

1892

1892

THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
FOR
1892.



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.

MDCCLXXXIII.

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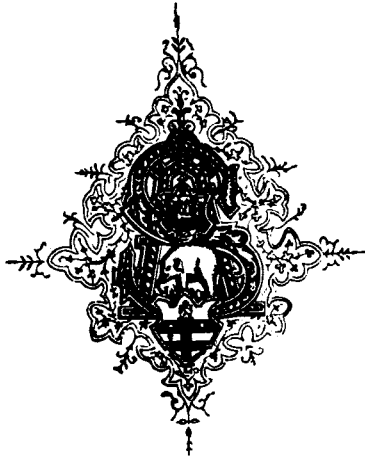
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STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS,



PRINTERS, HERTFORD.



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THE Institut des Langues Orientales of St. Petersburg has an admirable custom, which it were well if other similar institutions would imitate. From time to time it publishes, under the title of *Collections Scientifiques*, not mere catalogues of recent acquisitions, but full accounts of the more interesting manuscripts which have been added to its library, with copious extracts, tables of contents, and critical notes. The sixth volume of these *Collections* has lately appeared in two parts, of which the second is almost entirely filled with a description, from the pen of Baron Rosen, of certain BĀBĪ MSS. acquired by the Institut. It is this second part of vol. vi that I propose specially to discuss here, but of the BĀBĪ texts contained in vol. i (published in 1877) I shall also have something to say.

Before proceeding further, I wish to enumerate briefly the publications to which in the course of this article I shall have occasion to refer, and to specify the abbreviations by which they will be hereinafter denoted. They are as follows:—

- (1) *Collections Scientifiques*, etc., vol. i, *Manuscripts Arabes*, by Baron V. Rosen (St. Pet. 1877), denoted as *Coll. Sc. i.*

¹ I omit in this article all but incidental reference to vol. iii of the *Collections Scientifiques (Manuscripts Persans)*, published in 1886, which contains descriptions of the *Persian Beydn* and the *Ikān*. Of the former I am now engaged in the preparation of a complete text, and I gladly take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to the *Academy* and the *Institut* of St. Petersburg for their liberality in permitting me to borrow the MSS. of this work contained in their collections.

- (2) *Collections Scientifiques*, etc., vol. vi, *Manuscripts Arabes*, (non compris dans le No. 1) . . . et *Bábys*, by Baron V. Rosen (St. Pet. 1891), denoted as *Coll. Sc. vi*.
- (3) My first paper on the Bábís (*The Bábís of Persia. I. Sketch of their History and Personal Experiences amongst them*) in the July number of the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 (pp. 485–526), denoted as *B. i*.
- (4) My second paper on the Bábís (*The Bábís of Persia. II. Their Literature and Doctrines*) in the October number of the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 (pp. 881–1009), denoted as *B. ii*.
- (5) My recently published *Traveller's Narrative*, written to illustrate the *Episode of the Báb* (Cambridge, 1891), of which the first volume, containing the Persian text, is denoted as *T.N. i*, and the second volume, containing the English translation, introduction, and notes as *T.N. ii*.

Were it possible, I would fain consider Baron Rosen's work by itself, without reference to my own. But it is not possible to avoid such reference; for, just as I, in my second paper in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889, which dealt with the literature of the Bábís, as well as in the *Traveller's Narrative*, had Baron Rosen's researches continually in view, so he, in his later writings, constantly alludes to my work, often correcting, supplementing, or criticizing most kindly and most pertinently the statements and conjectures which I have advanced. To withdraw or modify such of these conjectures as are no longer tenable, to harmonize, as far as possible, the results of our independent researches, to epitomize, for the benefit of those not specially engaged in this branch of Oriental studies, the results of Baron Rosen's valuable discoveries, and to add some few new facts which have come to my own knowledge, is the object of this article. With these preliminary remarks, I proceed to the detailed examination of the texts published by Baron Rosen.

I. THE BÁB'S COMMENTARY ON THE SÚRA-I-YÚSUF,
OTHERWISE CALLED THE KAYYÚMU'L-ASMÁ.

Coll. Sc. i (MSS. Arabes) contains descriptions of two Bábí MSS. The first of these (pp. 179–191) is conjectured by Baron Rosen to be the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuif* (K̄ur'án, xii), composed by the Báb at the beginning of his mission. In *B. ii*, pp. 904–909, I gave some account of this book, based on Baron Rosen's notice of the St. Petersburg MS., and remarked that there existed in the British Museum Library a MS., marked Or. 3539, which appeared to be a copy of the same work. Quite recently I obtained from a learned Ezelí, resident at Constantinople, a MS. which is professedly a transcript of the Báb's *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuif*. This I have compared with the British Museum MS. as well as with Baron Rosen's description of the St. Petersburg Codex, and I have satisfied myself that all three MSS. are copies of the same work, and that this work is none other than the Báb's celebrated *Commentary*. A *Commentary* in the strict sense of the word it is not, but rather a mystical and often unintelligible rhapsody, containing as many chapters as the original *Súra* in the K̄ur'án does verses, viz. one hundred and eleven. Five of these chapters (Nos. i, ii, iii, iv, and lxi) are described in the British Museum MS. as containing forty-two verses each. The number of verses is inserted, as in the K̄ur'án, after the name of the *súra*. Thus the second chapter or *súra* is headed *سورة العلماء وهى اثنتى واربعون آية*, "The Chapter of the Doctors, consisting of 42 verses. Revealed at Shiráz," and so with the others. In my MS. the number of verses is prefixed only to chapter xlii, which is described as containing forty verses, but in the letter which accompanied the MS. the sender wrote as follows :

این کتاب قیوم الاسماء خوش خط و صحیح استنساخ شده خط آن
هم بشیوه خط بیان است که شکسته حیوان باشد. تنها نقیصی که



پیدا کرده اسامی سورها را ننوشته است و نسخه دیگر هم نداشتیم که از روی آن نوشته شود از کرمان و یا از اصفهان و طهران اسامی سورها بخوانید هر سوره مشتمل بر چهل آیه است که عدد لی (۳۰ = ل : ۱۰ = ی) باشد که در آیه مبارکه رأیهم لی ساجدین اشاره شده است . ولی فهمیدن کتاب قیوم الاسماء بدون کتاب مستقیظ که شرح و تفسیر آن است ممکن نیست و آن هم در جزیره و اسلامبول موجود نیست یا از کرمان بخوانید یا از اصفهان و طهران تا برای سرکار بفرستند .

“This book, the *Ḳayyumu'l-Asmá*, has been well and correctly transcribed. Its writing is in the style of the *Beyán*, which is [called] *shikasté-i-ḥayaván*. The only defect which it has, is that the names of the *súras* have not been inserted, and we had not another copy from which to transcribe them. You must get these names from *Kirmán*, *Isfahán*, or *Teherán*. Each *súra* contains 40 verses, which is the number [equivalent] to لی ‘to me’ [ل=30, ی=10], in allusion to the blessed verse [of the *Kur’án*, ch. xii, v. 4], ‘I saw them performing obeisance to me.’ But it is impossible to understand the book *Ḳayyumu'l-Asmá* without the book *Mustaykidh* [see *T.N.* ii, p. 341], which is its commentary and explanation; and there is no copy of it either in the Island [i.e. Cyprus] or Constantinople. Write for it to *Kirmán*, or *Isfahán*, or *Teherán*, that they may send it for you.” It appears, therefore, that each chapter properly contains 40 verses. As regards the names of the *súras*, for the omission of which the sender of my MS. apologizes, they appear to be altogether absent in the MS. described by Baron Rosen, but a good many of them are given in the British Museum Codex, and a very few in mine. A list of these names, as far as they are given, with the corresponding numbers of the *súras*, I subjoin.

Chapter i. . . . سورة الملك	Chapter xxxi. . . . سورة العز
„ ii. . . . العلماء	„ xxxii. . . . الحق
„ iii. . . . الايمان	„ xxxiii. . . . البصر
„ iv. . . . المدينة	„ xxxiv. . . . الاشارة
„ v. . . . يوسف	„ xxxv. . . . العبودية
(In my MS. this is called	„ xxxvi. . . . العدل
سورة حسين, but ch. lxi	„ xxxvii. . . . التعبير
bears the same title.)	„ xxxviii. . . . الفاظه
„ vi. . . . سورة الشهادة	„ xxxix. . . . الشك
„ vii. . . . الزيارة	„ xl. . . . الانسان
„ viii. . . . التوحيد	„ xli. . . . الكتاب
„ ix. . . . السر	„ xlii. . . . No title.
„ x. . . . العما	„ xliii. . . . الوحدة
„ xi. . . . السطر	„ xliv. . . . الرؤيا
„ xii. . . . العاشورا	Chs. xlv.—liii. Without titles.
„ xiii. . . . الفردوس	Chapter liv. . . . سورة الغلام
Chs. xiv.—xvi. Without titles.	Chs. lv.—lx. Without titles.
Chapter xvii. . . . سورة الباب	Chapter lxi. . . . سورة الحسين
„ xviii. . . . الصراط	„ lxii. Without title.
„ xix. . . . السينا	„ lxiii. سورة الرحمة
„ xx. . . . النور	„ lxiv. Without title.
„ xxi. . . . الشجر	„ lxv. . . . سورة الغيب
„ xxii. . . . الماء	„ lxvi. Without title.
„ xxiii. . . . العصر	„ lxvii. سورة الانشاء
„ xxiv. . . . القدر	„ lxviii. . . . الرد
„ xxv. . . . الخاتم	„ lxix. . . . الرجوع
„ xxvi. . . . المحل (p)	„ lxx. . . . القسط
„ xxvii. . . . الانوار	„ lxxi. . . . القلم
„ xxviii. . . . القرابة	„ lxxii. . . . الجعير
„ xxix. . . . المحورية	„ lxxiii. . . . الكهف
„ xxx. . . . التبليغ	

the *Súra-i-Yúsf*"), *Aḥsanu'l-Kiṣaṣ* ("The Best of Stories," a title given, in *Kur'án* xii, 2, to the history of Joseph), and *Ḳayyúmu'l-Asmá* (the word *Ḳayyúm* being numerically equivalent to *Yúsf*). We find in the Persian Beyán (*Vaḥid* vii, ch. i) the following passage corroborative of this identity:—

هنوز شنیده نشد که کتاب قیوم اسماء بعدد نفس قیوم که عدد
اسم یوسف علیه السلام است بر استحقاق خود نوشته باشد و حال
آنکه از بد ظهور تا امروز چه قدر کتابها نوشته شده که دین ایمان
باو نمر نمی بخشد *

"It hath not yet been heard that the book *Ḳayyúmu'l-Asmá* ([so called], according to the number inherent in *Ḳayyúm*, which is the number of the name of Joseph, upon whom be peace) hath been written out as it deserves, yet withal, how many books have been written from the beginning of the 'Manifestation' to the present day, lack of belief in which hath no result."

