his simple but exquisitely clean garments; in fine, his whole person inspired sympathy and compassion. The execution took place in the yard of the infantry barracks; at a given signal a file of the Christian regiment marched out, fired, and Báb fell down a corpse. The crowd dispersed silently, but many persons carried away in their hearts germs of hostility to the Government.

moreover, convinced that forty days after their death, the souls of these saints returned on earth by assuming another body.

The Qorán of the Báby's bears also witness to their belief in metempsychosis, as will appear from the following passages which we take on the authority of Myrzá Kázem Beg, a native of Persia, well known by his concordance of the Qorán and other works, and who died some years ago in St. Petersburg as professor of Oriental languages :—" Say, the life of Allah resembles not the life of the creation of man ; the life of Allah has neither beginning nor end ; nothing is anterior to it ; but the life of the creation of man has in reality had, anterior to it, the *life of the letters (types) of the truth.*" And further on :—" Indeed, God had commenced his creation with the *letters of the truth.*" Again :—" Say, that from the creation God produces *the letters of life . . . .* and that through the mediation of *the letters of life*, he indicates to all the path that leads to Him ; it is thus that what has been said is to be understood, that *God produces the living from the dead, and the dead from the living.*"

In the above passages the letters of the truth mean *saints*. God began the creation by creating these letters ; their existence preceded that of other creatures (*i.e.* men), and by the letters of truth indicates to every one the way that leads to Him. Accordingly these letters of truth, created before everything else, transmigrate constantly to the earth by assuming the human form in order to guide men and to lead them to God, or to transform the dead into the living.

We may observe, in conclusion, that as the various Christian sects base their different tenets on the Bible, so those of the Muhammadans support theirs by the Qorán, each interpreting it to maintain its own views. The adherents of the doctrine of metempsychosis are no exception to this rule, and the verses which may in any way be considered even remotely to hint at it, are boldly quoted from the Qorán as supporting it. Thus we have seen above the reproduction of the verse *God produces the living from the dead, and the dead from the living*, which actually occurs in three different Surahs, namely, VI. v. 95, X. v. 32, and XXX. v. 18 ; but the reading of that verse with its context would scarcely suggest the doctrine of metempsychosis to any one except to an adherent of it.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1878.)

A Meeting of the Society was held on the 26th of January 1878. The Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

The Rev. N. Fialho and Messrs. J. L. Madden, J. Warden, and Dáráshá Ratanji Chichgar were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Edward Rehatsek read a paper entitled "A Punja of Brass in the Society's Museum."

On the motion of Mr. Káshináth Trimbak Telang, seconded by Dr. Atmárám Páṇḍurang, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the author.

Several Books and Pamphlets presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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A Meeting of the Society was held in the Library on the 9th of March 1878. The Honourable James Gibbs, F.R.G.S., *President*, in the chair.

J. K. Spence, Esq., C.S., J. Jauni, Esq., Brigadier-General C. T. Aitchison, C.B., Captain Cooke-Collis, and Captain F.G. Spring, R.A., were elected Members of the Society.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S., M.R.A.S., then read a paper on "Contributions to the Study of Avestaic and Vedic Analogies."

On the motion of W. M. Wood, Esq., seconded by the Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Da Cunha for the paper read.

Several Books, Pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

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A Meeting of the Society was held in the Library on the 6th of April 1878. The Honourable James Gibbs, F.R.G.S., *President*, in the chair.

C. E. Crawley, Esq., E. Mackenzie, Esq., and the Rev. F. L. Sharpin were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Edward Rehatsek then read a paper entitled "Early Moslem Accounts of the Hindu Religion."



Proposed by the Honourable Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṅ Maṅḍlik, C.S.I., seconded by Professor P. Peterson, and carried unanimously—"That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Edward Rehatsek for his interesting paper."

Professor Rámkrishṇa Gopál Bháṅḍárkar, M.A., read his paper, "A Revised Transliteration and Translation of a Copper-plate Grant of the Chalukya Dynasty first published in Vol. II. of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society's Journal."

On the motion of Professor Peterson, seconded by the Honourable the *President*, a vote of thanks was passed to Professor Bháṅḍárkar for his paper.

Books, Pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on the 1st June 1878. W. Wordsworth, Esq., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

William Maitland, Esq., the Honourable L. R. Ashburner, C.S.I., Sadáshiva Vishvanáth Dhurandhar, Esq., B.A., LL.B., and W. A. Baker, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Edward Rehatsek then read a paper on "A few Analogies in the Thousand and One Nights and in Latin Authors."

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by J. Gerson da Cunha, Esq., a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek for his paper.

Several Books, Pamphlets, and Maps presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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A Meeting of the Society was held on the 20th July 1878. J. A. Forbes, Esq., in the chair.

Rev. A. G. Lewis, James Jardine, Esq., Walter Lang, Esq., and S. Newcome Fox, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The *Honorary Secretary* mentioned that he had the pleasure of informing the Meeting that Surgeon-Major O. Codrington, former Secretary of the Society, was elected a Member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland at the Anniversary Meeting of that Society held in June. This was no doubt a recognition on the part of the learned Society of the researches Dr. Codrington has been making in the study of Indian Coins and other antiquities.

Several Books, Pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

A Meeting of the Society was held in the Library on the 14th September 1878. Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Messrs. Ardeshir Mervánji Sheṭ and D. B. Cromartie, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following correspondence on the subject of a piece of Meteoric Stone which fell in Khándesh was placed before the Meeting :—

No. 2227 of 1878.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

*Bombay Castle, 27th July 1878.*

From T. D. MACKENZIE, Esq.,  
Under Secretary to the Government of Bombay,

To the HONORARY SECRETARY,  
BOMBAY BRANCH ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, Bombay.

SIR,—I am directed by His Excellency the Honourable the Governor in Council to forward herewith, for record in the Society's rooms, a copy of the papers noted in the margin, together with a piece of a Meteor which fell near the village of Bhágur, in the Waizápur Táluká of the Nizám, described therein.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) D. MACKENZIE,

Under Secretary to Government.

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No. 1161 of 1877.

KHÁNDESH DISTRICT COURT,

*Dhulia, 30th November 1877.*

From E. CORDEAUX, Esq.,  
Acting District Judge of Khándesh,

To W. H. PROPert, Esq.,  
Collector of Khándesh.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward you a description I have written

of a beautiful meteor that burst over Dhulia on Tuesday evening last, as I thought at the time it would be worth while to note down the appearance of so unusual a phenomenon. As I see no reference to it in the Bombay papers, I am led to suppose that its appearance was only local, and it would be very interesting to know in what other localities of this District the phenomenon was visible. It might be interesting, too, to Government to have information on the subject from any officers who had an opportunity of observing the meteor.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) E. CORDEAUX,

Acting District Judge.

A splendid meteor burst over this place yesterday evening about six o'clock. It appeared first some fifty degrees above the horizon in the southern portion of the sky, and travelled slowly in a westerly direction, increasing in size from that of an ordinary egg to a large ball of fire, changing from a blue colour, which shone like a bright blue-light, to a brilliant red blaze, which made everything appear as light as day for a few seconds, penetrating the deep shadows below the trees. This wonderful object soon vanished, leaving us not only astonished at its departed glory, but at the extraordinary trail it left behind in the sky. This did not disappear for at least twenty minutes, and at first it was a straight and narrow streak like the line left by the embers of a rocket, and this gradually broadened until it resembled the blade of a sword, and then it grew wavy and at last broken up like mist, or vapour floating in the air, growing dimmer till it finally disappeared. But before its disappearance, and about six or seven minutes after the meteor burst, we heard the low rolling thunder of its explosion. We never expected this, so we listened to it with a strange awe. It came in swelling vibrations of sound which produced a throbbing sensation in the ear, and was like no earthly sound. It lasted for several seconds.

As the meteor progressed very slowly and only a short distance, it is probable that as its brightness increased it was penetrating our atmosphere still further and approaching our earth. From the time the sound took to reach us, the distance of the body from the earth when it burst must have been about eighty or a hundred miles. It is probable that the burning fragments, which formed the trail that looked like a floating mist, and assumed different forms, were affected by some upper current of air.

(Signed) E. CORDEAUX.

No. 5112 OF 1877.

*Camp Wagholi, 3rd December 1877.*

TO THE DISTRICT JUDGE OF KHANDESH.

SIR,—With reference to your No. 1161 of 30th November 1877, I have the honour to inform you that, as far as I have heard, the meteor was seen in every portion of the District. I myself saw it at Kamar, in the Nizám's Territory above the Gháts, but neither myself nor my friends heard the noise which is said to have followed, although a gentleman who was at the time in the Chálísghám travellers' bungalow states that he did hear a low rumbling.

I have, &amp;c.,

(Signed) W. H. PROPERT,  
Collector.

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FROM THE CHEMICAL ANALYSER TO GOVERNMENT,

TO THE UNDER SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

GENERAL DEPARTMENT, BOMBAY.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your memorandum No. 739 of the 6th ultimo, forwarding Government Resolution (General Department) No. 3514 of the 21st December 1877 and a portion of meteoric stone.

The substance forwarded consisted of a small friable mass weighing 71·36 grains, specific gravity 3·7, and a somewhat larger quantity of small fragments and fine dust. The small mass fragments and dust on examination I found to be made up of two distinct matters, viz., (1) a dull silver-grey ground mass, (2) a quantity of small particles having a metallic lustre and attracted by a magnet.

On analysis I found the shining particles to amount to 30·62 per cent., and to consist of magnetic pyrites and nickeliferous iron. The dull grey ground mass consisted of a mixture of silicates, and had the following composition :—

Silica .....	34·73
Magnesia .....	24·17
Ferric Oxide and Alumina .....	6·66
Lime .....	3·82
	<hr/>
	69·38

The substance therefore corresponded in composition to a meteoric stone belonging to that class of meteorites which consist partly of meteoric iron, &c., and partly of a mixture of silicates.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) I. B. LYON, F.C.S.,

Surgeon-Major,

Chemical Analyser to Government.

Read letter, dated 9th August 1878, from Dinsháh Mánekji Petit, Esq., granting a donation for the purchase of the new edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Proposed by Dr. J. Pinkerton, seconded by Dr. Átmárám Pándurang, that the best thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Dinsháh Mánekji Petit for his handsome donation.

Read the following :—

Letter No. 1903, dated 7th August 1878, from the Secretary to the Government of the N.W. Provinces, inquiring if the Society would purchase certain Græco-Bactrian coins found in the Hamirpur District.

Letter No. 592, dated 17th August 1878, from Deputy Commissioner Montgomery, Panjáb, making a similar inquiry with reference to certain coins, principally of the Muhammadan Kings of Lahore, found in his district.

Resolved that the decision of the Committee to purchase one of each of the different kinds of the above coins available be approved.

The following minute of the Committee on the late Sir Cowasjee Jehangirji Readymoney, Kt., C.S.I., dated the 10th August, being read, the same was approved :—

“At this their first meeting since the decease of Sir Cowasjee Jehangir Readymoney, Kt., C.S.I., the Committee desire to place on record an expression of their great regret because of that event. He had been a member of the Society since March 1863, and to him this institution is indebted for certain very valuable and most appropriate benefactions. The fine collection of modern Oriental literature (198 works in 292 vols., Rs. 5,000), the volumes of which bear his name as donor, was presented in 1864. He also presented the Society with its valuable sets of coins ancient and modern collected by the Honourable W. Frere, and he defrayed the cost of the cases in which they are preserved and exhibited, the total paid by Sir Cowasjee in this instance being Rs. 8,000.”