The book is again referred to in ch. 18 of *Vaḥid iv* of the Persian Beyán in the following words:—

نه اینست که بر او فضل خاصی شده بلکه همان فضل در حق
کَلّ شده ولی خود را محتاج داشته از آن فضل زیرا که در آن
سنه ظهور کتاب شرح سوره یوسف بکَلّ رسید . . .

"Not that special grace was shewn to him [alluding to one who had accompanied the Báb on the pilgrimage-journey and believed in him, probably, therefore, Hájí Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh, afterwards called *Jenáb-* or *Ḥazrat-i-Ḳuddús*, or else Suleymán Khán], for that same grace was shewn to all, though they veiled themselves therefrom. For in that year of the 'Manifestation' [A.H. 1260] the Book of the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsf* reached all."

If aught else be required to establish the identity of the *Ḳayyūmu'l-Asmá* with the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsuḡ*, and to prove that it is this work, and no other, which is contained in the MSS. under consideration, it is supplied by a passage from the *I'kán*, quoted and remarked on by Baron Rosen, at p. 43 of *Coll. Sc. iii*. This passage is as follows:—

سبحان الله در اول از كتب خود كه اورا قیوم اسماء نامیده و
 اول و اعظم و اكبر جميع كتب است اخبار از شهادت خود
 میدهند و در مقامی این آیه را ذكر فرموده اند یا بقیة الله قد فدیت
 بكلی لك و رضیت السب فی سبیلک و ما تمنیت الآقتل فی
 محبتك و كفی بالله العلی معتصماً قديماً . . .

“Glory be to God! In the first of his books, which he named *Ḳayyūmu'l-Asmá*, and which is the first, the greatest, and the chiefest of all books, he [*i.e.* the Báb] foretells his own martyrdom, and, in one passage, utters the following verse:—‘O Remnant of God! I am wholly sacrificed to Thee; I am content to be reviled in Thy way; I crave naught but to be slain in Thy love; and God the Most High sufficeth as an Eternal Refuge’ . . .”¹

On this passage Baron Rosen remarks:—“Ce passage est très-important, parce qu’il nous donne le nom authentique d’un des ouvrages fondamentaux de la secte. Il s’agit maintenant de retrouver ce passage dans les manuscrits bábys connus jusqu’ici.”² Well; the passage in question actually occurs in ch. lviii of my MS. of the Commentary of the *Súra-i-Yúsuḡ*, in what appears to be verse 37 or 38. The whole of the verse (or verses, for I am not sure whether

¹ This passage is also quoted in the *Traceller's Narrative* (vol. i, p. 4; vol. ii, pp. 3-4).

² Cf. also *B. ii*, pp. 952-3, and n. 1 on latter.

a division should not be made at the word نصيراً is as follows:—

يا سيّد الاكبر ما انا بشئ آو قد اقامتنى قدرتك على الامر ما
اتكلت فى شئ الآ عليك وما اعتصمت فى امر الآ اليك وانت
الكافى بالحق والله الحق من ورآئك المحيط وكفى بالله العلى
على الحق بالحق القوى نصيراً يا بقیة الله قد فدیت بكلى لك
ورضیت السب فى سبيلك وما تمثیت الآ القتل فى محبتك و
كفى بالله العلى معتصماً قديماً وكفى بالله شاهداً ووكيلاً *

My MS. has 22 lines to the page, contains ff. 202 (the last blank), and concludes with the following colophon:—

تمام شد كتاب مستطاب قیوم الاسما در تفسیر احسن
القصص بدست اقل بندگان حسین ایرانی
غزّه شهر ربيع الثانى سنه ۱۳۰۹

“Here endeth the precious book of the *Kayyumu'l-Asma* in explanation of the ‘Best of Stories,’ by the hand of the least of [God’s] servants, Huseyn the Persian, on the first day [*ghurre*] of the month of Rabi’ uth-Thání, A.H. 1309” (Nov. 4, A.D. 1891).

Concerning the British Museum MS. (Or. 3539) I have two remarks to make. *Firstly*, owing to the same catch-word occurring at the foot of two closely adjacent pages, the leaves between f. 105 and f. 112 are improperly arranged. Their proper order, as I have ascertained by comparison with my own MS., is as follows:—105, 110, 111, 108, 109, 106, 107, 112; in other words the leaves at present numbered 110, 111, 106, and 107 *should* be transposed and numbered respectively 106, 107, 110, and 111. *Secondly*, the first page is smudged and blurred, as though with water, to such a degree as to be illegible. Now when I was in Cyprus in March, 1890, Şubḥ-i-Ezel incidentally mentioned, in the course of one of our conversations, that at one time

the Báb, for some reason or other, issued a general order that such of his followers as had in their possession copies of his Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsuif* should "wash them out" or obliterate them. Between their love for their Master, and their love for his book, the Bábís found themselves in a dilemma, from which the majority of them sought escape by expunging a single page of the Commentary. It seems to me very probable that this accounts for the state of the first page of Or. 3539, the remainder of which is in perfect preservation.

I cannot here speak at greater length on the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuif*, but before passing on I would remark that, sooner or later, it will have to be fully and carefully examined, and copious extracts, if not the whole work, published. It was the first, and, for a long while, the chief sacred book of the Bábís, and in it the earliest form of the Bábí doctrine must be sought. Apart from this it appears to me almost certain that some passages, at least, will be found in it to throw new light on the Báb's life and character.

II. THE SÚRATU'L-MULÚK, OR 'CHAPTER OF THE KINGS,' BY MÍRZÁ HUSEYN 'ALÍ OF NÚR, COMMONLY CALLED BEHÁ'U'LLÁH.

The second Bábí MS. described in *Coll. Sc. i* (pp. 191-212) consists of "a collection of 30 pieces, mostly very short, which, judging by the tone and style, all belong to the same author." The twentieth of these pieces is, however, of considerable length, and is addressed collectively "to the Kings." Its contents are fully described by Baron Rosen, and copious extracts from it are given. Before proceeding to discuss it, I will in a few words dismiss the other 29 letters, of which, with one exception (No. 29), only the opening words are given. There can be practically no doubt that they are all by the same author, and that he is none other than Behá'u'lláh, the chief of the Behá'í Bábís, now resident at Acre, where I visited him in April,

1890 (see *T.N.* xxxix-xli). A similar collection of fifty-five letters is contained in the British Museum MS. Or. 3114, which was purchased on Jan. 9th, 1886, from Baron von Kremer, for whom, according to a rather illegible pencil-note in German on the first page, it appears to have been bought in Acre by one Yúsuf Khálidí from "the spiritual chief of the Bábís there living in exile" (evidently Behá'u'lláh). This MS. I have examined, but with negative results, for it contains none of the letters described by Baron Rosen. This, however, is not surprising, since the number of these *ahcáh* or epistles addressed by Behá'u'lláh to his followers (who regard them all as equally inspired) is practically illimitable.

I now pass to a consideration of the far more important *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, the twentieth piece contained in the MS. (No. 438), described at pp. 191-212 of *Coll. Sc. i.* This MS. contains, as Baron Rosen informs us, ff. 72, of which the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* occupies ff. 36^b-57^a, or rather more than a quarter. The description of it here given was written in 1877, and, since the history of the Bábís, subsequently to the year 1852 (when most of the still surviving chiefs of the sect, including Mírzá Huseyn, 'Alí Behá'u'lláh and Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Ezel*, emigrated from Persia and took up their abode at Baghdad), was then unknown in Europe, its authorship and many of the allusions contained in it could not at that time be determined by Baron Rosen. In the elucidation of this later history it was my good fortune to render some service to science—service to which, in *Coll. Sc. vi.* (pp. 141-3, etc.), Baron Rosen awards a more than ample tribute of praise. Now when, in the summer of 1889, I came to write my second paper (*B. ii*) on the literature and doctrines of the Bábís, this *Súratu'l-Mulúk* greatly puzzled me. So much did it seem to me to differ both in style and tone from the *Epistles of the Kings* (*Alwáh-i-Saláṭin*), of which Behá'u'lláh was confessedly the author, that I finally came to the conclusion that "the letter described by Baron Rosen was not by Behá, but by one of the other Bábí chiefs, possibly Ezel" (*B. ii*, p. 958).

But Baron Rosen's recent researches have proved conclusively that I was wrong, and that Behá'u'lláh is the author of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, as well as of the *Alwáh-i-Salátin*. His ingenious arguments, the substance of which I shall state immediately, will be found at pp. 145-8 of *Coll. Sc. vi*. Disregarding, for the present, an important postscript of twelve pages, dated Oct. 15th, 1890, of which I shall have to speak subsequently, this volume (that is to say the second part of it) contains descriptions of four Bábi books recently presented by M. Gamazof to the library of the *Institut*. The first three of these, which are dismissed very briefly, are: (1) A MS. of the *I'kán*, dated A.H. 1299; (2) A copy of the Bombay lithographed edition of the same; and (3) A MS. of the كتاب اقدس, which I originally misnamed لوح اقدس (see *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 243, n. 1; *B. ii*, pp. 972-981 and 1007-1008; and *T.N. ii*, p. 211). Two and a half pages suffice to describe these, since their contents, nature, and authorship have already been determined and made known. Far otherwise is it with the fourth MS. (No. 48/465), the description of which fills nearly 100 pages, and the contents of which, briefly stated, are as follows:—

- (1) The *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, already described from another MS. (No. 438) in *Coll. Sc. i*, pp. 191-207 (Ff. 1^b-39^b).
- (2a) The *Súra-i-Heykal*, of which the *Epistles to the Kings* (*Alwáh-i-Salátin*), described by me at pp. 953-972 of *B. ii*, form a portion (Ff. 40^a-109^a).
- (2b) The Letter to the Sháh of Persia (*Lawh-i-Sultán*), together with the instructions to the bearer written on the outside of the packet. The latter are of singular interest. By the kind permission of Baron Rosen I was enabled to include them (both text and translation) in vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative* (pp. 390-392). It is not certain whether this Epistle should be regarded as part of the *Súra-i-Heykal* or not. Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 216-217) expresses his opinion in the negative, as follows: "Nous avons vu plus haut, p. 195, que

dans le titre de la lettre se trouvaient les mots, "هذا ما نزل في الهيكل لحضرة السلطان" ['This is what was revealed in the *Heykal* to His Majesty the King'] "On en pourrait peut-être conclure que la lettre fait partie de la سورة هيكل dont M. Browne nous a révélé l'existence et qui est probablement identique avec le texte imprimé plus haut, pp. 149-192. Pour ma part je croirais plutôt que cette lettre n'en fait pas partie et qu'elle a été composée un peu plus tard que la *sourat-al-heykal*.¹ Dans ce cas les mots ما نزل في الهيكل doivent naturellement avoir un autre sens, que je n'ose point préciser pour le moment" (Ff. 109^b-143^a).

- (3) "A piece without title, which contains, in comparatively simple language, some definite information as to the transference of the sectaries from Adrianople to Acre. In the margin one reads سلطان روم. It is possible, therefore, that this document may have been intended for the Sultan" [sc. of Turkey]. I myself am inclined to identify this epistle with the "letter to Sulṭān 'Abdu'l-'Azīz" to which I referred at p. 520 of *B. i* (Ff. 143^a-154^a).
- (4) "A piece without title, which is the لوح رئيس of Mr. Browne (II. pp. 960-63). In the margin one again reads "سلطان روم" (ff. 154^a-166^a).
- (5) "Without title. A sort of hymn of triumph on the occasion of the death of one of the most violent enemies of the new religion, who, as would appear, had gone to Paris for medical advice." Fu'ád Páshá and 'Alí Páshá were the two Turkish statesmen who were chiefly concerned in the removal of the Bábís from Adrianople in 1868, and against whom the Bábís therefore cherish a deep resentment. Amongst the notes which I took of my conversations with Şubḥ-i-Ezel in March, 1890, I find the following:

¹ I find some difficulty in accepting this view. See pp. 281-2 and 313 *infra*.

—“Fu’ád Páshá was first وزير ماليه (Minister of Finance) and then وزير خارجيه (Minister for Foreign Affairs). He and ‘Alí Páshá (then Prime Minister) combined to expel the Bábís [*sc.* from Adrianople]. The former died abroad, it is said a renegade from Islám. The latter was not so bad. Şubḥ-i-Ezel wrote him a petition asking not to be sent to Acre, and he laughed and sent a verbal message offering the choice of three places, Bosnia, Philippopolis, and Tekir-dághí. ‘Alí Páshá died a few months after Şubḥ-i-Ezel came to Cyprus.” It appears, then, that I was mistaken in alluding (*B. i*, 492) to “the death of ‘*A’l* Páshá away from his native country” as one of the events foreshadowed by Behá’u’lláh, and that the name of *Fu’ád Páshá* should be substituted. Meḥmed (Muḥammad) Fu’ád Páshá, son of the celebrated ‘Izzet Mullá, was born in 1814. He received a medical training, but later abandoned this profession for diplomacy. He became Minister for Foreign Affairs for the second time in 1855. In 1867 he accompanied the Sultan to England and France. He died at Nice, *whither he had gone for the benefit of his health*, February 12, 1869. These particulars are taken from the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. ix, p. 805, article *Fuad Pasha*, and on the whole they agree well with the supposition that his death was the occasion of this letter. Just as the Persians, for the most part, know no England but London, so would they naturally enough regard Nice as practically the same as Paris. This letter I shall therefore provisionally call ‘the Epistle of Fu’ád Páshá’ (ff. 166^a–168^b).

- (6) Another epistle, without title, in Persian (Ff. 168^b–170^b).
- (7) Behá’u’lláh’s answer to a question concerning the nature of the “First Point” (*i.e.* the Báb) addressed to him by one of the “Letters of the Living,” or members of the original “Unity” (واحد) (Ff. 171^a–182^a).

It is the discussion of this most interesting MS., which contains so much that is new and important, that has led Baron Rosen to reopen the question of the authorship of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*. The conclusion to which he comes is that it was written by Behá'u'lláh, and that it was written at an earlier date than the *Awáh-i-Saláṭin*, or "Epistles to the Kings." The arguments whereby he justifies this conclusion (and, as I have said, they appear to me irrefragable) are as follows:—

- (a) The MS. containing this copy of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* contains also a number of other documents, of which Behá'u'lláh is undoubtedly the author. Considering the hatred which subsists between the Behá'is and the Ezelis, it is extremely unlikely that writings of Behá'u'lláh and Şubḥ-i-Ezel should be included in the same volume.
- (b) The cyphers ۱۰۷, prefixed to most of the letters contained in this volume, as well as to MSS. of the *Kitáb-i-Akḍas* and *I'kán* (both of which are known to have been written by Behá'u'lláh), stand also at the head of this copy, and at the end of the other previously described copy of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*. Now these cyphers, as Baron Rosen points out, can hardly stand for anything else than the corresponding letters ۱, ۴, ۲, ۳, Behá, who in this case must be regarded as the author.
- (c) The difference of *tone* which I remarked between that portion of the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* addressed to the Sháh of Persia and the separate *Epistle to the Sháh* carried to Teherán in July, 1869, by Badí' (see *Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 193-5, and *B. ii*, pp. 956-7) is admitted by Baron Rosen, "but," he adds, "it would be rash to conclude from it that the two documents emanate from different authors, since we are still but imperfectly acquainted with the character of Behá and the circumstances of his life." Baron Rosen also

considers (and I now agree with him) that the difference of *style* between the documents is not sufficiently great to justify my thesis.

- (d) Baron Rosen points out a passage, occurring in the letter to the Queen of England, wherein kings and rulers in general are exhorted to live in peace with one another, and to spend less on the maintenance of vast armies, so that the money thus saved may be spent for the benefit of their subjects. In this passage occurs the following expression:—
 كَذَلِكَ
 وَصَيْنَاكُمْ فِي الْبُحُورِ الَّذِي أَرْسَلْنَا قَبْلَ تِلْكَ مَرَّةً أُخْرَى —
 “This did we counsel you in the Epistle which we sent *before this on another occasion*” (cf. *B. ii*, pp. 971-2). Well, a precisely similar injunction actually occurs in the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, and there can, as Baron Rosen says, be little doubt that it is to this that Behá'u'lláh alludes. Baron Rosen gives the text of the two parallel passages side by side (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 147-8), and of these parallel texts I here subjoin a translation, that the closeness of their similarity may be made apparent to all.

From the *Súratu'l-Mulúk*.

“Fear God, O Kings, and transgress not the ordinances of God, and conform to that whereunto ye are commanded in the Book, and be not of the transgressors. Beware that ye oppress not anyone [even] to the extent of a single mustard - seed, but [rather] pursue the path of justice, for verily it is a straight path.

From the *Epistle to the Queen of England*.

“O concourse of Kings! Verily we see you increasing your expenditure each year, and laying the burden thereof on your subjects; this is naught else than a great injustice! Fear the sighs of the oppressed and his tears, and lay not burdens upon the people beyond their endurance, neither ruin them to build up your palaces.

From the *Súratu'l-Mulúk.*

“Next, be at peace one with another, and reduce your armies that your expenses may be diminished, and that ye may be of those who are in easy circumstances. And [even] if ye should raise up differences between yourselves, ye will not need great military forces, but only so much as will suffice for you to guard your domains and realms. Fear God, and act not extravagantly in anything, and be not of those who are prodigal! We know how ye increase your expenses daily, laying the burden thereof on your subjects; this is beyond what they can bear, and verily it is a great injustice. Act justly, O ye Kings, amongst mankind, and be ye mirrors of justice in the earth; this is incumbent on you and befitteeth your dignity, were ye of those who judge equitably.”

From the *Epistle to the Queen of England.*

“Be at peace one with another; then will ye not need large armies or stores for their equipment, but only such a force as will suffice for you to protect your realms and domains. Beware that ye forsake not the counsel given you on the part of One Wise and Trusty! Agree together, O concourse of Kings; thereby shall the blasts of discord be lulled amongst you, and your subjects shall live in peace and those who are about you, did ye but know. If one amongst you arise against another, rise up against him: this is naught but evident justice. *Thus did we exhort you in the Epistle which we sent before this on another occasion.*”

The parallelism between these two passages, pointed out by Baron Rosen, is so evident that no one, I think, will be inclined to doubt that both emanate from the same pen, or that the first is alluded to in the closing sentence of the second. We may therefore take it as proved that the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* was written by Behá'u'lláh, and that



it was written before the "Epistles to the Kings" (*Aḥcaḥ-i-Salāṭīn*) which form a portion of the *Sūra-i-Ḥeykal*.

Baron Rosen is now publishing the whole text of the *Sūratu'l-Mulūk* (together with the other 29 letters contained in the MS. described in *Coll. Sc. i*, pp. 191–212) in the *Zapiski* of the Oriental Section of the Russian Imperial Society of Archæology, and until this appears it would be premature to enter into a full discussion of the document or the date of its composition. Still it may not be amiss to notice such indications of the period to which it must be referred as occur in the extracts given in *Coll. Sc. i*. Now, there are certain passages which, taken by themselves, would tempt us to detect a reference to Acre, and the fact that other passages negative this hypothesis shews us how cautious we should be in attaching too definite a meaning to the vague and mystical expressions in which these Bābī texts for the most part abound. The first of these passages occurs on pp. 192–3 of the aforementioned volume, and is as follows:—

ان يا ملوك الارض اسمعوا نداء الله من هذه الشجرة المثمرة
المرفوعة التي تنبت على ارض كثيب الحمراء برية القدس و تغن
باته لا اله الا هو العزيز المقتدر الحكيم هذه بقعة التي باركها الله
لوارديها وفيها يسمع نداء الله من سدرة قدس رفيع *

"O Kings of the earth! Harken to the Voice of God from this fruitful, lofty Tree,² which grows in the Land of the Red Sandhill, in the Desert of Jerusalem,³ and is vocal with the melody of 'Verily there is no God save Him,

¹ Cf. *Qur'ān*, xxviii. 30.

² The Bāb continually calls himself *شجرة حقيقت* "The Tree of Truth" (cf. *T.N.*, pp. 219, n. 12; 224, 225, 230, 294), and Behā'u'llāh here (and I think elsewhere) applies the same term to himself. The allusion is to the "Tree on Sinai" (the Burning Bush) from which Moses heard the words *انا الله* "Verily I am God." See *Qur'ān*, xxviii. 30.

³ It is probable, however, that the word *al-ḥuds* ("the Holy") may here have a less definite meaning.

the Mighty, the Potent, the Wise.' This is the place which God hath blessed to those who approach it, and wherein is heard the Voice of God from a lote-tree holy and high."

This passage certainly appears to refer to Acre, which might fairly be described as "in the Desert of Jerusalem"; which is actually called by the followers of Behá *بحرّ حمراء* "The Red Place" (in reference, as I was informed by Behá's sons, to a little hill hard by Behá's dwelling, which is covered in the spring with red flowers); and which is situated amongst sand hills.