The following letter in acknowledgment from Mr. Jehangir Cowasjee Jehangir (Sir Cowasjee's heir), dated 19th August, was read and recorded :—

*Bombay, 29th August 1878.*

TO THE HONOURABLE VISHVANÁTH NÁRÁYAN MANDLIK,  
C.S.I., and W. MARTIN WOOD, Esq.

DEAR SIRs,—I am in receipt of your letter No. 112, dated 12th instant, and in reply I beg to say that I am very much thankful to you and to the Managing Committee of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society for the able Minute recorded by them in expressing their regret for the sad death of my father, the late lamented Sir Cowasjee Jehangir.

I am further desired by my respected grandmother, Báí Meherbái, and the other near relations of the late Sir Cowasjee, to convey to your Managing Committee their thanks for the expression of their sympathy in our late bereavement.

I have, &c.,

JEHANGIR COWASJEE JEHANGIR READYMONEY.

Mr. Edward Rehatsek then read his paper on "Some Parallel Proverbs in English, Arabic, and Persian."

Proposed by Dr. Pinkerton, and seconded by the Chairman, that a vote of thanks for the paper be given to Mr. Rehatsek.

In placing the motion before the Meeting the Chairman observed that the Society was much indebted to Mr. Rehatsek for the series of papers on Arabic and Persian Literature which the learned gentleman had been contributing.

The motion was unanimously carried.

Books and Pamphlets presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Saturday, 9th November 1878. The Hon'ble James Gibbs, C.S., C.S.I., F.R.G.S., *President*, in the Chair.

Bejanji Ratanji Kotwál, Esq., Dorábji Jamshedji Contractor, Esq., and C. A. Turner, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

Dr. J. C. Lisboa read his paper entitled "Notes on some Plants undescribed in the *Bombay Flora* of Dr. Gibson and Mr. Dalzell" (2nd paper), and exhibited various specimens.

On the motion of Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṅḍlik, seconded by Dr. Átmárám Páṅḍurang, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Lisboa for his interesting paper.

Professor Bháṅḍárkar then read his memorandum on certain antiquarian remains found at Bramhapuri, near Kolhápúr (noted before in the Society's proceedings on 22nd December 1877).

Proposed by Ráo Sáheb Maṅḍlik and seconded by Dr. Átmárám Páṅḍurang, that in continuation of letter No. 173 of 1877, and in reference to letter No. 7020 of 1877, dated December 18th, 1877, from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Political Department, the Government of Bombay be requested to move the Kolhápúr authorities to follow up the excavations at the Bramhapuri Hill, and favour the Society with such relics as may be found, together with such information as can be gathered on the spot regarding those remains.

Carried unanimously.

The Hon'ble the *President* afterwards exhibited specimens of an old gold coin from the Southern Maráthá Country, called *Rámatinki*, and its three varieties, weighing respectively four, two, and one *tolí*. It represented Ráma and his wife Sitá seated on a raised seat and surrounded by Hunaman and other monkey warriors, after Ráma's victory over Rávana and the recovery of Sitá. The date on which the coin must have been struck was not ascertained. These coins were now objects of worship, and were parted with by the owners during the last famine.

Mr. Doughty, an explorer, then read a few notes on Central Arabia, for which the Society's thanks were voted to him, on the motion of the *President*.

Books, Pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society were laid before the Meeting, and thanks were voted to the donors.

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The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Saturday, 14th December 1878. The Honourable James Gibbs, C.S., C.S.I., F.R.G.S., *President*, in the chair.

Theodore Bosanquet, Esq., C.S., was elected a Member of the Society.

The Honourable the *President* read a paper entitled "Notes on the Zodiacal Rupees and Mohars of Jahángir Sháh."

On the motion of the Honourable Mr. Justice R. West, seconded by Ráo Sáheb V. N. Maṇḍlik, C.S.I., a vote of thanks was passed to the Honourable Mr. Gibbs for his interesting paper.

Several books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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## LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

## PART I.—(JANUARY TO OCTOBER 1878.)

- Aarboger for Norddisk old Kyndighed og Histoire, Nos. 3 and 4, 1876. By the Royal Antiquarian Society of the North.
- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India, November 1877 to August 1878. By the Government of India.
- American Oriental Society's Proceedings, 1876-77. By the Society.
- Amusing Stories translated from the Persian by E. Rehatsek. By the Translator.
- Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian. By J. W. McCrindle. By the Author.
- A New Hindustani-English Dictionary, Part XII. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency.
- Annual Reports of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1876. By the Institution.
- Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of British India in the year ending 31st March 1877. By the Government of India.
- Astronomical Observations made at the Royal Observatory, Edinburgh. By Piazzi Smyth. By the Observatory.
- Bombay Sanskrit Series :—By the Bombay Government.
- No. II. Paribhāshendu Śékharu, Part I. Edited by F. Kielhorn, Ph. D.
- No. III. Panchtantra II. and III. Edited by G. Bühler.
- No. IV. Panchtantra I. Edited by F. Kielhorn.
- No. V. Raghuvamsa of Kalidas, Cantos I.—VI. Edited by Shankar P. Pandit.
- No. VI. Málavikāgnimitra. Edited by Shankar P. Pandit.
- No. VII. Paribhāshendu Śékharu, Part II. Translation and Notes. (Paribhāshás i.-xxxvii.) By F. Kielhorn.
- No. VIII. Raghuvamsa of Kalidas, Cantos VII.—XIII. Edited by Shankar P. Pandit.
- No. IX. Paribhāshendu Śékharu, Part II. Translation and Notes. (Paribhāshás xxxviii.-lxix.) Edited by F. Kielhorn.
- No. X. Dasá Kumára Charita. Edited by Geo. Bühler. Part I.

- No. XI. *Bhartrihari's Niti Sataka and Vairagya Sataka.*  
 Edited by Kashinath Trimbak Telang.
- No. XII. *Paribhāshendu Sekharu, Part II. Translation and Notes.* (Paribhāshās lxx.—cxxii.) Edited by F. Kielhorn.
- No. XIII. *Raghuvamsā, Cantos XIV.—XIX.* Edited by Shankar P. Pandit.
- No. XIV. *Vikramankadeva-Charita.* Edited by Geo. Bühler.
- No. XV. *Mālati-Mādhava.* Edited by R. G. Bhāṅḍārkar.
- Brief Sketch of the Meteorology of the Bombay Presidency in 1876.  
 By Fred. Chambers, Esq.
- Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, No. 4, 1877, and  
 No. 1, 1878. By the Society.
- Candy's English and Marathi Dictionary. By the Bombay Government.
- Catalogue of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency during the  
 Quarters ending 31st December 1877, 31st March 1878, and  
 30th June 1878. By the Director of Public Instruction.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in Oudh, Fasc. X. By the  
 Government N. W. Provinces.
- Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I. Inscriptions of Asoka. Pre-  
 pared by General Cunningham. By the Government of India.
- Descriptive Historical Account of the Godavery District. By H. Morris.  
 By the Bombay Government.
- Det Arnamagnæ Anske Haandskrift, Codex Runicus. By the Trustees  
 of the Arnamagnæ Anske Haandskrift.
- Finance and Revenue Accounts and Miscellaneous Statistics relating  
 to the Finances of British India. Part I., from 1st April 1868  
 to 31st March 1876. By the Government of India.
- General Report on the Operation of the G. T. Survey of India,  
 1876-77. By the Superintendent G. T. Survey.
- General Report on the Topographical Survey of India, 1876-77. By  
 the Government of India.
- Glossary of Gujerathee Revenue and Official Terms. By E. P.  
 Robertson. By the Bombay Government.
- G. T. Survey Maps:—By the Superintendent G. T. Survey.  
 Sheets Nos. 46, 47, and 48 of Kattywar:—Parts of Barda  
 and Soruth, Parts of Hallar and Soruth.

- Sheet 14 of Gujarat, Secs. 10 and 12:—Part of the Olpad Taluka.
- Sheet 78 do., Sec. 2:—Parts of the Viramgaum Taluka and of the Wanod and Dasara States.
- Sheet 79 do., Sec. 2:—Parts of the Viramgaum Taluka, Sanand and Kari Talukas, and Vitulgarah, Bajirar and Lagtan States.
- Sheet 79 do., Sec. 3:—Parts of the Sanand and Kari Talukas.
- Sheet 78 do:—Parts of the Ahmedabad District, of the Kari and Patan Talukas, of Kattywar and Mahi Kanta States.
- Sheet 79 do:—Parts of the Ahmedabad District, Kari Taluka, and of Kattywar.
- Hand-book to the Forests of the Bombay Presidency. By Surgeon A. Gibson. By the Bombay Government.
- Historical Account of the Poona, Satara, and Sholapore Districts. By W. W. Loch. By the Bombay Government.
- History of Gujerat. By Major J. W. Watson. By the Bombay Government.
- Instructions to Meteorological Observers in India. By H. F. Blanford. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency.
- Journal of the National Indian Association, Nos. 87 to 89, 1878. By the Association.
- La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies en 1877. Par M. Garcin de Tassy. By the Author.
- List of Light-Houses and Light-Vessels in British India, corrected to 1st January 1878. By the Superintendent Marine Survey.
- Manual of Revenue Accounts. By T. C. Hope. By the Bombay Government.
- Manual of the South Arcot District. By J. Garstin. By the Bombay Government.
- Marine Survey Charts:—By the Superintendent Marine Survey.  
 Narakel Anchorage.  
 Ceylon Approaches to Jafnapatam.  
 Siam West Coast.  
 Gulf of Manar.
- Memoir of the Boston Society of Natural History, Vol. II., Part IV., No. 5. By the Society.
- Memoir of the Reformer, Karsandas Mulji. By Madhavadas Raghunathdas, Esq.
- Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. New Series. 1875-76. By the Society.

- Memoir of the Rev. Lant Carpenter, abridged by his daughter Mary Carpenter.** By the National Association.
- Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society, Vols. XL., XLI., 1875-77.**  
By the Society.
- Metaphysics, or the Science of Perception.** By a Citizen of New York.
- Meteorology of India.** By H. F. Blanford. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency.
- Molesworth's Marathi and English Dictionary.** By the Bombay Government.
- Narrative of the Bombay Inam Commission.** By Colonel A. T. Etheridge. By the Bombay Government.
- Note in torno ad una fanciulla della tribu degli Acca.** Dr. Marchesetti. By the Author.
- Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878: Handbook to the British Indian Section.** By G. C. M. Birdwood, C.S.I. By the Bombay Government.
- Preliminary Report of the Field Work of the U. S. Geographical Survey, 1877.** By the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey.
- Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Parts I. to III., 1876.** By the Academy.
- Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, Vol. XVIII., Parts 3 and 4.** By the Society.
- Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, Vol. XVI.**  
By the Bombay Government.
- Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, No. XXXI.** By the Society.
- Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1876-77.** By the Chamber of Commerce.
- Report of the Bombay Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals for 1877.** By the Society.
- Report of the Inspector General of Dispensaries in the Punjaub, 1876.**  
By the Punjaub Government.
- Report of the United States Geological Survey of the Territories, Vol. VII.** By F. V. Hayden, Esq., U. S. Geologist.
- Report on Police Administration in the Punjaub, 1876.** By the Punjaub Government.
- Report on Public Instruction in Mysore, 1876-77.** By the Chief Commissioner, Mysore.

- Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Punjaub and its Dependencies during 1877. By the Punjaub Government.
- Report on the Administration of Mysore, 1876-77. By the Chief Commissioner, Mysore.
- Report on the Administration of the Baroda State, 1876-77. By Raja Sir T. Madhavarao.
- Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1876-77. By the Bombay Government.
- Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency during 1876-77. By the Madras Government.
- Report on the Administration of the Meteorological Department of the Government of India, 1876-77. By the Bombay Government.
- Report on the Administration of the N. W. Provinces, 1876-77. By the Government N. W. Provinces.
- Report on the Collection of Sanskrit MSS. in British India. By the Government of India.
- Report on the Meteorology of India in 1876. By H. F. Blanford. By the Bombay Government.
- Report on the Preparations for, and Observations of, the Transit of Venus as seen at Roorkee and Lahore. By Col. J. F. Tennant. By the Royal Observatory, through the Secretary of State for India.
- Report on the Revenue Administration of the Punjaub and its Dependencies, 1876-77. By the Punjaub Government.
- Report on the Sanitary Administration of the Punjaub for 1876. By the Punjaub Government.
- Results of the Magnetical and Meteorological Observations made at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, in 1875. By the Royal Observatory, through the Secretary of State for India.
- Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, No. 43 :—Reports on Publications in the several Provinces of British India during 1876. By the Government of India.
- Sermons on Practical Subjects. By the late Rev. Lant Carpenter. By the National Association.
- Smithsonian Report for 1876. By the Smithsonian Institution.
- Standing Information regarding the Official Administration of the Madras Presidency. By the Madras Government.
- Tables for the Reduction of Meteorological Observations in India. By H. F. Blanford. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency.

- The Bombay University Calendar, 1878-79. By the University.
- The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslám. Translated by E. Rehatsek. By the Translator.
- The late Dr. Charles Beke's Discoveries of Sinai, in Arabia, and of Midian. By Mrs. Beke.
- The Meteorology of the Bombay Presidency, with Diagrams and Maps. By C. Chambers. By the Bombay Government.
- Tide Tables for the Port of Bombay, 1878. By the Bombay Government.
- Vedarthayatna, Vol. II., 2 Parts. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency.
- Vocabulary in English and Mikei. By Rev. E. Neighbour. By the Government of India.
- Vrittodaya (Exposition of Metre). Edited, with Translation and Notes, by Major G. E. Fryer. By the Author.
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## PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

## PART II. (NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER 1878.)

- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India for September and October 1878. By the Government of India.
- A New Hindustani-English Dictionary. By S. W. Fallon, Parts XVI. and XVII. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency.
- Annuaire de l'Institution Ethnographique, 1878. By the Institution.
- Archæological Survey of India, Vols. VII. and VIII. By the Government of India.
- Archæological Survey of Western India, Vol. III. Report on the Antiquities of Bidar and Aurangabad. By J. Burgess. By the Secretary of State for India.
- Bombay Places and Common Official Words. By the Bombay Government.
- Catalogue of Books printed in the Bombay Presidency during the Quarter ending 30th September 1878. By the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.
- Brief Sketch of the Meteorology of the Bombay Presidency. By the Bombay Government.
- Fourth Report of the Working of the late Shett Gokaldas Tejpal Charities. By the Managing Committee of the Charities.
- G. T. Survey Map :—Gujerat Sheet 31, Sec. 2.—Parts of the Broach Taluka, Rajpipla, and Chorand Mahal of the Baroda State. Sheet No. 31 of Gujerat. By the Superintendent G. T. Survey.
- Hindu Gentleman's Reflections respecting the Works of Swedenborg and the Doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church. By Dadoba Pandurang. By the Author.
- Humanity and the Man : a Poem. By William Sharpe, M.D. By the Author.
- Inscriptions in the Temple of Bhadra Kali at Veraval.
- Do. do. of Skandagupta at Kahaun, Facsimiles of. By James Burgess, Esq.
- Map of the Sources of the Snake River.
- Do. Upper Geyser Basin on the Upper Madison River.
- Do. Lower Geyser Basin on the Upper Madison River. By the Smithsonian Institution.

- Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Vols. 51 to 53. By the Institution.
- Miscellaneous Statistics relating to British India. By the Government of India.
- Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vol. IV., Part II. By Rajendralala Mitra. By the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878, Handbook to the British Indian Section. By Dr. G. C. M. Birdwood. By the Bombay Government.
- Proceedings of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, N. S., Vol. V., Parts II. and III. By the Smithsonian Institution.
- Report on the Excise Administration in the Punjaub, 1876-77. By the Punjaub Government.
- Report on the Trade and Resources of the Central Provinces, 1877-78. By the Chief Commissioner.
- Selections from the Correspondence of the late Macvey Napier, Esq. Edited by his son Macvey Napier. By the Editor.
- Tenth Annual Report of the Sanitary Commission of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh. By the Government N. W. Provinces and Oudh.
- The Kekavali of the celebrated Marathi Poet Moropant of Baramati, edited, with Commentary, by Rao Bahadur Dadoba Pandurang By the Author.
- Where should Loans be taken up—in India or in England? a Letter addressed to the Hon. Sir John Strachey. By the Author.



**PRESENTS TO THE MUSEUM.**

**(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1878.)**

**Two Gadhiá Coins found in a tank at Surdhár, in Káthiávád. Presented by the Bombay Government.**

**Piece of a Meteoric Stone which fell near the village of Bhágur, in the Waizápúr Táluka of the Nizám, in November 1877. Presented by the Bombay Government.**

**Twelve Copper Coins (six whole and six half) of the time of Ahmad Sháh, found at Sunj, in Maḥmudábád Táluká. Presented by the Collector of Kaira.**

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1879.)

The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Saturday the 25th January 1879. The Hon'ble James Gibbs, C.S.I., *President*, in the chair.

His Excellency Lieut. General H. J. Warre, C.B., Montague Leckie, Esq., and Dr. Cowasjee Pestonjee, G.G.M.C., were elected Members of the Society.

The Hon'ble the *President* moved, and the Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mañdik seconded, that His Excellency General H. J. Warre, the Commander-in-Chief, be requested to accept the position of *Vice-Patron* of the Society. Carried unanimously.

Mr. E. Rehatsek then read a paper, entitled "Use of Wine among the Ancient Arabs."

On the motion of the Hon'ble James Gibbs, seconded by Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mañdik, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek for his paper.

Mr. Wood, *Honorary Secretary*, then made a few remarks on Dr. Birdwood's "Handbook to the British Indian Section, Paris Universal Exhibition, 1878," drawing the attention of members to the views on ancient history, physical geography, and ethnography, set forth in the introduction to that work which bear on the subjects of special research proper to the Society.

The *President* placed before the Meeting letter No. 182, dated 23rd January 1879, General Department, from the Bombay Government, forwarding copy of a letter from the Government of India, about the newly established Archæological Society at Agra, and requesting to give such aid to it as is in the power of this Society.

Resolved that the request be cordially responded to.

Several books, pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society, were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Wednesday the 19th March 1879. Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Furdoonji Jamsetji, Esq., Settlement Officer H. H. Nizam's Dominions, was elected a Member of the Society.

Mr. Rehatsek read a paper on the "Arabic Alphabets and Early Writings (with a table of Alphabets)."

On the motion of F. Mathew, Esq., seconded by Surgeon Major J. Pinkerton, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek for his paper.

The *Secretary* read a letter No 685, dated 18th March 1879, from the Chief Secretary to Government, General Department, forwarding for the use of the Society's Library, a copy of the volume containing Pali, Sanskrit, and old Canarese Inscriptions, collected in Western India and the Deccan.

Resolved that the thanks of the Society be communicated to Government for the valuable present.

Several books, pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society, were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Wednesday the 3rd April 1879. His Excellency Sir Richard Temple, G.C.S.I., C.I.E., *Patron*, in the chair.

Rev. A. Bourquie, Asa Hoosang Dastoor, Esq., Inspector General of Prisons, H. H. the Nizam's service, and Pascal Antonio Fernandes, Esq., Barrister-at-law, Goa, were elected Members of the Society.

Dr. Lisboa submitted a list of plants not mentioned by the authors of the "Bombay Flora," with a few explanatory remarks.

The Hon. J. GIBBS said: Your Excellency and Gentlemen,—I believe the next business falls to me. It is to announce to you my resignation

of the office of President—an honour which you conferred on me in the year 1874, and it was an office in which I had very great pleasure in doing what I could for the benefit of the Society. In resigning the office in which you placed me, I beg to return you my very sincere thanks for the great kindness and forbearance with which you treated me on all occasions.

H. E. THE GOVERNOR: GENTLEMEN,—You have just heard the terms in which your departing *President*, Mr. Gibbs, has announced his resignation. It will be my duty to propose to you presently a resolution accepting that resignation, but before doing so I will endeavour, with your permission, to fulfil, as well as I can, the part which is set down for me in the programme of the proceedings of this meeting—that is, deliver to you a brief address regarding the history, condition, and prospects of this Society.

I am sure, gentlemen, you will all concur in the expression of our thanks to Mr. Gibbs for his conduct as President during several years past. You are aware that he has succeeded in this Presidential chair several very distinguished persons. Among his predecessors have been such honoured names as Sir James Mackintosh, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, the Rev. Dr. John Wilson, Sir J. P. Willoughby, Sir Erskine Perry, and the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Newton. These names I select as the most distinguished out of a long roll of Presidents of this Society during now nearly three-quarters of a century. It is hardly the part of contemporary history to specify what position Mr. Gibbs will hold in the annals of the Presidency of Bombay, as compared with the several historical names of his predecessors in the chair whom I have now mentioned, but I am sure in respect of zeal for the interests of this Society, and in assiduous and efficient attention to his duties as President, he has been equal to the greatest of his predecessors. Although his many avocations may not have permitted him to contribute frequent papers to your proceedings, nevertheless he has done a great deal in his official capacity to advance the interests and objects of this Society. He has been a promoter of archæology, an assiduous collector of coins, and an expositor of numismatology. The last number of the Society's Journal contains a learned and interesting paper from him on zodiacal coins.

Then, gentlemen, I would draw your attention for a very few moments to the gradual growth of this Society during the 19th century. In order to do this, I have consulted your learned and efficient Secre-

taries, Mr. Martin Wood and Mr. Vishvanáth Náráyaṅ Maṅḍlik, and I acknowledge most cordially the assistance I have obtained from them in collating the numerous and interesting facts which relate to your past history.

It may be within the knowledge of many gentlemen present, that the real origin of this Society dates as far back as the 26th November 1804, when a meeting was held in Parel House, consisting of only seventeen persons,—a very little band indeed, but still a band which, though small in numbers, was great in influence and in celebrity. Among those seventeen persons who then met were Jonathan Duncan, Sir J. Mackintosh, Mr. William Erskine, the famous historian, and Sir Charles Forbes, who subsequently became not only the prince of merchants, but also the prince of philanthropists in Bombay. Among them also was Viscount Valentia, then a military officer and subsequently a distinguished traveller and author; and this band was shortly afterwards joined by four or five others, among whom were no less persons than William Sykes, Basil Hall, James MacMurdo, famed for geological inquiry, and John Briggs, the well-known historian of the Mahomedans. So the Bombay Literary Society, thus founded, went on till the year 1820, and was amalgamated with the Royal Asiatic Society in 1827. Thereby it gained great influence, because with the Royal Asiatic Society of London are connected all the great Orientalists not only of the United Kingdom but of Europe.

Now, from that period, 1827 to 1829, I beg you to mark the gradual growth of our Society. In 1829 we had, with resident and non-resident members and subscribers, a total number of 152 supporters. In 1871 we had 180 supporters; in 1875 we had 244 supporters; and now in 1879 we have 253 supporters, which is the greatest number yet attained. It has often been said that these sort of Societies in British India generally fall away and gradually decline. That cannot at all events be said of our Society, for we are gradually increasing.