Here is another passage (apparently addressed to the Sultan of Turkey) in which allusion would seem to be made to Acre (*Coll. Sc. i*, pp. 197-8):

أسمعت يا أيها الملك ما ورد من وكلائك وما عملوا بنا ام كنت
من الغافلين وأن سمعت وعلمت لِمَ ما انهيتم عن فعلهم ورضيت
لمن اجاب امرك و اطاعك ما لا يرضى لاهل مملكته احد من
السلاطين و ان لم تكن مطلعاً هذا اعظم من الاولى ان انت من
المثقين اذا اذكر لحضرتك بما ورد علينا من هولاء الظالمين فاعلم
باتا جئنا بامرک و دخلنا مدينتک بعتر مبین و اخرجنا عنها بذل
التي لن تقاس به ذلّة في الارض ان انت من المطلعين و اذبهونا
الى ان دخلونا في مدينة التي لن يدخل فيها احد الا الذينهم عصوا
امرک و كانوا من العاصين و كان ذلك بعد الذي ما عصيناك في
اقل من آن فلما سمعنا امرک اطعناه و كنا من المطيعين *

"Hast thou heard, O King, what hath befallen us at the hands of thy ministers, and what they have done unto us, or art thou of the heedless? If thou hast heard and known, why didst thou not withhold them from their action, and why didst thou sanction against one who responded to

thy command and obeyed thee [proceedings] which no [other] king would sanction against the people of his country? And if thou didst not know, then this is more grievous than the first [case], if thou art of those who fear God. Then will I tell Your Majesty of what befell us at the hands of these oppressors. *Know then that we came at thy command and entered into thy city with conspicuous honour, but were expelled from it with dishonour, wherewith no dishonour in the world can be compared, if thou art of those who are informed. And they made us go until they caused us to enter in unto a city which none entereth save such as have disobeyed thy command and have been of the [number of the] transgressors; and this though we disobeyed thee not for so much as a moment! For when we heard thy command we obeyed it, and were of the obedient."*

Two passages in the above extract I have italicized, because it is to them especially that I wish to refer. In the *Traveller's Narrative*, just edited and translated by myself, which was inspired, if not written, by Behá'u'lláh, we find it stated (text, p. 118; translation, p. 90) that "throughout this journey" (from Baghdad to Constantinople) "the governors and officials observed the utmost consideration and respectfulness, while march and halt were alike dignified and honourable." It seems probable, then, that by "the city" into which Behá'u'lláh and his companions "entered," in his own words "with conspicuous honour," Constantinople is meant.

As to the second passage italicized, it certainly seems to describe Acre better than Adrianople; at least I am not aware that the latter is specially used by the Turks as a place of banishment for criminals or political offenders, while the former certainly is. Hence Behá continually calls Acre سجن عكا "the prison of Acre" (*T.N.* vol. ii, p. 146); "a place of exile for murderers and robbers" (*ibid.* p. 73), and the like; while Adrianople is generally entitled ارض سرّ "the Land of the Mystery," and, moreover, according to

the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, pp. 121-2; vol. ii, pp. 92-3), the Bábís were there treated not only with indulgence but "respect and deference," so that one is disposed to doubt whether Behá could consistently describe it in the words here used.

A few lines lower, however (*Coll. Sc. i*, p. 198), we find a passage, of which the translation is as follows: "And they brought us until we reached [what is] in their fancy the Land of Transgressors (بلدة العصاة), and when we reached it we found therein no house wherein we might dwell, wherefore we alighted in a place whereunto none entereth save every miserable stranger. Therein we abode for some few days; but the thing waxed grievous unto us by reason of the straitness of the place; wherefore we hired houses, abandoned by their tenants, because of their extreme coldness . . . , which none inhabiteth save in the summer; but it was in winter-time that we took up our lodging there, neither had my family, nor those who were with me, clothing to shield them from the cold of that bitter weather."

Now the first part of this passage is still quite consistent with the supposition that Acre is referred to; and the complaint uttered by Behá of the absence of proper accommodation for the exiles on their arrival finds a parallel in one of the other epistles published in *Coll. Sc. vi* (p. 218, ll. 13-18), which describes the hardships endured by the Bábís on their arrival at Acre, where they were first imprisoned in the barracks. But the concluding words of this same passage supply a very strong argument against this theory, for it is evident from them that the Bábí exiles arrived at this "Land of Transgressors" in the dead of winter. Now there is no doubt that they were removed from Adrianople to Acre in *August*, 1868 (*B. i*, p. 526; *B. ii*, pp. 984 and 988, stanza 11 of Nabíl's chronological poem; *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 218, n. 1; *T.N. ii*, pp. 378, n. 2, 380), so that they could hardly have suffered from *cold* on their arrival there! On the other hand, if Nabíl's poem is to be trusted, they reached Adrianople in *Rajab*, *ا.ح.*

1280,¹ corresponding to *December*, A.D. 1863; and even though Nabíl be mistaken in the year, as Baron Rosen is disposed to think (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 218, n. 1),² it is still not unlikely that he may have given the month correctly.³

This argument appears to me quite to outweigh the evidence of isolated expressions which, taken alone, would seem to point to Acre; for severe suffering from cold is not a thing about which there can be any mistake or forgetfulness, and it is impossible that any one could feel cold at Acre in August. And in one passage in the Epistle to the Emperor of the French (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 181, ll. 17-18) Behá does describe Adrianople as his "prison":—"Matters waxed more grievous to us daily, nay, hourly; until they brought us forth from the Prison" [Adrianople] "and caused us to enter into the Most Grievous Prison" [Acre] "with manifest injustice." And a few lines lower down on the same page (ll. 24-25) he actually alludes to the previous letters which he designed to send to the Kings (*i.e.* as it would appear, this same *Súratu'l-Mulúk*, which we are now considering) in these words:—"Verily when we reached the Prison we designed to convey to the Kings the letters of their Lord, the Mighty, the Laudable." If we could only be sure that here also "the Prison" (without an epithet) denoted Adrianople, and that Behá was consistent in his terminology, the matter would be proved beyond doubt!

There is, however another passage in the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* which gives us surer ground to go upon. It occurs on p. 195 of *Coll. Sc. i*, ll. 5-7, and runs thus:—

ان يا ايها الملوك قد مضت عشرين من السنين وكتا في كل

¹ Not A.H. 1281 as stated at p. 525 of *B. i*. See p. 308 *infra*.

² See p. 307 *infra*.

³ Instances of this are pretty common, but one example will suffice. The Báb appears to have been born on Muharram 1st, A.H. 1236 (*cf. B. ii*, p. 893, and *T.N. ii*, pp. 218-222), but in the text of the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, p. 2; vol. ii, p. 2) the date of his birth is given as Muharram 1st, A.H. 1236 (*cf. also Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 262). It is easy to see that an *anniversary* is more likely to be correctly remembered than a *date*.

منها في بلاء جديد وورد علينا ما لا ورد على احد قبلنا ان انتم من
 * السامعين

“O Kings! *Twenty years* have passed in each one of which we have been visited with some new affliction, and wherein there hath befallen us what hath not befallen any one before us, if ye will be of those who hearken.”

Now since the Báb first proclaimed his doctrine in A.H. 1260 (A.D. 1844), this passage would seem to have been written about A.H. 1280 (A.D. 1863-64). It may, indeed, have been written somewhat later, since the “afflictions” of the Bábís did not begin till A.H. 1261, when the Báb’s missionaries at Shíráz were subjected to very cruel treatment by Huseyn Khán, the Governor of Fárs (*B. i*, 521; *T.N. ii*, pp. 5-6), but it can hardly have been written earlier. The removal of the Bábís to Adrianople took place, according to Nabil, in Rajab A.H. 1280 (December, A.D. 1863),¹ according to Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 218, n. 1) in A.D. 1862 (A.H. 1278-9). The *Súratu’l-Mulúk* would therefore seem to have been written about the beginning of the Adrianople period. It is, at any rate, difficult to suppose that it was written so late as A.H. 1285 (A.D. 1868), which was the beginning of the Acre period; while the allusions which it contains to the action of the Persian Minister at Constantinople and the support accorded to him by the French Ambassador (*Coll. Sc. i*, p. 194, l. 6 from the bottom *et seq.*, and *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 146, top), forbid us to suppose that it was written before the removal of the Bábís from Constantinople to Adrianople.

There is still another reason for referring the composition of the *Súratu’l-Mulúk* to the Adrianople period. Stated briefly this reason is as follows: (1) The Epistle to the King of Persia appears, from internal evidence, to have been composed, or at any rate begun, before Behá left Adrianople. (2) Behá describes the *Súratu’l-Mulúk* as having been

¹ See pp. 307-8 *infra*.



written at a time when the Bábís had endured *twenty years* of persecution (pp. 280-1 *supra*), while in the Epistle to the King of Persia he speaks of the persecution having lasted *more than twenty years*. The natural assumption is that the former document was written at an earlier date than the latter, and consequently some time before the end of the Adrianople period.

The passage in the Epistle to the King of Persia, which implies that it was written before Behá left Adrianople, occurs in *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 213, last line, and p. 214, first line, and runs as follows :

فسوف يخرجوننا اولو الحكم والغنا من هذه الارض التى سميت
بادرنه الى مدينة عكا

“And the lords of authority and wealth are about to send us forth from this land, which is named Edirné [Adrianople], to the city of ‘Akká [Acre].”¹

The other passage in the Epistle to the King of Persia, alluded to, will be found in *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 203, ll. 12-14, and *T.N. i*, p. 148 ; *ii*, p. 119, and runs as follows :

واين طائفه بيست سنه متجاوز است كه در ايام وليالى بسطوة
غضب خاقانى معذب و از هبوب عواصف قهر سلطانى هريك
بدياري افتاده اند

“But as to this sect, it is *more than twenty years* that they have been tormented by day and night with the fierceness of the Royal anger, and that they have been cast each one into a different land by the blasts of the tempests of the King’s wrath.”

Now even granting that the expression in the *Súratu’l-Mulúk*, “twenty years have passed,” be not *absolutely* definite, it is at any rate *relatively* so. When Behá speaks thus, we may doubt whether he reckons from the date of

¹ See *Traveller’s Narrative*, *i*, p. 146, where the passage stands somewhat differently, though the general sense is the same.

the Báb's 'Manifestation' (A.H. 1260), or the beginning of the minor persecutions (A.H. 1261), or the period of the great massacres and persecutions (A.H. 1265-8), but at any rate we may fairly assume that he is consistent in his method.

For the reasons above stated it appears to me probable that the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* was written some time—possibly a considerable time—before the end of the Adrianople period. It is worth noting in this connection the statement of the Ezeli author of the *Hasht-Bihisht* (see *T.N. ii*, pp. 358-9), that Behá began his propaganda by letters from Adrianople.

III. BEHÁ'U'LLÁH'S SÚRA-I-HEYKAL, OR 'CHAPTER OF THE FORM,' AND THE ALWÁH-I-SALÁTÍN, OR 'EPISTLES TO THE KINGS' WHICH IN PART COMPOSE IT.

In my first paper on the Bábís (*B. i*, p. 520) I mentioned and enumerated certain Epistles addressed by Behá'u'lláh to various potentates, to wit:

1. The Sháh of Persia.
2. Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz.
3. Napoleon III.
4. The late Emperor of Russia.
5. The Pope.
6. The President of the United States.
7. The Queen of England.

In a footnote on the same page I remarked: "Of the second and sixth of these I do not possess a copy, and of the existence of the latter I am doubtful." I may now add that I believe the sixth to be altogether mythical, and that, as has been above shewn, the first Epistle at any rate, and possibly some of the others, were written not at Acre but at Adrianople.

In my second paper (*B. ii*, pp. 953-971) I gave a fuller account of these letters, and translated certain illustrative

passages from each. "Taken collectively," I wrote (*loc. cit.* p. 954), "these letters constitute what is known amongst the Bábís as the *Súra-i-Heykal*, which I think includes also some shorter letters addressed to sundry other people."

The whole text of this *Súra-i-Heykal* (for there can be practically no doubt that it is this document) has now been published by Baron Rosen in *Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 148 *et seq.* It forms the second piece in the *Institut MS.* marked No. 48/465, and contains, besides other matter, several of the afore-mentioned *Alwáh-i-Saláṭín* or "Epistles to the Kings," namely, (1) The Epistle to the Pope (*Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 172-8); (2) The Epistle to Napoleon III. (*Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 178-186); (3) The Epistle to the late Emperor of Russia (*Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 186-188), of which in my MS. only a portion was given; and (4) The Epistle to the Queen of England (*Coll. Sci. vi*, pp. 188-192). Whether the Epistle to the Sháh of Persia, and the other letters which follow it (pp. 270-2 *supra*), should be regarded as forming part of the *Súra-i-Heykal* or not is doubtful.

Before proceeding to discuss Baron Rosen's text of the *Súra-i-Heykal*, it seems desirable to give a short description of the MS. used by me in preparing my description of the *Ahcáh*, in which the arrangement is somewhat different.

Description of the Kirmán MS. which formed the basis of my account of the ALWÁH-I-SALÁṬÍN (B. ii, p. 954).

Contains ff. 40, each leaf measuring 17·5 × 10·5 centimetres. Written throughout in a small and rather illegible *shikasta* hand. Some marginal notes and glosses. Contents:

Ff. 1^b-19^b. The *Kitáb-i-Aḳdas* (formerly misnamed by me *Lawh-i-Aḳdas*).

Ff. 20^a-21^b. A *tarjít'-band* in praise of Behá.

Begins:

من خدا جویم و خدایم کو
نقد جان بر کف و بهایم کو

جز توام از دو کون بیگانه
بخدا جز تو آشنایم کو

Ends with the *band* or refrain :

جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
گر تو جوئی خدا بجو ز بها

F. 21b. Three short prayers, which I give *in extenso* :—

طلعت مبارک

ای رب فاجعل ذکرک مؤنسی و وجهک مقصودی و رضاک
مسلمی و ثنائک عملی و املی بین العالمین و الحمد لله محبوب
العارفین *

طلعت مبارک صبحی نه مرتبه بخوانند

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو وان نقطة البيان عبده و بهانه وان ادلاء
الحق حروف لنفسه كل بامره من عنده يخلقون *

حضرت نقطه صبحی نونزده مرتبه بخوانند

هل من مفزع (?) غير الله قل سبحان الله هو الله قل كل عبداً
له وكل بامره قائمون *

Ff. 22^a—30^a. The *Lach-i-Sultán*, or Epistle to the King of Persia (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 195—216). To this is prefixed the following prefatory note :—

این لوح مخصوص حضرت سلطان در ادرنه نازل این عبد خادم
مخصوص آسجنابان ارسال داشت که قرائت فرماید (*sic*) و لغات
عربیّه بعضی را که در نظر این عبد بود حسب الامر غصن الله الاعظم
معانی نوشته شد *

“This Epistle was revealed in Adrianople¹ specially for His Majesty the King [of Persia]. This servant, the confidential attendant of their Excellencies,² sends it for you to peruse. The meanings of sundry Arabic phrases which were in my mind have been written down agreeably to the command of God’s Most Mighty Branch” (*Ghuṣnu’lláhí’l-A’zam*, i.e. Behá’s eldest son, ‘Abbás Efendí. See *B. i*, pp. 518 and *T.N. ii*, p. 393, n. 2). Then comes the heading—

هو الله تعالى شانه العظمة والاعتدار

followed by the text of the *Lawḥ-i-Sultán*, which closely agrees with Baron Rosen’s text, even to the marginal glosses, but differs here and there from the text contained in the *T.N.*, which has evidently been toned down in places to suit a wider audience and to avoid giving offence to non-believers.

Ff. 30^a–32^b. The *Lawḥ-i-Ra’ís* (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 224–231), separated from the previous *Lawḥ* only by a break in the line of about half an inch and the invocatory words *بِسْمِ الْإِلهِ*.

Ff. 32^b–34^b. The Epistle to the Pope (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 172–178), to which is prefixed the following heading:—

* من اجزاء الهيكل قد نزل لرئس اروميه من لدن مالك البريه

“Of the parts of the *Heykal*. Revealed for the Chief of Urúmiyya [*sic!*] on the part of the Lord of Creation.”

Ff. 34^b–37^a. The Epistle to Napoleon III. (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 178–186), headed:—

* من اجزاء الهيكل ما نزل في الهيكل لملك باريس

“Of the parts of the *Heykal*. What was revealed in the *Heykal* for the King of Paris.”

¹ This is important, as confirming the conclusion already arrived at (p. 282 *supra*) concerning the date of this Epistle.

² Apparently Behá’u’lláh and his sons (*Aghán*), the “confidential attendant” being, in all probability, Aká Mirzá Aká Ján of Káshán called *Khádimu’lláh*. (See *B. i*, p. 519, and *T.N. ii*, Index, *s.v.* Khádimu’lláh).

Ff. 37^a-37^b. A portion of the Epistle to the late Emperor of Russia (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 186), headed:—

من اجزاء الهيكل ما نزل في الهيكل لملك الروس *

“Of the parts of the *Heykal*. What was revealed in the *Heykal* for the Emperor of Russia.” As I suspected (*B. ii*, p. 969), this proves to be only a portion of the Epistle in question. The whole is given by Baron Rosen.

F. 37^b. A short letter addressed to Mírzá Muḥammad ‘Alí.

Begins:

هو الاقدس الاعظم الاقدم
بافتخار جناب آقا ميرزا محمد علي نازل شده
يا محمد قبل علي در عالم و آنچه در او نكر شده و ظاهر گشته تفكر نما ...

Ends:

ان ربك لهو الحق عالم الغيوب يسمع و يرى و هو الفرد الواحد
العزیز الودود البهآء عليك و على الذين شربوا ما شربته بحبى (?)
العزیز الممنوع *

Ff. 37^b-38^a. Another short letter addressed to the same person.

Begins:

نيز بافتخار آجناب از سما مشيت نازل شده
هو المشتاق من افق البقاء
يا محمد قبل علي از شطر سخن (?) سخن) مالك اسماء اين ندا بشنو ...

Ends:

كن في كل الاحوال متمسكاً بعناية الله و متشبثاً بذيله و ناطقاً
بشائه منقطعاً عن الذين كفروا و اعرضوا ان اتى الله بنور مبين البهآء
عليك و على ثابت فائز مستقيم *

Ff. 38^a-38^b. A letter to Mirzâ Muḥammad Taqî of Yezd.

Begins :

در اعتراض میرزا محمد تقی یزدی نازل شده
هل الآيات نزلت قل اى ورب الناس هل انت الساعة بل قضت
ومظهر البيّنات قد جاءت الحاقّة واتى الحقّ بالحجّة والبرهان . . .

Ends :

لعمري انه باب رحمة ربك طوبى لمن يقرئه فى العشى والاشراق
انا نسمع ذكرك فى هذا الامر الذى منه ايدك جبل العلم و ذلك
الاقدام والبهاء عليك وعلى كلّ مقبل اقبل الى العزيز الوهاب قد
انتهى واتم ان اصبر ان ربك لهو الصبار *

F. 38^b. Letter to Akâ Mirzâ Huseyn.

Begins :

بافتخار جناب آقا میرزا حسین نازل شده
هو السامع المجيب
قد حضر كتابك لدى المظلوم وجدنا منه عرف اقبالك الى الافق
الاعلى فى يوم اعرض علماء الارض وامرائها

Ends :

البهاء المشرق من افق سما ملكوتى عليك وعلى الذين ما منعهم
شبهات اهل الاديان عن نير الايقان وما خوفهم سطوة كلّ ظالم بعيد *

Ff. 38^b-39^a. Another letter addressed to the same person.

Begins :

ايضاً بافتخار جناب معظم اليه نازل شده
بسمى المشرق من افق سما البرهان
انا كما ماشياً فى البيت و ناطقاً بآيات الله دخل العبد المحاضر
بكتابك وعرضه لدى المظلوم

Ends:

البياء على اهل البياء الذين شربوا رحيق الوحي من ايدى عطا
رؤهم المشفق الكريم *

Ff. 39^a-39^b. A letter to Aká Mírzá Ibráhim.

Begins:

بافخار جناب آقا ميرزا ابراهيم نازل شده
هو المهيمين على الاسماء

حمد مقدس از ذكر و بيان مقصود عالميانرا لائق و سزاست

Ends:

البياء عليك و على ضلعك كبر عليها من قبل المظلوم و بشرها
برحمته التى سبقت من فى السموات و الارضين و سخنتم (P)
الكتاب بذكر من علمك و عرّفك و اشهدك و هداك الى صراطى
المستقيم الذى به ناحت قبائل الارض كلّها الا من اتى الينا بقلب
سليم و السلام *

Ff. 39^b-40^a. Another Epistle.

Begins:

هذا كتاب جعلناه لقائنا للذين اقبلوا الى آله فى تلك الايام التى
فيها تغيرت البلاد . . .

Ends:

يشهد آله و الذين طافوا حول العرش انتم فزتم بلقائه و طفتم حول
كعبة امره و حضرتم تلقاه وجهه آله لهو المقدر على ما يشاء لاله الا
هو العزيز المثلان لعمرى قبلنا منكم ما اردتم و نكون معكم فى كلّ
الاحيان و البياء عليكم من لدن عزيز مستعان و السلام *

F. 40^a. A prayer.

Begins:

يا الهى كيف ادعوك بعد عصياني نفسك و اغفالى عن مواقع
حكّمك و ادبارى عن مقاعد مناجاتك

Ends :

فاسئلك اللهم بسعة رحمتك و احاطة علمك و غاية جودك و
منهى رضاك ان تصلى على الورقة المباركة من الشجرة الوثية ليست
بشرقية ولا غربية بما انت عليه من النفحات البديعه و الكرامات
القديمه و ان تغفرلى و لوالدى و من تحب فى هذه الساعة على
تلك الارض بمك و جودك و سلطان قيوميتك انك انت الله
المقتدر المئان و السلام *