It is to be remarked, however, that our income has scarcely kept pace with the progress of our numbers. In 1829 it amounted to Rs. 11,800, and in 1871 to Rs. 18,700, which is the highest income we have ever yet attained. In 1875 our income was just Rs. 17,000, and it is now put down, according to one account for the year just passed, at only Rs. 16,000. I think, however, it will turn out to be something more than that, so that we still have an income of between Rs. 16,000 and Rs. 17,000, though that is not quite so great as the

highest income we attained in 1871. This slight falling off within the last year or two is to be accounted for by a diminution of the rate of subscription. In former days, so great was the interest which gentlemen, Europeans and Natives, felt in this Society, that they were willing to pay Rs. 100 a year. That rate was reduced to Rs. 50 a year, but as there was not a corresponding increase in numbers, it was necessary to slightly raise the rate again, which now stands at Rs. 75. I mention this point because I have heard it said that some members are inclined to consider this rate of Rs. 75 a year too high. But it will be manifest to you that this is really the lowest rate at which we can carry on our literary business.

The main cause of the increase of our members is a very fortunate one, namely, the accession of so many Native gentlemen to the ranks of our members. In the beginning, in the days of Mackintosh, and Elphinstone, and Malcolm, and other great men departed, the members of this Society were almost exclusively Europeans. Although I observe in the address to Mountstuart Elphinstone, given by this Society in 1827, that allusion is distinctly made to the admission of Natives, and that it is further stated that their admission will tend to cement the bonds between the European and Native sections of the general community of Bombay, nevertheless it was not until 1840 that anything real was done. I believe the oldest resident member of this Society, whether European or Native, is sitting at this table to-day, in the person of Mr. Manockjee Cursetjee. He was elected a member in 1840, and I understand that in those days so jealous were the European members upon the point, that he experienced a certain amount of difficulty in obtaining admission. So far from there being any difficulty now, Native members are cordially welcomed by this Society. Though we have not so many Native members as European, still about one-third of our members are Natives. And the increasing popularity of this Society with Native gentlemen is manifested by the fact that at this moment one-half of my audience consists of Natives, and one of our Joint Secretaries (a talented and efficient Secretary) is also a Native of this Presidency. There are now, gentlemen, no less than 75 Native members on our rolls, and it is remarkable that among the donors to this Society, three of the most munificent have been Natives of this Presidency, namely, Sir Cowasjee Jehangeer Readymoney, who gave Rs. 8,000 for the purchase of a collection of coins, and Rs. 5,000 for a collection of Oriental works; Mr. Juganath Sunkersett, who presented Rs. 5,000 for the purchase

of works of natural history; and Mr. Premchund Roychund, who gave Rs. 10,000 for fitting up the room assigned to Oriental literature. Many donations were given by reason of the zealous advocacy of Dr. Birdwood, so I am informed; and though he is absent and is residing in England, no doubt we have his constant sympathy, and I am sure he is present in spirit at all our meetings.

Then, gentlemen, such being our past progress, let us think for a moment of our present and of our future. Now, really this is a Society of considerable prestige and distinction, a Society for the sake of which every member ought to exert himself, and induce his friends outside to exert themselves also. Among our distinguished honorary members have been the late Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, Professor Monier Williams, Dr. A. Weber, Dr. L. Westergaard, the late Garcin de Tassy, and the Italian Signor C. Negri. Now these are very distinguished names, not only in India, but all the world over, and in Europe especially. Then among our notable contributors I find Dr. Murray Mitchell upon Marathi poetry, Dr. Carter upon geology and botany, the Rev. Dr. Wilson upon Oriental literature, General Jacob upon the translation of inscriptions, Sir Bartle Frere in respect of descriptions of cave temples, Mr. Justice Newton in respect to ancient coins of Western India, Bhow Daji (a well known native name) upon inscriptions, coins, and Sanskrit literature, Vishvanáth Náráyaṇ Maṇḍlik upon Sanskrit literature, Mr. Fleet (a member of the Civil Service, now in England assisting in bringing out the work prepared by Mr. Burgess on the Archæological Survey) on Canarese and Sanskrit inscriptions; Dr. Birdwood upon Indian economic history and commercial geography; and then Professor Bhandarkar, Dr. Bühler, and Mr. Telang upon inscriptions on caves, and copper plates, and Sanskrit literature, Dr. Buist on various subjects, geographical and other, the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, who was one of the first scholarly investigators and translators of Marathi literature, and Professor Orlebar, who contributed able and interesting papers on Geology and Architecture. Then three foreigners of some distinction in our Anglo-Indian literary world among our contributors are Dr. DaCunha, Mr. Rehatsek, and Dr. Lisboa, two of whom at least are present to-day.

Besides all these literary contributions to our Journal, there is our extensive library, in part of which we are now assembled. This library was founded together with the Bombay Literary Society in

1804. It includes all the collections of the Literary Society, to which also were added the collections of the Bombay Geographical Society. It now contains, I believe, no less than 40,000 volumes. Besides, there is our collection of coins of the Parthians, Sassanians, Caliphs, Moguls, Pathans, Guptas, and Gujâratîs, in addition to a considerable collection of modern coins. To all this is to be added our Journal, which has existed nearly forty years, inasmuch as the 37th number has now been reached.

Thus all these circumstances constitute in their aggregate a strong claim upon the personal exertions of every member to promote the interests of the Society in future, and to maintain it in a condition worthy of its traditions and its honourable associations.

The objects of our Society no doubt alter from time to time, according to the shifting circumstances of the period. Nevertheless, the earliest descriptions given of the objects of the Association seem to be still applicable to the present day. In 1837 the Rev. Dr. John Wilson, I mean the famous Missionary, addressing my predecessor in the Government, my uncle also, Sir James Rivett-Carnac,—Dr. Wilson being then President of the Society,—spoke as follows :—

“ The general objects of the research of our Society are well known. What Sir William Jones, the prince and pioneer of British Orientalists in India, said of the Bengal Society, is applicable to ours, and the distinguished institution in London, with which we are connected :—The bounds of its investigation will be the geographical limits of Asia ; and within these limits its inquiries will be extended to whatever is performed by man, or produced by nature.”

Commenting upon that, Dr. Wilson went on to speak as follows :—

“ What are the physical aspects, capabilities and actual productions of this vast country which Providence has placed under our care ? What monuments and records does it contain which testify to its past greatness, and illustrate its chequered history ? What is the intellectual, moral, and economical condition of the numerous and diversified tribes which inhabit its oceanic plains, its gigantic mountains, and exhaustless forests ? What are its numerous languages in reference to derivation, grammatical structure, and analogy, and power and beauty of expression ? What are its various religions, in their fundamental principles, established observances, and actual development in practical worship and the regulation of life and manners ? What are the principles of its civil and criminal jurisprudence, and what modi-



fications have they undergone in consequence of the instruction of experience, and the mutations in the government and community, and how, with a due regard to the present framework of Native society, can they be rendered consistent with that justice and benevolence which are the foundation and support of Britain's sway?"

Such, then, are the questions which Dr. Wilson propounded for the consideration of the members of this Society, just forty years ago, and I venture to think, that, although so many years have passed since these words were spoken by a recently departed friend whose eloquence must still be resounding in the memory of many who are here to-day—these principles are still equally applicable at the present moment.

In carrying out those principles, I find that the principal subjects to which this Society and its chief members have directed their attention are the deciphering of all ancient inscriptions, the study of old Indian coins, geology and botany, Marathi, Arabic, Sanskrit and Persian literature, history, geography, and archæology, the philosophy, science, and art of India. These, gentlemen, are noted as the principal or general pursuits, but besides these there are special subjects in respect of which a few of the members have made their mark. These special subjects are—the *facsimiles* of inscriptions on caves in Western India and their decipherment—transliteration, and translation of inscriptions relating to grants, &c., on copper plates and stones,—researches into the study of the ancient coins of Western India,—Persian and Arabic literature.

But these achievements, gentlemen, however considerable they are, do, we must admit, leave a great deal still to be achieved. Whatever pride we may feel in our past, should stimulate us to provide for our future. And it is to this future that I shall briefly address myself.

In the earlier statements of the objects of this Society, especially in the eloquent and comprehensive address which was delivered by Sir. James Mackintosh in 1804, natural and physical science was alluded to as one of the main objects of this Society. Now during the more than half a century which has since elapsed, natural and physical science has to a considerable degree passed out of our hands. So many special associations are formed in Europe, so many undertakings are commenced by Government in this country, that the result is, that those private persons who have much to communicate on scientific subjects evince a tendency, a disposition, either to send their communications to England, or submit them to Government.

Nevertheless, despite all these disadvantages, geology and botany are among the subjects extensively treated of in the Journal of this Society. This very day you have heard a list announced of new plants discovered in Western India, and the last number of our Journal contains a paper upon botany. And although in Western India Government will do much for botany, and I hope will diffuse a knowledge of it by establishing, in various parts of the Bombay Presidency, Botanic Gardens, so as in some degree to place this Presidency on a par with the Bengal Presidency, nevertheless all this will leave very much to be done by private members of society. When private gentlemen send contributions to the new herbarium at Poona, they will doubtless at the same time be disposed to write monographs upon particular specimens which they send. Such monographs may be well communicated to this Society. Again, our Forest Department, as you are well aware, is greatly extended and expanded, and its members will, in the course of their official enquiries, come across a vast number of interesting specimens, regarding which they may send papers to this Society.

The same way with Zoology. We hope shortly to systematise the Zoological section of the Victoria Museum. We also may establish, perhaps, a Zoological Garden in connection with that institution. These proceedings will stimulate zoological inquiry, will invite contributions from various gentlemen who take an interest in the brute creation, and will induce them to prepare papers, which may very properly be communicated to this Society, a Society in which the Government itself takes so great and so lasting an interest.

The same way again with Geology. No doubt the Geological Survey which is being undertaken by the Government of India, and is spreading itself all over India, does as it were take up a great deal of ground which might have been—imperfectly perhaps, but still might have been—occupied by this Society. Nevertheless a great deal remains to be done by separate geological inquiry, such inquiry as may be undertaken by private individuals. For, consider the great changes that are going on all along the coast, and at the mouths of our great rivers. Several marine authorities are present, and they can tell you how bays and arms of the sea which were once navigable, were once indeed the great highways of commerce, are now entirely silted up. What has become of Cambay, once the great emporium of mediæval times? Would it not be interesting to have a narrative of the progress of the silting up of the northern part of the Gulf of Cambay? Take another

instance. You will find that there is an interesting discussion in Elphinstone's History of India, as to why Mahmud of Ghazni returned to Afghanistan across the Sind Desert instead of returning through the Valley of the Indus. That was probably caused by the circumstance that in those days the Runn of Cutch, which is now sand over which you can gallop, was covered by the ocean. I mention that merely as an instance of the great field which still exists in Western India for such geological investigation as may be conducted by members of this Society. Take the Province of Sind, which still belongs at this moment to the Presidency of Bombay. If scientific gentlemen, members of this Society, were to begin to inquire into the topographical changes in the Valley of the Indus, and the consequences which those changes have produced upon the social and political history of that region, why the field of research would be endless.

I may mention one more instance,—Meteorology. It is true that we have an excellent Observatory at Colaba, and also that we are establishing Observatories in the interior of the Presidency to take observations from one end of the year to the other. But these proceedings, instead of taking away work from us, ought rather to stimulate us to increase our meteorological observations. Members of this Society may observe the changes in the temperature, the phenomena of the coming monsoon, and so on, and having compared their observations with the observations in the Government Observatories, may communicate the result of their inquiries to this Society.

But besides these scientific questions, there is one field which is peculiarly the province of this Society, and that is inquiry into the history and progress of the various sciences and arts amongst the Natives of this country. That is a field, I say, peculiarly our own. Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, in 1823, in his inaugural address to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, used the following language :—

“Nor is the ascertainment of any fact to be considered destitute of use. The aberrations of the human mind are a part of its history. It is neither uninteresting, nor useless, to ascertain what it is that ingenious men have done, and contemplative minds have thought in former times ; even where they have erred : especially, where their error has been graced by elegance, or redeemed by tasteful fancy.”

Now, this seems to me, gentlemen, to indicate a most appropriate field for the inquiries of this Society. We may endeavour to learn the progress which the ancient Indians, either Hindus, or Bhuddists, or Mahomedans, or Parsis, have made in the various arts and sciences to

which they have devoted their attention. Much of their science may turn out to be incorrect, much of their art may also prove to be inferior to modern art, but wherever investigations of this nature are conducted, I am sure much will be discovered which shall be instructive to Europeans, and which shall especially enable them to understand the character and the instincts of the Native community.

But, gentlemen, besides these scientific subjects, there is still an immense field in archæology, history, philosophy, and literature, a field which none can occupy so well as you, a field which is especially, and naturally, indeed almost exclusively, your own. Now, here again much is done by Government. For instance, there is an Archæological Survey of which the original proposer and promoter was Mr. Gibbs himself, and which is now being carried out so faithfully and effectively by Mr. Burgess, who is present here to-day. There are also the learned proceedings which are now going on in London under Mr. Fleet of the Bombay Civil Service. There are also numerous excellent works published by private individuals, either independently of this Society or under the auspices of Government, such works especially as those of your distinguished member, Mr. Hope, whom it has been my privilege and pleasure to bring among you this afternoon. His works extend to Ahmedabad, Gujârat, and then to Bijjâpur and the Deccan right down to the Southern Marátha Country, and beyond the borders of Mysore. I am sure he will be the first to tell you that, great as his researches have been, they have hardly penetrated the upper stratum of the vast field which invites your inquiry. As we drove down here this afternoon, as I was talking over with him the results of his work, he himself said, with that modesty which always pertains to men of great knowledge, that after all these elaborate works and inquiries he has only just brushed the surface. Well now, if Mr. Hope says that in respect to Gujârat and the Deccan and the Southern Marátha Country, fancy what must be the comparatively unknown condition of the rest of Western India!

Then as regards Philosophy. Why the great founders and promoters of philosophy in India, as is well known, belong to that most intellectual of all races, the Brahmins. Nowhere have the Brahmins been more influential, more learned, more industrious than in Western India, especially in Gujarát and the Konkan. Their philosophy is still very incompletely understood even by themselves—much less by us. I am sure the several Brahmin gentlemen present will be the first to acknowledge the truth of this statement.

Then let us glance for an instant at Oriental literature. There were many celebrated libraries, in ancient times of Sanskrit literature, collected in various parts of this Presidency, especially in the north of Gujârat. Those libraries have been to some extent drawn upon by our Sanskrit professors, Professor Bhandarkar, Dr. Bühler, Dr. Kielhorn, and others, but nevertheless those learned men will be the first to tell you that such libraries have not been sufficiently explored, that they still ought to be, as it were, ransacked in order to produce their wealth of learning for the instruction of this later generation.

Then, as to History. No doubt there is that excellent and elaborate History of the Maráthas by Captain Grant Duff, a history which was written when all the data were fresh, when all the records were immediately available, and when many of the actors were still present to interpret all those records. This life-like history was written among advantages which may be never possessed again by any historian of the Maráthas. But still let any one travel, as I have done, through the Marátha country, study some of the particulars of history on the spot, and have the advantage of conversation with the Natives of the country, so far as I am able, regarding their historical traditions,—let any one do all this I say, and he will see that there is still much room for details regarding the political and social history of the Maráthas of the Deccan. Take the range of the Western Ghauts, from the latitude of Khandesh down to the latitude of Canara, you will find it dotted at various points with historical and celebrated fortresses, regarding each of which a monograph remains to be written. Then there are such books as that excellent book on Gujârat by Kinloch Forbes, who was a distinguished, and is now a lamented member of this Society. His book contains mention of many cities which must once have been great and renowned and prosperous and powerful, but of which nothing more than a name remains. If only we could discover the historical particulars regarding them! If Mr. Kinloch Forbes were fortunately still living among us, he would be the first to tell us that there is an immense field for research remaining in the regions where his learned labours were conducted. Then again, it is true that the Government *Gazetteer* now being prepared so vigorously under the management of Mr. Campbell, of the Civil Service, takes up a great deal of historical ground. There are many excellent special histories being written, such as Mr. Nairne's History of the Konkan, and Mr. Stokes's History of Belgaum. There are those brilliant and spirited essays upon the early Europeans settlers on the Western Coast of India written by

the late lamented Philip Anderson. Now, let any of these histories be taken, which relate to only a particular epoch or a single series of events, and consider what would remain to be done if the history of all Western India were to be written with the same precision, the same vigour, and the same realization of the circumstances. There are also two special histories written by foreigners regarding the ancient Portuguese possessions on the coast of India, such as those by Dr. DaCunha and by Dr. Fonseca of Goa.

But still after all these labours and all these researches, the ancient Hindu history of Western India, the history that precedes the advent of the Mahomedans, really remains to be written. Even the Mahomedan period, though better known, is in many respects considerably unknown. Take, for instance, the kingdom of Bijápur. What a monograph might be written by any one who could undertake to say what were the boundaries of that kingdom ; what were its forces by sea and land—recollect that they had naval power in those days as well as military power ; what were its administrative divisions and its districts ; how its government was conducted ; who were its principal proconsuls and administrators, and the like ! And that being the condition of our knowledge in respect of kingdoms of which such splendid architectural remains are still extant, how utterly ignorant are we all of the ancient Hindu kingdoms which were absorbed in the kingdom of Bijápur, of which we scarcely even know the coins, although they must all have had metallic currencies.

Now, gentlemen, I think I have perhaps said enough to give you some imperfect notion of the vast field of interesting study which lies before you. I hope that even this brief consideration may prove a stimulus to the next President, whoever he may be, to exert himself for the future interests of this Society as Mr. Gibbs has done in the past. I am sure for myself as Patron I can only say, in the words which my uncle and predecessor, Sir James Carnac, used when replying to an address by the then President of the Society, Dr. Wilson, namely, that you may rely upon my utmost efforts to promote the best interests of this Society for the sake of literature, and for the honour of Bombay.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I will read to you the resolution which has been placed in my hands :—

“ That the most cordial thanks of the Society be presented to the Honourable James Gibbs, who has intimated his resignation of the

office of President, for his assiduous and zealous efforts to promote the prosperity of the Society, for his constant attention to the disposal of the correspondence relating to ancient coins and the arrangement of the coin collection, and also for the assistance he has generally rendered to the Committee, not only in connection with numismatic enquiries, but in respect of all subjects coming before them. The members now present express their regret at the retirement of the honourable gentleman, but trust that, his health being maintained in Europe, he may yet render many services to the Society and to India in general."

Mr. Justice WEST remarked that the motion which His Excellency had brought forward, with a preface which had given them recollections in which they loved to dwell of honour and distinction which the Society had gained, needed nothing to commend it to the meeting. The fact that it had been proposed by so distinguished a figure in the history of the Presidency and of India, and that it related to a gentleman who occupied so large a place in the hearts and recollections of all present, was quite sufficient to commend it to their notice. Mr. Gibbs had often expressed to him what he felt, at the great honour and distinction which had been conferred on him by the Society inviting him to occupy the chair which was once filled by so distinguished a scholar and philosopher as Mackintosh, and which had been occupied by other distinguished men, some of whose names had been enumerated to them by His Excellency. It was no every-day distinction, and it was deeply appreciated by Mr. Gibbs, as he had often expressed himself, and as he had manifested to every member of the Society by the constant attention to its interests and the deep consideration he had given to every question which could affect their welfare. He was delighted, as His Excellency was delighted, to find that in the assembly that day the native element so largely predominated. He trusted that the presence in the community of that stirring element which His Excellency's presence that day was a symbol of, might be the means of awakening both the European and native community—more especially the native community—to new and ever increasing activity in the great field of exploration which was open before them. So many topics, so many subjects of investigation had been mentioned by His Excellency in the address he had delivered, that it would be somewhat difficult to mention any other, but there was one matter which was particularly interesting to the members present. He meant the investigation of archæological matters in India by the comparative method. Great results had been resolved out in Europe, and were being resolved out day by

day, by people who devoted themselves to the investigation of facts. If some of them had the leisure at their disposal, the energy at command, and the means necessary for such a pursuit, and would give their attention to this expanding science, he was sure that the results would be pleasing to the Society and satisfactory to themselves. Their honoured and respected President, although at a distance when in England, would doubtless look back upon the Society with pleasure; he would often think of their meetings and picture in his mind the seats filled as they were at that time, and he would hope that the Society would go on in the course which it has previously pursued, and that his successors would make it worth the Society maintained in times past by such eminent men.

RAO SAHEB VISHVANÁTH NÁRÁYAṆ MAṆḌLIK, in supporting the resolution, remarked that there were one or two things which ought to be known, and upon which he could speak with some authority, and they related to their President, who in an indirect way had considerably helped the Society. His Excellency had alluded to the Literary Society which was established in 1804. The Transactions of this Society had for more than 25 years remained unpublished, and by enabling him to bring out these volumes, Mr. Gibbs had rendered great service to the Society. With regard to what His Excellency had said, he was convinced that very little more could be done to chronicle the progress of the country in its different stages of advancement until the people in the different presidencies had received a proper amount of education and training. It was for them to work out under European guidance, from their own stand-point, the various stages of development, and to bring out works in the several departments of human knowledge. He was quite sure that much as might be done and was being done by Government in all its departments, explorations of a Society like their own could do much more, and although the departments of State might help and act as their guides, their advancement must be their own work. He was sure that they were indebted to His Excellency for coming there that day, and pointing out to them in what direction their duty lay, and in addressing them in such sympathetic terms. He trusted that both Europeans and his own countrymen would strive to labour in the field which had been pointed out, which was as boundless as the universe itself.

Mr. BURGESS also supported the motion, and in the course of some observations alluded to the work which he was carrying on in the



Presidency, explaining some drawings which had been made of carvings which had come under his notice during his researches.

The Hon. J. GIBBS, in acknowledging the motion, said that no one could be more aware of his shortcomings as President of that Society. At the time he was elected President he felt himself wanting in that indomitable energy and that love of work which distinguished his friend, Mr. Hope, who always found time to do what he wished to do, and he then decided that the proper *rôle* for him to take was to try to get others more able and more efficient than himself to do the work. As to what the Ráo Sáheb had stated in reference to the Transactions of the Literary Society, he might say that he was able to give him some small assistance, but he thought that great credit was due to him as editor, who had by his exertions conferred great benefit, not only on the Society, but also on those sciences which the Society took under its care. Mr. Gibbs then referred to various matters which he suggested were worth the attention of the members of the Society, and concluded by once more thanking the meeting for the kindness which they had shown him. He expressed a hope that the Society would long flourish, and be the means of carrying out those enquiries which His Excellency the Governor and Mr. West had so eloquently touched upon.

A vote of thanks to H. E. the Governor for presiding, closed the proceedings.

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The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Tuesday the 14th May 1879. Surgeon General W. G. Hunter, M. D., in the chair.