Having now described the contents of my MS., it behoves me to say something of the manner in which it came into my possession. While I was at Kirmán in July, 1888, some of my Bábí friends informed me that a poor *ákhúnd*, or teacher of their acquaintance, who was not a Bábí, had copied out for himself certain Bábí documents, but that, inasmuch as the possession of such was in itself somewhat of a risk, he would be glad to sell them for a small sum of money. Accordingly, on the evening of July 29th, this *ákhúnd*, Mírzá Aḥmad by name, was brought by two of the Bábís to my lodging. Soon after his arrival he produced the MS. in question, and agreed to let me buy it of him. I observed, while turning over the leaves, that he had (as a safeguard to himself, in case the book should be found in his possession by Musulmánés) written at the end of the *Kitáb-i-Aḳdas*, that it was the Book of "the accursed, misguided, misleading sect" of the Bábís. Fearing, lest he should get into trouble with my Bábí friends, if they should chance to see these words, I closed the book and laid it aside. Shortly afterwards I was led outside into the garden by one of the two Bábís, who wished to speak to me in private. On my return I found my anticipations verified. The other Bábí had, in my absence, taken up the MS. and seen the objectionable words, and was now pouring out the vials of his wrath on poor Mírzá Aḥmad, who, shivering with fear and shame, was on the verge of tears. I did my best to make

peace, but with small success, until Mírzá Aḥmad washed out the abusive paragraph, and, under the previous colophon—

قد كتب في أيام الله المقتدر المختار في ليلة ثامن شهر شوال
المكرم سنه ١٣٠٥

wrote in their place as follows:

بحمد الله وتوفيقه وكرمه اين كتاب مستطاب اقدس كه از تصنيفات
حضرت مستطاب بهاء روى و روح العالمين له القدآء است و از
آفتاب افتق اشراق نازل شده است و در بيان احكام و تكاليف
عباد وكافه انام است التماس دعا از خواننده آن هست والسلام
شهر ذيقعدة ١٣٠٥

“By the praise of God and His favour and grace. This is the precious Most Holy Book (*Kitáb-i-Aḥdas*), which is [one] of the works of His Most Excellent Holiness *Behá* (may my life and the life of the worlds be a sacrifice to him), and was revealed by the Sun of the Horizon of Illumination, and sets forth laws and regulations for [God's] servants and for all mankind. Request is made for the prayers of the reader. *Vale*. The month of *Zi'l-Ka'da*, A.H. 1305” [July, 1888].

Now it is very seldom that we come across a Bábí MS. transcribed by one who is not himself a Bábí, and this perhaps accounts for the fact that in point of accuracy this MS. leaves much to be desired. Indeed, so inaccurate is it in places, that the sons of *Behá*, to whom I shewed it, would have destroyed it if I had not begged that it might be spared.

From this digression I now return to a consideration of the text of the *Súra-i-Heykal*, published by Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 149–192), in which, for the present, I do not include the Epistle to the King of Persia, the *Lach-i-Ra'is*, and the other documents enumerated at pp. 270–2 *supra*.

The *Súra-i-Heykal* is divisible, as Baron Rosen points out (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 149), into two parts, of which the second part (p. 172, l. 15–p. 192, l. 2) contains in uninterrupted succession, (1) the Epistle to the Pope, (2) the Epistle to the “King of Paris,” (3) the Epistle to the Emperor of Russia, and (4) the Epistle to the Queen of England. Inasmuch as these were described in my second paper on the Bábís in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889, I shall have but little to say of them here. The first part of the *Súra*, on the other hand, now first made available to Orientalists, deserves a fuller notice. It contains Behá’s formulation of his claims, and declaration of his divine nature and mission, coupled with reproaches addressed to such of the Bábís as refuse to acknowledge them, and angry denunciations of his rival and half-brother Mírzá Yahyá *Subh-i-Ezel*. Speaking broadly, then, we may say that the *first* part of the *Heykal* is addressed to the Bábí community, the *second* part to the rulers of Christian lands. Of this first part I can, perhaps, best convey some idea by translating from it certain selected passages, prefixing to each, the number of the page in *Coll. Sc. vi*, on which the original text occurs.

Selected passages from the First Part of the Súra-i-Heykal.

(P. 150, l. 5) “Blessed be He who hath caused to descend upon his servant the burden of the heavens and the earth; herein we do verily praise Him, and none knoweth it save the wise. Glory be to Him Who hath cast His Beauty under the claws of hatred amongst the wicked; verily we acquiesce in this, and none understandeth it save them who have understanding. Glory be to Him, Who hath entrusted Huseyn,¹ amidst the hosts of the enemy

¹ *i.e.* Behá'u'lláh. Though he is generally spoken of, when mentioned by name, as [Mírzá] Huseyn 'Alí, it would appear from this and other passages, especially the opening words of the *Súratu'-i-Mulúk*, and a passage in another

while the spears of violence and hatred reach his body every moment; verily, we thank Him for what He hath decreed against His afflicted servant who turns to Him and stands for Him.

“And when I saw myself at the culminating point of affliction, I heard a voice of the most wonderful and sweetest over my head; and when I turned my face I beheld the Húrí¹ of celebration of my Lord's Name floating in the air on a level with the head, and I saw her to be rejoicing in herself, as though the fashion of Paradise were apparent in her face, and the splendour of the Most Merciful were displayed in her cheek. And she was speaking between the heavens and the earth with a voice wherewith hearts and intelligences were attracted. And all the wounds within me and without me were made glad with glad tidings wherewith my soul was rejoiced, and the honourable amongst [God's] servants were filled with joy. And she pointed with her finger towards my head and [thus] addressed all who are in the heavens and the earth: —‘By God, this is, indeed, the Beloved of the worlds, but ye understand not. This is, indeed, the Beauty of God in your midst, and His authority amongst you, did ye but know. And this is, indeed, the Mystery of God and His Treasure, and the Command of God and His Glory unto whomsoever is in the kingdom of command and creation, if ye will understand. Verily this is, indeed, he whom all who inhabit the realms of Eternity desire to meet, and beside them those who rest within the pavilions of splendour; but ye turn away from his beauty.’

letter contained in MS. No. 438 (see *Coll. Sc. i*, p. 192 and n. 2) that he sometimes calls himself either Huseyn simply, or Huseyn ibn 'Alí. So, in ch. lxxxiii of the *Commentary on the Súra of Joseph*, the Báb, who is generally called [Mirzá] 'Alí Muḥammad, speaks (apparently) of himself as Ibn Muḥammad 'Alí. Yet Behá's father was named 'Abbás and the Báb's father Miḥá.

¹ This celestial *Húri* or angel occupies a prominent position throughout the first half of the *Súra-i-Ḥeykal*, and seems to play a part analogous to that taken by the angel Gabriel in the revelations of Muḥammad.



“O people of the Beyán!¹ If ye will not help him, God will help him with the hosts of the heavens and the earth, and beside them the hosts of the Unseen, by His command, ‘Be,’ and it shall be! And He will raise up by His will a creation, whereof none knoweth save Himself, the Protecting, the Self-subsistent. These will He purify from the stain of vain conjecture and passion, and will raise up to the station of sanctity, and by them He will make manifest the signs of glory of His rule on earth: thus hath it been devised on the part of God, the Mighty [p. 151], the Loving.

“O people of the Beyán! Do ye deny him whom ye were created to meet, and do ye then rejoice in your seats? And do ye take objection to him, of whom one single hair is more precious in God’s sight than whomsoever is in the heavens and the earth? Do ye then mock at us?

“O people of the Beyán! Produce what ye have that I may know by what proof ye formerly believed in the Manifestations of the [Divine] Command, and by what argument ye are to-day puffed up with pride. By Him, who created me from the Light of His Beauty, I have not found any more heedless than you, nor any blinder than you: verily, ye seek to justify your faith in God by the Epistles which are in your hands, [but] when verses are revealed and the lamp shines brightly, ye reject him by whose pen matters are determined in a Preserved Tablet. Ye read the verses and deny their Source and their Revealer: thus hath God taken away your sight, as a recompense for your actions, did ye but know it. Ye write the verses in the evening and at dawn, and then ye are veiled from him who reveals them! . . .

¹ The expression *مأ الجان* “people,” or “church of the Beyán,” is ordinarily used to denote the adherents of the old dispensation of the Bábí religion, or, in other words, Bábís pure and simple, as contrasted with Behá’ís.

“O Supreme Pen!¹ Hear the voice of thy Lord from the Lote-tree beyond which there is no passing,² in the bright abode of [the Divine] Unity, that thou may'st find thyself refreshed and fragrant by the strains of thy Merciful Lord, and that thou may'st be sanctified from sorrow by these gales, which breathe from the region of My Name, ‘the Forgiving.’ Then raise up in this Form [*Heykal*] forms of the [Divine] Unity, that they may tell in the kingdom of creation of their Lord, the Supreme, the Most Splendid, and may be of those who are illuminated by the lights of their Lord. Verily, we have appointed this Form [*Heykal*] the Source of Being amidst the new creation, that all may be assured that I am able to do what I will by My Word ‘Be, and it is.’ And under the shadow of each Letter of the Letters of this Form [*Heykal*] we will raise up a creation whose number none knoweth, save God, the Protecting, the Self-Subsistent.”

Here begins that portion of the *Súra* from which it derives its name of “*Heykal*.” This word means “body,” “form,” “temple,” “altar,” and it appears to be used in somewhat different senses in different passages. In some cases, as in the above paragraph, Behá seems to apply it to himself, as being the corporeal “temple” which the Deity inhabits. In other places (*e.g.* p. 158, ll. 9–13) it would appear to denote this particular revelation—the *Súra-i-Heykal*. In different parts of the *Súra* the Eye, the Hearing, and the Tongue of the *Heykal* are addressed; and elsewhere, the four letters H. Y. K. L. composing the word, are severally and successively apostrophized in like fashion. Altogether, however vague may be the sense in which the term is employed, its occurrence is so constant, and the importance attached to it evidently so great, that the name of the *Súra*

¹ By this expression Behá appears to denote himself, as the instrument whereby God's pleasure is made known to men.

² *Kur'án*, liii, 14.

is amply accounted for. Interesting as this is, it is so long and so obscure that I cannot here do more than notice a few of the most important and characteristic passages. Chief amongst these is one in which Mírzá Yaḥyá *Subḥ-i-Ezel* is accused of having tried to poison Behá. This passage I have translated in full at pp. 368-9 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*. As a comment on it I will therefore here give the Ezelí account of the same transaction, translated from a MS. which I recently obtained of a very rare and interesting work entitled *Hasht Bihisht*, composed, as I was informed, by the late Hájí Seyyid Jawád of Kirmán, an ardent partizan of *Subḥ-i-Ezel*'s. It will be seen that not only the charge of attempted fratricide, but also the charge of bringing a false accusation of the same against the victim of the attempt, is brought by both factions of the Bábís against the chief of the rival faction. Which version, if either, may be true, it is impossible to decide, but at least the fierce animosity which subsists between the Ezelís and the Behá'ís will be sufficiently apparent from a perusal of either.