Harischandra Krishna Joshi, Esq., Major Charles Mant, R. E., and A. Pearson, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

Mr. Rehatsek read a paper on "Notes on some Old Arms and Instruments of War, chiefly among the Arabs (with drawings)."

On the motion of the *President*, seconded by Surgeon Major J. Pinkerton, and supported by the *Secretary*, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek for his paper.

Several books, pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Saturday the 19th July 1879. Ráo Sáheb V. N. Mañdlik, C.S.I., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Captain Tandy, Sayad Hassan Bilgrami, Esq., B.A., J. Y. Lang, Esq., Surgeon A. H. Anthonisz, M.B., were elected Members of the Society.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha then read a paper, entitled "Contributions to the study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics."

On the proposition of F. Mathew, Esq., seconded by K. R. Kama, Esq., a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. da Cunha for his interesting paper.

Several books, pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Wednesday the 3rd September 1879, Lieutenant Colonel J. H. White, R. E., *Vice President*, in the chair.

Rev. H. Squires, D. Macdonald, Esq., M.B., B. Sc., Rev. Alex. C. Grieve, P. Falle, Esq., Nawab Mukaram-ud-Dowla Bahadur, Revenue Minister, Hyderabad (Deccan), Hon'ble Magnus Mowat, and Surgeon C. T. Peters, M. B., were elected Members of the Society.

The *Secretary* laid the following before the Meeting :—

1.—Fac-simile received from Mr. P. Falle, through Mr. C. A. Stuart, of an inscription in wood found in a mosque on the sea face at Dabhol, Konkan. The place where the inscription was discovered has evidently been neglected for years, and is fast falling into ruin. The ground in the vicinity is covered with tombs, several of which have inscriptions cut on them.

A memorandum on the inscription by Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha was read, as follows :—

"The inscription kindly sent to me is written in Arabic. It begins with the usual Muhamedan formula of the Shia sect of blessing the memory of the prophet, his daughter Fatima, and his Imams or disciples, twelve in number, their names being given in full ; and ends by saying :—May God help Sahadat Ali, the King of Kings, who erected this building in the year 987 A. H. (1558 A. D.)"

2.—Copy of Sanskrit inscription forwarded by Mr. P. Falle. The inscription is copied from a stone which is said to be buried in a wall near Chiploon in the Konkan.

Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yájnik, who had scrutinised the copy, reported that it was so incorrectly written, that no connected phrases could be made out in it ; but the (Sumvut) date 1078 (1135 A.D.) was plainly found in it.

Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang suggested that the inscription-stone might be brought here, as he thought the inscription would possibly prove to be important.

The *Secretaries* reported that request had been made for the stone to be sent.

Thanks were voted to Mr. Falle and Mr. Stuart for their having forwarded these inscriptions to the Society.

3.—A specimen of sedimentary rock (inter-trappean), found on the southern slope of the Sattara hills near Girnara in the Aurangabad district. This was sent by Mr. Furdoonji Jamsetji, Settlement Officer H. H. the Nizam's Dominions, with the following description :—

During a hurried examination of some portions of the Aurangabad district in H. H. the Nizam's Dominions, the accompanying rock was seen intercalated with the traps near the village of Girnara, on the southern slope of the Sattara Hills, about fifty yards from the base. Inter-trappean have been known to occur in the highest traps of Bombay and in the lowest traps near Nagpur, &c., but none have been hitherto found in the middle traps, which are about 4,000 feet thick, and have a very wide geographical distribution. The sandstone now submitted is of some interest, as the surrounding rocks (which consist chiefly of amygdaloidal flows) belong to this last division of the Deccan traps. Unfortunately very little information can be given at present, as only a small section was seen, about 6 inches, in which there were no traces of fossil remains. A close examination will no doubt yield some useful results, and it is hoped that on a future occasion some more details will be communicated.

The *Secretary* (Mr. Wood) read an extract from the Geological Manual of India on the Deccan trap, which served to show how very unusual is the occurrence of sandstone therein.

He was desired to thank Mr. Furdoonji for sending the specimen ; but Mr. Mathew remarked that more information was needed in regard to the rock or strata whence the specimen was brought, before the members could form any definite opinion on the subject.

Several books, pamphlets, &c. presented to the Society, were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the donors.

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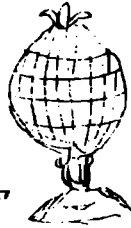
The Monthly Meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Tuesday the 4th November 1879. Lieut. Colonel J. H. White, R.E., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

The *Secretary* mentioned that the inscription stone spoken of in the *Minutes* has since arrived from Chiploon; also he had been asked to state that the technical memorandum describing the sandstone specimen placed before last meeting was written by Mr. E. Lynn, of the Nizam's P. W. D.

The following gentlemen were then balloted for and elected members of the Society:—Mr. H. A. Acworth, C.S., and Mr. Shankar Pandurang Pandit, M.A.

The following gentlemen were elected Trustees of the Society's Government Paper:—Captain H. Morland, I. N., Mr. Atmaram Pandurang, G.G.M.C., and Mr. C. E. Fox, M.A.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha then made the following remarks on a Portuguese inscription, forwarded by Mr. P. Falle (of the Marine Survey), of which the following is a facsimile:—



E S T E D	R S A
A N D G V P	A Z E R O
V R D A E	N D A D S
F E L I	P E M
A S G R E A	S A P E T
I T D R I U D O G P I A O D S	
A P R A S A C R I . . O M G	
D A B R E V D Z L V E D	
S E N D E P I T C . D O A	
V L F E R M O D M I R A	
N O E M R I O B S E M D V	
T V B R D D I B S O . A C A	
B A D A E M I V N I D S	
D E F B S I .	

The inscription is in Portuguese, found by Mr. Falle amongst the ruins of the once famous city of Chaul, about thirty miles to the south of Bombay, on the coast. The letters are cut in so clumsy a fashion as to betray both the carelessness and ignorance of the engraver, who was most probably an illiterate mason. It is mangled and mutilated, some words are abbreviated without any order or system, while others run into each other. In the second half of the seventeenth century even epigraphy seems to have declined in India with the general decay of the Portuguese rule in the East.

When restored, the inscription would run thus :—

ESTA FORTALEZA  
MANDOU FAZER O  
V. R. DA INDIA D.  
FELIPE MASCARENHAS A PETI-  
TORIO DO CAPITAO DES-  
TA PRAÇA CRISTOVAO  
D'ABREU E AZEVEDO  
SENDO CAPITAO DE CHA-  
UL FERNAO DE MIRAN-  
DA E MARIOES EM OU-  
TUBRO DE 1650. ACA-  
BADA EM JUNHO 3  
DE 1651.

The translation of the above into English is as follows :—“This fortress was commanded to be built by the Viceroy of India, Don Filipe Mascarenhas, at the request of the captain of the fortress (praça) Cristovao d'Abreu e Azevedo, the Governor (or Captain) of Chaul being Fernao de Miranda e Marioes, in October of 1650. Finished (or completed) on the 3rd of June of 1651.”

D. Phillippe Mascarenhas was the 26th Viceroy of India. He was appointed on the 10th April 1644, arrived at Ceylon on the 10th December of the same year, and then took the reins of the Government of India in hand. About a year after he took solemnly possession of his charge in the city of Goa in December 1645. He left Goa for Portugal on the 31st May 1651, and died on his way to Europe at Loanda in 1652. During his government the Portuguese rule in India declined considerably, as testified by the well-known traveller, Tavernier, who was at Goa during his time.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Surgeon-General Hunter, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Falle and Dr. da Cunha.

Mr. KASHINATH T. TELANG said : Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I rise to put before you the motion of which a notice has been given in the circular calling the meeting to-day. Another motion which I have to propose is one which may include that which is down in the notice paper, and I will now shortly state the reasons upon which that motion is based. A short address has been prepared to be given this day to our distinguished visitor, Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, which states as briefly as was consistent with clearness what his title is to election as an honorary member of this Society. I think I had better read the address to you in the first instance, so that it may remind us of the many services which Dr. Rajendralal has rendered to the cause of Oriental research in this country. The address runs as follows :—

“BABU RAJENDRALAL MITRA, LL.D.

“ Sir,—We, the members of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, have great pleasure in welcoming you to our city on the occasion of this your first visit to it. Though few of us have had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you, your name has been for a long time quite familiar to this Society, which has always held in high estimation your multifarious labours in the prosecution of the researches which form the main pursuit of our Society. The part you have taken, both directly and indirectly, in keeping up that extremely useful series published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Bibliotheca Indica, your numerous and successful investigations into the archæology and history of this country—two instalments of which have now been given to the world in the shape of your volumes on Buddha Gaya and on the Antiquities of Orissa—the very elaborate catalogues of the Sanskrit MSS. existing in your own Presidency which you have yourself prepared, and the catalogues of MSS. in other provinces which have been edited by you, or published under your guidance and superintendence, have long, in the opinion of our Society, justified the epithet of “indefatigable” applied to you by a high authority. In addition to these labours you have written, from time to time, for the Asiatic Society of Bengal numerous shorter essays on subjects connected with the antiquities of this country, which are fraught with interest alike to the scholar and the general reader. Such, in brief, are your claims to the high esteem and gratitude of our Society, and we are much pleased to have now the opportunity of expressing those feelings to

you personally on the present occasion. In conclusion, Sir, we trust you will permit us to do ourselves the honour to enrol your name among the honorary members of our Society."

You will have seen, gentlemen, from the address which I have just now read, the various works which Dr. Rajendralal has during the course of upwards of a quarter of a century published in connection with the history and antiquities of this country. For upwards of a quarter of a century his name has been quite familiar to all who have had any connection with the pursuits in which he is so successful an enquirer—the pursuits of Oriental literature and antiquity. His performances in these departments of study have already familiarised his name all over the learned societies of Europe and America, and he has been elected an honorary member, and has received similar honours from various societies throughout Europe and America. We have not had the opportunity of recognising his services hitherto, but I think you will all agree with me that a suitable opportunity has now been presented by his visit to our city, which we should particularly avail ourselves of to elect him one of our honorary members. These books, which you now see on the table, are some of those which he has given to the literary world. The greater portion of his work remains at present embodied in sundry and various volumes of the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and also in papers contributed by him for these so many years past. Some of those volumes which we have on this table will sufficiently show the extent of labour they have cost him. I hold in my hand one volume of the notices of manuscripts which he has published. I may say from the opportunities which I have myself had of examining these notes from time to time, that they are of the greatest importance to the study of Sanskrit literature. They are not merely lists of names of books, but contain considerable information about the contents of these books. Those who cannot go through the whole of these works are enabled to peruse them by means of the notes, which are useful guides of the contents of the work. You will, gentlemen, agree with me that the address which I have just now read, is one which the Society ought to adopt, and that Dr. Rajendralal is a gentleman who, by his performances as well as his abilities, has a claim on our recognition, and that recognition can take no other better form than that of electing him an honorary member of this Society.