[Translation from the *Hasht Bihisht*]: "The first juggle and trick of sorcery which he [*i.e.* Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí *Behá'u'lláh*] outlined was this, that he brought to *Hazrat-i-Ezel* a dish of plain food, with one side of which he had mixed some poison, intending to poison His Holiness. For hitherto the apportioned breakfast and supper of His Holiness the Fruit [*Hazrat-i-Thamara*, one of the titles given to *Subḥ-i-Ezel* by his followers] had been from the house of Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí. When that poisoned dish was placed before His Holiness, Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí pressed him to partake of it. By a fortunate chance the smell of onions was perceptible in the food, and His Holiness, being averse to onions, refused to taste it. Mírzá Ḥuseyn 'Alí continued to press him urgently to eat. He replied, 'Since it smells of onions, I will not eat it; if it is [so] good, eat it

yourself.' From this answer Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí supposed that His Holiness had divined his evil design, and, simply with the view of disguising [the truth] and putting a better appearance on the matter, ate a little from the other side¹ of the dish, in order that the suspicions of His Holiness might perhaps be dispelled and he might eat of the poisoned side. But His Holiness, because of the smell of onions, would not eat. Now, inasmuch as the poison had to some extent diffused itself to the other side,¹ it produced some slight effect on the aforesaid Mírzá [Huseyn 'Alí], causing in him sickness and vomiting. Then he summoned the physicians, gathered his own people round him, and privately informed them of his state, declaring that *Hazrat-i-Ezel* had poisoned him. Next day, when His Holiness the Fruit went to the bath, Muḥammad 'Alí the barber of Isfahán (whose ears had been cut off for theft and other crimes by the governor of Isfahán, and who, having fled thence to Baghdad, had become one of Mírzá Huseyn 'Alí's chosen associates, and the source of manifold evils and mischiefs) came forward in the bath [as though] to shave with his barber's razor the sides of the head and the lower part of the throat of His Holiness. His Holiness, however, divining with great acumen his evil design, refused to be shaved; and, as soon as he came out from the bath, chose another lodging in Adrianople, and withdrew himself from these persons." This narrative may be most instructively compared with Behá's version contained in the *Súra-i-Heykal* (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 154-5; *T.N. ii*, pp. 368-9). I now proceed to give translations of a few more passages from the *Súra-i-Heykal*.

(P. 155, l. 20) "O Pen of Eternity! Grieve not at what hath befallen thee, for God will raise up a people who shall see with their eyes and shall remember

¹ i.e. the unpoisoned side.

what hath befallen thee. Withdraw the pen from the mention of these; then wield it in commemoration of the King of Pre-existence. Leave the things of the contingent world; then drink of the pure sealed wine of My celebration. Beware that thou busy not thyself with the mention of those from whom thou shalt obtain naught but the savours of hatred; those of whom love of supremacy hath so taken possession that they destroy their souls to increase their celebrity and to perpetuate their name. These hath God inscribed as the slaves of names in a Preserved Tablet

(P. 156, l. 3) "O Form [*Heykal*]! Stretch forth thy hand over all that is in the heavens and in the earth, and take the reins of command in the grasp of thy will: verily We have set on thy right hand the dominion of all things: do what thou wishest, and fear not those who know not"

(P. 158, l. 3) "Beware that ye shed not blood! Draw the sword of the tongue from the sheath of utterance, for therewith thou shalt subdue the cities of [men's] hearts. Verily, We have taken away the command to slay from your midst:¹ verily My mercy hath preceded all contingent beings, if ye would know it"

(P. 159, l. 12) "O Form of the [Divine] Command! If thou findest none advancing towards thy gifts, grieve not! Thou wert created for Myself: occupy thyself with celebrating me amongst my servants: this is what hath been apportioned to thee in a Preserved Tablet."

(P. 160, l. 15) "And amongst the infidels is he who disbelieved within his soul and arose in war, saying, 'These verses are spurious:' thus in bygone time said men who have passed away, and Lo! in hell-fire do they [now] cry for help."

¹ i.e. the *Jihad*, or religious warfare, is abolished in this dispensation.

In the last word of this sentence—*yastaghithún*, “they cry for help”—allusion is probably made to the *Mustagháth* (He from whom help is sought) of the *Beyán* (see *B. i*, p. 515). The sum of the letters composing this word is 2001 (م=40, س=60, ت=400, غ=1000, ا=1, ث=500), and it is implied in certain passages of the Persian *Beyán* that ‘He whom God shall manifest’ will or may delay his advent till this number of years have elapsed since the beginning of the Báb’s mission. To these texts the Ezelis specially appeal in justification of their rejection of Behá’u’lláh’s claim to be the Promised Deliverer, while they are reproached by the Behá’is for suffering themselves to be “veiled” by this word from the truth. Thus Na’ím of Abádé says in one of his poems :

غير بها نیست جهان را مغيث آنکه غيائست بهر مستغيث
گوی بآن محتاجبان خبيث از رُئن طير بقا اين حديث
استمع اى منتظرنى الغياث انه هذا رُئن المستغاث

“There is no other ‘Helper’ (*Mughith*) for the world than Behá,

He who is the ‘Help’ (*Ghiyáth*) for every seeker after help (*Mustaghith*).

Tell to those foul and benighted ones (*i.e.* the Ezelis)

This message from the strains of the birds of Eternity :

‘Hear, O thou who tarriest expectant of “Help” (*Ghiyáth*),

Verily this is the cry of Him whose help is sought (*al-Mustagháth*).’”

I will here quote two passages from the Persian *Beyán* which bear on this point. The first occurs in *Váhid* ii. ch. 17 :—

چه بسا ناری را که خدا نور میکند بمن یظهره الله و چه بسا نوری
را که نار میفرماید باو و اگر در عدد غیاث ظاهر شود و کل داخل
شوند احدی داخل در نار نمی ماند و اگر الی مستغاث رسد و کل

داخل شوند احدی در نار نمی ماند الا آنکه کل مبذل بنور میگردند و همین فضل را از من یظهره الله طلب نموده که این است فضل اعظم و فوز اکبر که مثل امم باقیه نمانده مثل حروف الحجیل که دو کتاب دیگر نازل شود من عند الله و ایشان هنوز منتظر من یآتی اسمہ احمد باشند و اگر ظاهر نشود الی این دو اسم لا بد ظاهر خواهد شد و مغتری از برای او نیست

“Many a Fire shall God convert into a Light by Him whom God shall manifest, and many a Light shall he make a Fire! ¹ And if he appear in the number of *Ghiyáth* [=1511], ² and all shall enter in [to his faith], not one will remain in the Fire. And if he come ere *Mustagháth* [=2001], and all shall enter in, not one will remain in the Fire, but all will be converted into Light. Seek this favour from Him whom God shall manifest, for this is the Greatest Favour and the Most Great Salvation: that ye tarry not as other churches, even like the Letters of the Gospel, ³ who still await ‘him who shall come, by name Ahmad,’ ⁴ while two other Books ⁵ are revealed. But if He come not ere [the lapse of a number of years equivalent to] these two Names, [still] He will certainly come, and there is no escape for Him [from this].”

The second passage occurs in *Nahid* iii. ch. 15:

و هم چنین اگر کل مؤمنین ببیان مؤمن شوند بمن یظهره الله احدی در نار نخواهد ماند و حکم دون ایمان بر احدی نخواهد شد ولی مراقب ظهور بوده که قدر لمحۀ فاصله نشود ما بین ظهور و ایمان کل من آمن بالبیان که بقدر طول الی المستغاث هم لایق

¹ Light (*núr*) and Fire (*ndr*) in the *Beyán* mean belief and unbelief, or believers and unbelievers.

² *i.e.* Within this number of years after the ‘Manifestation’ of the Báb.

³ *i.e.* the Christians.

⁴ The words wherewith Christ is alleged by the Muhammadans to have told the mission of Muḥammad. See *T.N.* ii, p. 293, n. 16.

⁵ *i.e.* the *Qur’án* and the *Beyán*.

نیست که بمانند اگر احتیاط دامن گیر ایشان شود که آن احتیاط در نار بوده و هست اگرچه امید از فضل خداوند عطوف و رؤف اینست که در حین ظهور باو امر عالیۀ خود در الواح خود کتّ عباد خود را از رقد بیدار نماید و نگذارد الی امر محکم بیان که تا غیاث یا مستغاث شده در نار بمانند چه کسی عالم بظهور نیست غیر الله هر وقت شود باید کتّ تصدیق بنقطه حقیقت نمایند و شکر الهی بجا آورند اگرچه امید از فضل اوست که تا مستغاث نرسد و از قبل کلمه الله مرتفع گردد و انما الدلیل آیانه و الوجود علی نفسه نفسہ ان الغیر یعرف به و هو لا یعرف بدونہ سبحان الله عما یصفون *

“And so likewise if all the believers in the Beyán believe in Him whom God shall manifest, none will remain in the Fire, and none will be adjudged an unbeliever. But watch for the Manifestation, that there may not be an interval of so much as a moment between the Manifestation and the belief of all who believe in the Beyán. For even so long as until [the number of years represented by] *Mustagháth* it is not meet that they should remain [in expectation], if caution should lay hold of their skirts, for such caution hath been and is in Fire. But it is hoped of the Grace of God, the Pitiful and Compassionate, that at the time of the Manifestation. He will by His high commands [contained] in His Epistles awaken all His servants from sleep and will not¹ suffer them to remain in the Fire² until the period determined in the Beyán, which is till [the fulfilment of the number of] *Ghiyáth* or *Mustagháth*. For none hath

¹ One MS. here inserts *بدر* which, however, seems redundant.

² Two MSS. read *بگذار*, which very materially alters the meaning of what follows. The reading here adopted, however, seems to me the best.

³ One MS. has *بدر*.

⁴ Or, if we adopt the other reading, “will suffer.”

⁵ Here the fire of expectation and unsatisfied longing seems to be meant.

knowledge of the [time of the] Manifestation save God : whenever it takes place all must believe in the Point of Truth and render thanks to God ; though it is hoped of His Grace that it will not reach to [the number of] *Mustagháth*, and that the word of God will be raised up ere this. And His verses only, and the very nature of His being in itself, are the proof [of His truth], since all else is known by Him, while He cannot be known by aught but Himself. Glorious is God beyond what they attribute [to Him] !”

I now continue my translation from the *Súra-i-Heykal* :

(P. 160, l. 17) “ Say, ‘ Woe unto you by reason of that which issueth from your mouths ! If the verses be spurious, then by what proof did ye [formerly] believe in God ? Produce it, if ye know. Whenever We have revealed unto them signal verses they have denied them, and when they saw that whereof all creation was unable to produce the like, they said ‘ This is sorcery. ’¹ What ails these people that they say that whereof they have no knowledge ? Thus spoke the church of the *Furkán*² when God brought His religion : are they not indeed an unbelieving people ? And they³ forbade men from presenting themselves before the Beauty of the Eternal⁴ or eating with his friends ; and some amongst them said, ‘ Approach not these ! Verily they bewitch men⁵ and lead them astray from the path of God, the Protecting, the Self-Subsistent. ’ By God the True One, verily he who is unable to

¹ Cf. Kur’án v. 110 ; vi. 7 ; xi. 10, etc.

² i.e. the Muḥammadans. Behá here accuses the Ezéls of being as obdurate in their rejection of himself as the Muḥammadans were in their rejection of the Báb.