Mr. JAVERILAL UMIASHANKAR YAJNIK said : I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition. In honouring Dr. Rajendralal this Society

honours itself. Dr. Rajendralal has been to Bengal what the late Dr. Bhanu Dajee was to Bombay and Western India—a diligent and indefatigable worker in the cause of antiquarian and scientific research. The address mentions a list of the various works he has written and the papers he has contributed to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. There is one point which my friend, Mr. Kassinath, has alluded to, and with reference to which I wish to make one remark, that when the project was matured by the Government of India for the preparation and preservation of manuscripts of ancient Sanskrit literature, the Government of India selected Dr. Rajendralal for this duty in Bengal as they had selected Dr. Bühler in the case of this Presidency. The method adopted by Dr. Rajendralal in noticing these manuscripts was somewhat different from that adopted by Dr. Bühler, and it evinces considerable research. He gave the first and last verses of each work. He gave the facsimiles of most of the manuscripts, showing the characters in which they were after the indigenous method written. Gentlemen, the study of Sanskrit literature is fast declining, and old *pundits* are dying away without being replaced by a new race of *pundits*—at all events it is yet to be shown that we have a new race of *pundits* equal in literary powers to the old race that is fast dying away. Under this circumstance I think that by the visit of a gentleman like Dr. Rajendralal we establish a more intimate intercourse with the scholars of Bengal and Western India. As to the prospects of native scholarship I will read to you a passage from Professor Max Müller. He says: “The intellectual life of India at the present moment is full of interesting problems. It is too much the fashion to look only at its darker sides, and to forget that such intellectual regeneration, as we are witnessing in India, are impossible without convulsions and failures. A new race of men is growing up in India, who have stepped, as it were, over a thousand years, and have entered at once on the intellectual inheritance of Europe. They carry off prizes at English schools, take their degrees in English Universities, and are in every respect our equals. They have temptations which we have not, and now and then they succumb; but we, too, have temptations of our own, and we do not always resist. One can hardly trust one’s eyes in reading their writings whether in English or Bengali, many of which would reflect credit on our own Quarterlies. With regard to what is of the greatest interest to us, their scholarship, it is true that the old school of Sanskrit scholars is dying out, and much will die with it which we shall never recover; but a



new and most promising school of Sanskrit students, educated by European professors, is springing up, and they will, nay, to judge from recent controversies, they have already become more formidable rivals to our own scholars. The essays of Dr. Bhau Daji, whom, I regret to say, we have lately lost by death, on disputed points in Indian archæology and literature, are most valuable. The indefatigable Rajendralal Mitra is rendering most excellent service in the publications of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, and he discusses the theories of European orientalisks with all the ease and grace of an English reviewer. The Rajah of Besmab, Giriprasada Sinha, has just finished his magnificent edition of the White Yajur-veda. The Sanskrit books published at Calcutta by Taranatha and others form a complete library, and Taranatha's new dictionary of the Sanskrit language will prove most useful and valuable. The editions of Sanskrit texts published at Bombay by Professor Bhandarkar, Shankur Pandurang Pandit, and others, need not fear comparison with the best works of European scholars." The admission of Dr. Rajendralal as an honorary member of this Society would be a link, a living link, between the scholars of Eastern Bengal and of this Presidency. I therefore say that in doing honour to him, we do honour to our Society.

The CHAIRMAN, in support of the proposition, remarked that in this morning's paper we are spoken of as in these days being "drenched with distinctions." It is said that Afghan and Zulu celebrities are swarming all over English society; therefore he thought one thing that a Society like this can do, is to see that the scholar and the student are not forgotten. We cannot confer upon Dr. Rajendralal a C.B., or a C.S.I., or a G.C.S.I., but they had great pleasure in electing him, which it was in their power to do, an honorary member of this Society.

The proposition was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously amidst hearty applause.

The CHAIRMAN then formally informed Dr. Rajendralal that he was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Dr. RAJENDRALAL MITRA then said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I feel deeply thankful to you for the honour which you have done me. It is one which I had never calculated upon and never expected. When I started from home I expected to see many things here. I expected to see the first city in India: I expected to see some of the finest buildings that have been erected in the course of the present

century : I expected to see men deeply engaged in commercial and literary pursuits. I was well aware that in every sense of the word Bombay was to be compared with another very large city in the world : it is the New York of India ; I have been fully satisfied that in calling it the New York of India, I simply tell what is but the bare truth. I expected to see, likewise, a great deal of sympathy from those who are of my religion. But I did not expect that they would all join so heartily with gentlemen of different nations and religions in according me the warm welcome which I have now received at your hands. There was a time, Sir, far before the commencement of true history, when there lived a family, a very prosperous and thriving family, which was after a time divided into different branches by some discord or other. One of the branches, finding home no longer comfortable, sallied forth to seek their fortune in the far West. Some of the members of the family at home thought that the system of worship they followed was not the proper one, and objected to animal sacrifices and fermented beverages. Religion was the greatest cementer of mankind, as also the most potent element of discord. They quarrelled with those who did not agree with them, and one branch proceeded to the south-west and another to the south-east. Of these three branches, each of which formed a great nation, one is worthily represented by you, Mr. Chairman, and the other two by my Parsee and Hindoo friends. By some curious irony of fate those who quarrelled with their cousins on account of differences of opinion regarding ritual observances so as to forsake the family home, were the first to come to this country to find shelter here from religious persecution ; and they are the most thriving population of Bombay. The Hindoos then held forth the right hand of fellowship, and have kindly received them, and they live well and happily together. In course of time another nation, but under different circumstances, have come to this country ; and now the three branches of the old Aryan race have again united in this land. I have now before me the representatives of all the three nations : they do not meet here as enemies, but as kind friends anxious to take each other by the right hand of fellowship. The best proof of that I have this day derived by the kind manner in which you have accorded your right hand to me. Our object here is the cultivation of literature, to ransack the blotted pages of the past, and find some clue to unravel the tangled skein of forgotten history. It is the duty of societies like this to try to explain the badly written and scarcely decipherable inscriptions and coins which puzzle an antiquarian for

years and years. It is for you to explain what ancient coins mean, and what ancient inscriptions mean. To the honour of the English nation, the first society of this description, which has for its object the cultivation of the ancient history of India, was the Asiatic Society of Bengal, established about a century ago. It has done an immense deal of good. No society of an equal standing can be compared with the amount of good that the Asiatic Society of Bengal has done in its way, and the pages of its numerous publications bear ample testimony of energy, activity, and successful work. A few years after, in the first decade of this century, some earnest men founded a society in this city under the name of the Literary Society. Subsequently it became a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, but whether as Literary Society or Asiatic Society it has done an immense deal of good, as will be witnessed from the volumes of its journals. Among the roll of your great men, who will be long remembered for their zeal, assiduity, and high ability in explaining some of the records of the past, were Elphinstone, Macintosh, Haug, and Wilson. Fitly were they associated with many other distinguished scholars who have done great honour to the English name in this country as pioneers in the untrodden field of Indian literature. I hope that the Hindoos and Parsees of this town will follow in the wake of their illustrious and elder cousins, and try to do likewise. You have mentioned in kind terms the little services which I have been able to render to Indian literature and Indian antiquities. I am afraid, Sir, that your kindness and sympathy for me has induced you to estimate and value my services in a manner which I do not deem myself so worthy of. (No, no.) I shall not, with false modesty, say that I have not tried to do my best in my humble way to discharge the duty I owe to my countrymen. Recently a list was made out that showed that I have issued sixty-one volumes in the course of my literary life of about thirty years. But a great many of these volumes are mere catalogues, recording the names of ancient manuscripts, forming an index to their contents. These are not the works for which I should deserve the high honour which you have done me by enrolling me amongst your honorary members. The list of your honorary members contains some of the most distinguished names in the annals of Oriental scholarship, and I feel deeply and profoundly thankful for the honour you have done me by placing me in the same list along with such illustrious names.

The Chairman then said the business of the meeting was finished.

## LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1879.)

- Aarboger for Nordisk old Kyndighed og Histoire. 4 Parts, 1877.  
By the Royal Society of Antiquaries of the North.
- Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-philologischen. Vol. XIII. Parts 1—3. Vol. XIV. Parts 1—2. By the Royal Academy of Sciences of Munich.
- Accounts of the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. Vols. II., III., and IV. By the Government of India.
- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India, from October 1878 to September 1879. By the Government of India.
- A Digest of the Principles and Practice of Medicine. By Rastamji Nasarwanji Khory. By the Author.
- Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 5th February 1879. By W. T. Blanford. By the Author.
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- Almanach der Akademi der Wissenschaften, 1878. By the Royal Academy of Sciences of Munich.
- A Manual of the Geology of India. By H. B. Medlicott and W. T. Blanford. By the Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.
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- An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia. By Captain F. M. Hunter. By the Bombay Government.
- Annual Report on the Lunatic Asylums in the Punjab, 1878. By the Punjab Government.
- Annual Reports of the Sanitary Commissioner of Bombay, 1873-77. By the Bombay Government.
- Annual Statement of the Trade and Navigation of India in the year ending 31st March 1879. By the Government of India.
- Archæological Survey of India, Reports. Vols. VII. and VIII. By the Bombay Government.
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- Catalogue of Books in the Library of M. Garcin de Tassy. By the French Consul.
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- in Private Libraries of the N. W. Provinces. Parts III. and IV. By the Government N. W. Provinces.
- Charters, Bye-Laws, Regulations, and List of Members of the Institution of Civil Engineers. By the Institution.
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- Forest Administration Report, Punjaub, 1877-78. By the Punjaub Government.
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- Papers relating to the Collection and Preservation of the Records of Ancient Sanskrit Literature in India.** By A. E. Gough. By the Government of India.
- Parliamentary Papers.** By the Secretary of State for India.
- Afghanistan; further Correspondence.
- Copy of Minutes recorded by Lord Canning and other Members of his Council in February 1857, as to the agreement with.
- Treaty of Peace.
- Army, Indian. Home Charges.
- Cotton Duty (India) Return. 1879.
- East India, Claims for Recruits. 1878.
- Loans raised in India.
- Railway Company, Return showing the Subscribed Capital.
- (Net Revenue and Expenditure) for 1877-78.
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- (Financial Statement), 1879-80.
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- Papers relating to the case of Mr. William Tayler, India.
- Report from Select Committee on East India Public Works.

- Report of the Commissioners appointed to represent Her Majesty's Government at the Monetary Conference held in Paris, 1878.
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- Publications of the Royal Norwegian University. By the Norwegian University.
- Publications of the Society of Arts and Sciences of Batavia. By the Society.
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- Smithsonian Report for 1877. By the Smithsonian Institution.
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- Trumpp (Dr. E.); Einleitung der Arabischen Grammatiker.** By the Royal Academy of Sciences of Munich.
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- Two Letters on the Industrial Arts of India.** By Dr. G. Birdwood. By the Author.
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- Works by Dr. Sourindro Mohun Tagore.** By the Author.
- A few Lyrics of Owen Meredith set to Hindu Music.
- A few Specimens of Indian Songs.
- Bharatiya Natya Rahasya.**
- Bhughola-o-Itihasa.**
- Fifth and Sixth Annual Reports of the Bengal Music School.**
- Gitávali.**
- Harmonium-Sutra.**
- Hindu Music.**
- Hindu Musical Instruments.**
- Málabikagnimitra.**
- Mani-Málá, a treatise on Gems.**
- Public opinion about Bengal Music School.**
- Sangita-Sara-Sangraha.**
- Six Principal Ragas of Hindu Music.**
- Victoria-Giti-Málá.**
- Yantra Koshas.**
- Yantra Kshetra Dipika.**

Works of Sir William Jones. Reprinted at Calcutta. By the  
Director of Public Instruction :—

Chronology.  
Eleven Anniversary Discourses.  
Gods of India.  
Hindu Wife.  
Hindu Law.  
Hindu Music.  
Miscellaneous Poems.  
Moallakat.  
Persian Language.  
Sacontala.  
Ramayana and Veda.

**PRESENTS TO THE MUSEUM.**

(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1879.)

- Two Gold Coins (Pagoda and Mada) from the Kurnool district, Madras Presidency. Presented by the Madras Government through the Collector of Kurnool.**
- Four Gold Coins (Indo-Scythian) found in the Ahin Posh Tope at Jellalabad, during the recent operations in Afghanistan. Presented by the Government of India.**
- A specimen of Sedimentary Rock found on the Southern Slope of the Sattara Hills near Girnara, in the Aurangabad district. Presented by Mr. Furdoonjee Jamshedjee, Settlement Officer H. H. Nizam's Dominions.**
- A Stone bearing Sanskrit inscription from Chiplun, in the Konkan. Presented by Mr. P. Falle (Marine Survey Department).**
- Two Silver Coins (Patta Gadalu and Gudu Namlas). Presented by the Madras Government.**

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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(JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1880.)

The monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Wednesday, the 14th January 1880; Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Surgeon-Major W. H. Colvill, N. S. Symons, Esq., Rastam K. R. Kama, Esq., and J. M. Barbour, Esq., M.D., were elected Members of the Society.

Read a letter No. 3540, dated 23rd December 1879, from the Secretary to Government, General Department, forwarding for the Society's Museum a meteorite, about 10 lbs. in weight, which fell at the village of Kalambi, in the Wai Taluka, of the Sattara Collectorate, on the 4th November 1879.

At the suggestion of Dr. J. Pinkerton it was resolved to have a plaster of Paris model of the meteorite made before a portion of it was broken off for analysis, which the Chemical Analyser to Government has been requested to undertake.

Mr. Rehatsek then read a paper on the *History of the Wahhábys in Arabia and in India*.

On the proposition of Rev. D. Macpherson, seconded by Surgeon-Major J. Pinkerton, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek.

A number of works on India Music, edited by Dr. Sowrindro Mohan Tagore, and presented by him to the Society, were placed before the Meeting, when it was resolved that the best thanks of the Society be conveyed to the donor for the presentation.

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The monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Tuesday, the 6th April 1880; Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Lieutenant M. O. Hopkins, R.A., Nanabhoy Byramjee Jejeebhoy, Esq., H. Stead, Esq., Hajee Cumoo Sulliman, Esq., Badroodin Tyabjee, Esq., and C. W. L. Jackson, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

Mr. Rehatsek then read a paper on the *Doctrines of Metempsychosis and Incarnation among nine heretic Muhammadan Sects*.

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by K. T. Telang, Esq., a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek for his paper.

The Honourable Mr. Mowat made certain remarks to the effect that it is desirable that papers on engineering and other scientific topics should occasionally be read at the Society's meetings.

The monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Tuesday, the 11th May 1880; Surgeon-Major J. Pinkerton, M.D., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

The Right Rev. Dr. L. Meurin., F. D. Parker, Esq., Jacob E. Sassoon, Esq., C. C. M. de Souza, Esq., and Ismael F. Gracias, Esq. were elected Members of the Society.

The following report on the meteoric stone which fell last November in the Sattara Collectorate, made by the Chemical Analyser to Government at the request of the Society, was read (the stone being on the table for inspection) :—

“The meteorite which is reported to have fallen on the 4th November 1879, at the village of Kalambi, in the Wai Taluka of the Sattara Collectorate, has the shape of a four-sided wedge with a nearly square section at the base. Two of the sides, opposed to one another, are tolerably perfect isosceles triangles with slightly rounded apices, the other two are similar in shape, but have their apices truncated. The greatest length of the stone from apex to most projecting part of the base was found to be  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches and its greatest breadth 5 inches. Its weight when received was 71,947 grains, equal to  $10\frac{1}{4}$  lbs. 179 grains.

“Exteriorly the stone is covered with a thin, hard, smooth, black crust, giving its surface the appearance of having undergone fusion. Interiorly the stone is seen to be made up of a grey granular matrix interspersed with granular matter of a light red colour, and tolerably numerous shining metallic particles attracted by a magnet.

“The specific gravity of a detached portion of the stone was found to be 3.45.

“Apparently the stone consists of three distinct portions: (1) nickel iron constituting the shining metallic particles above alluded to; (2) a silicate decomposed by hydrochloric acid and containing magnesia in

large quantity, probably olivin; and (3) a silicate or silicates insoluble in and unattacked by hydrochloric acid.

“Inclusive of silica from decomposed silicates, 58·75 per cent. of the stone was found to be insoluble in hydrochloric acid. The hydrochloric acid solution yielded ferric oxide (including alumina) 27·62 per cent., nickel 1·56 per cent., lime ·83 per cent., and magnesia 11·88 per cent.”

With regard to the reference made in Dr. Lyon's covering note to the piece of stone for Vienna, the Secretary mentioned that a certain scientific body in that city, in correspondence with this Society, makes a speciality of microscopic examination of meteorites, and the detached portion would be sent there for that purpose.

It was then resolved that the thanks of the Society be given to the Chemical Analyser for his report.

A gold medal struck in commemoration of the opening of the Prince's Dock, presented by the Port Trustees to the Society, was placed before the meeting.

Several books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society, were placed before the meeting, and thanks voted to the donors.

The monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Tuesday, the 8th June 1880; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, M.A., *President*, in the chair.

H. A. Krohn, Esq., B. A., and Rev. W. Black, M.A., were elected members of the Society.

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble James Fergusson, Bt., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., Governor of Bombay, was unanimously elected a member of the Society—without ballot.

Read letter dated 24th May, from Alexander Rogers, Esq., stating that in accordance with the request of the Society he attended the late meetings of the Congrès de la Géographie Commerciale at Paris and Brussels, and was received with marked attention by the members of the Congress, adding that the subjects discussed related entirely to subjects falling within the province of commercial bodies having no connection with the pursuits of either the Asiatic or the Geographical Society, and recommending, under these circumstances, not to send any one as delegate from Bombay to the next meetings of the Congress.

Resolved—That the letter be recorded.



Dr. J. G. da Cunha laid before the meeting a copy of the Portuguese inscription on the top of the gateway of the ruined bastion at Bandora Point, forwarded to him by Mr. F. W. Peterson, of the Bombay Mint.

Dr. Gerson da Cunha then read the first chapter of his paper on Indo-Portuguese Numismatics No. 2.

Letter was read from Lieut. Selby, R.E., dated 7th May, Nassick, Afghanistan, forwarding drawing of a curious clay figure found there.

Thanks were voted to Lieut. Selby, and it was added that if he could forward the figure itself, members would be better able to identify its date and probable origin.

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The monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Monday, the 19th July 1880; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, M.A., *President*, in the chair.

H. Curwen, Esq., and Leopold Flores, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

Mr. Rehatsek then read a paper on "Picture and Description of the Borák."

On the motion of Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., seconded by Lieut.-Colonel J. H. White, R.E., a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Rehatsek for his paper.

Surgeon-Major Codrington then read notes on several varieties of Baktrian and Indian coins which were exhibited.

It was proposed by Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., seconded by Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, that thanks be voted to Dr. Codrington for his exposition.

Several books and pamphlets presented were laid on the table and thanks voted to the donors.

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The monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Tuesday, the 24th August 1880; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice R. West, M.A., *President*, in the chair.

G. R. Johnston, Esq., and W. Sandford, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

A letter from the Government of Holland, dated 3rd April 1880, forwarding plates of the ruins of *Boro-Bodour* in Java, was read, and the plates placed on the table.

THE ORDER OF THE SEAL OF SOLOMON.

*which the Emperor Theodore intended instituting in Abyssinia*



*The fear of the true God  
is the beginning of wisdom*



*Theodorus of Abyssinia  
King of Kings*

*Taken from one of the three original gold jewels of the First Class, now in the possession  
of H.E. Sir Charles Staveley K.C.B. Commander in Chief Bombay 1877.*

Resolved that special thanks of the Society be conveyed to the Government of Holland for the valuable presentation.

Rev. A. Bourquin then read a paper on the *Dharma Sindhu*; translation and annotation.

On the motion of Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., seconded by Prof. Bhandarkar, a vote of thanks was passed to Rev. Mr. Bourquin for his paper.

The President proposed that a discussion on the paper be adjourned to the next meeting.

The monthly meeting of the Society was held in the Library Room on Tuesday, the 12th October 1880; Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., *Vice-President*, in the chair.

Vrijbhucandas Atmaram, Esq., H. C. Kirkpatrick, Esq., and W. M. Bell, Esq., were elected members of the Society.

The Secretary read the following note on the Order of the Cross and Seal of Solomon, as proposed to be founded by King Theodore of Abyssinia, communicated by the Honourable Mr. J. Gibbs, C.S.I., F.R.G.S., late President of the Society :—

*A Note on the Order of the Cross and Seal of Solomon, proposed to be founded by King Theodore of Abyssinia, communicated by The Hon. Mr. J. Gibbs, C.S.I., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., late President of the Society.*

When H. R. H. the Prince of Wales was in India he was shown one of the jewels designed for the "Order of the Cross and Solomon's Seal," which King Theodore of Abyssinia had intended to found, and was much struck with its curious Masonic character. H. R. H. had some miniature copies made, and presented them to some of his suite who were Masons. On his return to Bombay, H. R. H. was pleased to give me one as a memorial of his visit and of the Masonic ceremony he had performed in laying the foundation stone of the "Prince's Dock."

This led me to make inquiries into the matter; and finding that H. E. General Sir Charles Staveley had one of the gold ones with the original chain, I had the accompanying lithograph made showing its exact size.

The jewel was suspended to a thin plaited gold chain to be worn round the neck.

From information procured for me by Dr. Blanc, who was one of the officers kept in confinement by Theodore, I learnt that while he, Mr. Rassam, and Captain Prideaux were waiting on the shores of the lake for the prisoners whom Theodore had released, and who, according to his promise, were to be taken to England by the Mission, the idea of this Order was started by Mr. Rassam chiefly to keep the King amused and in good humour; and the double triangle known

as Solomon's Seal, and which is found on the walls of some of the churches in Abyssinia, was, with a cross in the centre, adopted as the badge.

The Order was to be divided into three classes. The jewel of the first class was to be entirely of gold; that of the second class of silver, with the cross in gold; and that of the third class all silver.

The inscription in Amharic on the one side is "Theodoros, King of Kings of Ethiopia," and on the other, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."

It was proposed, I understand, that the first class was to be conferred on Mr. Rassam, Ras Eugeda, and Ras Meshesha, the King's illegitimate son; the second class on Captain Prideaux, Dr. Blanc, and several Raases.

But the matter never went beyond a draft of the statutes and the patterns for the jewels. That in the possession of Sir Charles Staveley was purchased by him at a sale of the prize property after the war, in which Sir Charles was second in command.

Captain Prideaux gives as the origin of the double triangle, that it is said amongst Orientals to have been the symbol on the seal which was used by Solomon to stamp the corks of the flasks in which he bottled up the Djinn; and on this occasion the cross was added to give the device a Christian character!

It is curious that at the time no members of the Mission belonged to the ancient fraternity of free and accepted Masons. Nor had they any idea that they were proposing to the King a design closely resembling the jewel of one of the superior orders in Masonry.

As the matter is interesting in connection with the circumstances which led to the Abyssinian war and also with the character of that singular person, King Theodore, I thought it might with propriety be preserved in the Journal of this Society, especially as the Bombay Army took a prominent part in the war under the command of their then Chief, who now, from the citadel of Theodore, takes his title of Napier of Magdala.

Resolved that a vote of thanks be passed to the Honourable Mr. Gibbs for his communication.

There was a discussion on the Rev. A. Bourquin's paper on the *Dharma Sindhu*, in which Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik and Prof. Bhandarkar again took part, as well as the author.

The following books, presented by Dr. J. M. Barbour, were placed on the table, and thanks voted to the donor for the valuable presentation:—

Facsimiles of old English newspapers, 1 vol., and Library Catalogue of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, 3 vols.