³ i.e. the Muḥammadans.

⁴ i.e. from going to visit the Báb.

⁵ Cf. *T. N.* ii, p. xxxviii. This alludes to a vulgar belief prevalent amongst Persian Muḥammadans that the Bábís bewitch their guests by means of some enchanted substance mixed with their food or tea, so that whoever eats or drinks with them becomes a Bábí. This superstition is referred to in the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*.

speak before us saith what none of those of yore said, and hath stooped to do what none of those who have disbelieved in [God] the Merciful have done throughout all the ages: to this their words and deeds bear witness, if ye will judge aright. Verily he who refers God's signs to sorcery hath not believed in any one of God's apostles: his efforts have gone astray in futile life, and he hath become of those who say what they know not. Say: 'O servant, fear God who created thee and fashioned thee, and seek not to emulate God: be just in thy soul, and be of those who act equitably.' Verily, such as are given knowledge from God, these will find in their [*i.e.* the Ezelís'] very objections strong arguments wherewith to confute them and to establish [the truth of] this Apparent Light. Say: 'Do ye say what the infidels said when there came unto them the Reminder¹ from their Lord?' Woe unto you, O concourse of fools! Evil is that which ye acquire!"

The whole of this most interesting passage is directed against Ezel and his followers, and it contains the gist of the Behá'í argument. The Báb laid down the doctrine that the production of 'verses' (*áyát*), or inspired words, was the one and only proof of a divine mission. To this proof alone did Muḥammad appeal: to this proof alone did the Báb appeal: and of 'Him whom God shall manifest' this proof alone was to be expected or required. On this ground the Behá'ís assert that no unprejudiced Bábí can remain (like the Ezelís do) in the old dispensation. They believed in the Báb because of his 'verses'; Behá has produced similar 'verses'; therefore they cannot fairly refuse

¹ By the 'Reminder of God' (ذِكْرُ اللَّهِ) the Báb seems to be meant. This is clearer in another passage of the *Súra-i-Ḥeykal* (p. 167, ll. 3-5), of which this is the translation:—"Do ye ask the Jews whether the Spirit [*i.e.* Christ] was of a truth from God? Or [do ye ask] idols whether Muḥammad was a prophet? Or [do ye ask] the church of the *Furḡán* [*i.e.* the Muḥammadans] concerning the Reminder of God (ذِكْرُ اللَّهِ), the Mighty, the High?"

to believe in him. Hence the Behá'ís are of no people more impatient than of the Ezelís, who, accepting their premiss, that such 'verses' are the sign of a divine mission, deny their conclusion that Behá is divinely inspired. Two passages addressed to *Şubh-i-Ezel* in the *Kitáb-i-Akdas* and the *Lawh-i-Naştr* serve admirably to illustrate and elucidate this portion of the *Súra-i-Heykal*. The text and translation of these I have given in the footnotes on pp. 93-4 and 96-7 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, and I will not therefore repeat them here.

Having now devoted nearly as much space as I can spare to the *Súra-i-Heykal*, I must content myself with noticing a few of the most important passages in what remains of the first part.

On p. 161, ll. 21-22, Behá says, speaking of his own 'Manifestation,' "When the Light of the horizons shone forth from the horizon of 'Irák." By 'Irák Behá in his writings always means Baghdad, so that we are led to infer from this passage that his 'Manifestation' took place there. In the *Traveller's Narrative* we are told that it *did* take place there (vol. ii, p. 63, vol. i, p. 80-81), and further (*loc. cit.* and vol. ii, p. 55) that it took place in the month of Muḥarram in the year A.H. 1269 (Oct. 15-Nov. 13, A.D. 1852), which statement appears impossible, inasmuch as Behá was arrested in August, 1852, and imprisoned for four months at Teherán ere he was suffered to depart to Baghdad. Nabil, on the contrary, in the chronological poem published in my second paper on the Bábís, in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 (pp. 983-990), says that Behá's manifestation took place at Adrianople when he was 50 years old. As Behá was born on the second of Muḥarram A.H. 1233 (Nov. 12th, A.D. 1817), he would attain his fiftieth year in Muḥarram A.H. 1283 (May-June A.D. 1866). Amongst the Behá'ís themselves, then, there is as much as fourteen years difference as to the date of so important an event as the 'Manifestation' or annunciation of the divine mission of Behá! How can we account for this discrepancy, and which date must we accept as the more probable?

The facts, so far as they are yet known, are these. The *Súratu't-Mulúk*, the *Súra-i-Heykal*, the *Kitáb-i-Akdas*, and, in short, all the writings wherein Behá clearly advances a claim to supremacy, contain internal evidence to prove that they were not written before the Adrianople period. The *I'kán*, which is the only one of Behá's works certainly known to have been written at Baghdad, contains no declaration of such a claim. On the contrary, it is entirely filled with praises of the Báb, and arguments in favour of his religion; the Beyán is throughout spoken of as the last revelation; and there is no hint of any idea in Behá's mind of claiming the supremacy, save the expression of a hope that the "people of the Beyán" will not in their turn become as obdurate against new Truth as were the Muhammadans. Immediately after the expression of this hope, Behá complains of the envy and aversion wherewith certain persons (presumably Bábís) regard him, which secret envy and aversion on the part of pretended friends are, he says, far harder to bear than the open persecution of declared enemies. He adds that *he never sought precedence over any one in any matter* (با احدی در امری افتخار ننمودم و بنفسی) (برتری مجستم); that soon after his arrival in Baghdad he voluntarily retired alone into the solitude of the deserts to avert discord and strife; that he remained in this seclusion for two years, and only abandoned it *at the command of his chief* [evidently *Subh-i-Ezel*]; and that since his return, which took place two years previously, he had experienced such unkind treatment that nothing would induce him to remain at Baghdad save the reflection that he too might be called upon to lay down his life for the Báb. Now, according to Nabil's poem (stanza 6), Behá returned to Baghdad from his two years' retirement at the age of forty, *i.e.* in A.H. 1272-3 (A.D. 1856), so that the *I'kán* must have been concluded (for the passages referred to above occur at the end of the book) in A.D. 1858. We have, therefore, the best of reasons for believing that, during the first half of the Baghdad period at any rate, Behá still fully acknowledged, in appearance at least, the supremacy of

Şubḥ-i-Ezel; and consequently we must regard the early date given for his 'Manifestation' in the *Traveller's Narrative* as fictitious. The evidence, in short, as far as it goes, entirely accords with the assertion of the Ezeli historian (in the *Hasht Bihisht*) that Behá's claim was first publicly advanced in Adrianople. Now the author of the *Traveller's Narrative*, who may very probably have been one of Behá's own sons, and who, at any rate, wrote under his immediate sanction, and had every means of ascertaining the facts, must have known this, and must therefore have deliberately and purposely antedated the 'Manifestation.' His reason for so doing is, I think, not far to seek. He desires to curtail as far as possible both the extent and the duration of Şubḥ-i-Ezel's authority, and to give colour to his assertion that Behá was from the first recognized by the Báb as that Greater Deliverer whose advent he announced. Having accounted for the (according to him) temporary and nominal supremacy of Şubḥ-i-Ezel by describing it (*T.N.* ii, pp. 62-3) as a precautional measure designed to divert attention and danger from Behá'u'lláh during his continuance in Persian territory, he is compelled, in order that his theory may appear consistent with facts, to represent this supremacy as ceasing on the arrival of Behá'u'lláh at Baghdad.

I have had occasion to refer several times to the little chronological poem of Nabil's, which I published with a translation in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 (pp. 983-990). Baron Rosen has found reason to doubt the accuracy of the date therein given for the arrival of the Bábí exiles at Adrianople. Commenting on a passage in Behá's Persian letter to the Sultán of Turkey (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 218), in which the sojourn of the Bábís at Adrianople is described as having lasted six years, he says: "Ce renseignement est important. *Behá* dit positivement que le séjour des secretares à Andrinople a duré six années. Leur départ forcé de cette ville ayant eu lieu, d'après le poème chronologique publié par M. Browne, II. 984; cf. I. 525, en Août, 1868, ils ont dû être internés à Andrinople en 1862, et non en 1864, comme

le veut le poème cité. La date du départ est confirmée par une dépêche du gérant du consulat de Russie à Andrinople datée du 26 Août, 1868. Elle confirme en même temps la date de l'arrivée, car il y est dit que le gouvernement turc en 1862 fut contraint d'interner les émigrés bâbys, et qu'Andrinople fut choisi à cet effet. La différence n'est pas très-considérable, mais elle prouve que la chronologie du petit poème de *Nabîl* n'est pas rigoureuse."

Baron Rosen's discovery of this official document is an important one, and, as regards the date of departure, it is confirmed by the State papers of the Cyprus government (see *T.N. ii*, Note w, especially p. 378, n. 2). According to one of these, the *fermán* of banishment was dated July 26th, 1868; while in another, the date of Subh-i-Ezel's arrival in the Island is given as September 5th, 1868. According to Nabil's poem, Behá reached Acre on August 31st of the same year, so that the approximate date of departure from Adrianople may be regarded as absolutely certain. The date of arrival at Adrianople is much more difficult to determine. It is true that, in the passage noted by Baron Rosen, Behá describes the period of his sojourn there as six years, but then in the chronological table, prepared for M. Toumansky, by the Bábís of 'Ishkábád (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 252), the duration of that period is stated as "about 5 years." Now the dates and figures given by Behá can only be regarded as approximate; thus, for instance, in the Epistle to the King of Persia (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 199, last line), he says that he remained twelve years at Baghdad, while in a passage in the *Súratu'l-Mulúk* (*Coll. Sc. i*, p. 202, l. 18) he says eleven years. Now, taking even the lower of these figures as correct, Behá cannot have reached Adrianople much before the date which Nabil gives, since he only reached Baghdad some four months after the attempt on the Sháh's life, *i.e.* early in A.H. 1269 (beginning of A.D. 1853). If, therefore, the date of his arrival at Adrianople was (as stated in the Russian consular despatch) 1862, he cannot have been more than nine years at the most in Baghdad, seeing that the journey thence to Constantinople

took four months, and that he was detained four months more in Constantinople. Without having seen the text of the Russian consular despatch it is impossible to speak with confidence, but the easiest hypothesis seems to me to be that the Turkish government decided in 1862 to remove the Bábís from Baghdad to Adrianople, but that the actual transfer was not effected till Rajab A.H. 1280 (Dec. 1863). The data given by Nábíl will admit of this construction, since it is not stated that Behá had *attained* his forty-eighth year (which he did on Muḥarram 2nd, A.H. 1281), but that he was *in* his forty-eighth year. This seems to me, provisionally, the best solution of the difficulty, though, perhaps, I am partly influenced by a desire to vindicate Nábíl's accuracy.

Lack of space forbids me from noticing several other interesting passages and allusions in the first part of the *Súra-i-Ḥeykal*, but, before passing on, I have a few words to say about the second part, consisting of the Epistles to the Pope, Napoleon III., the late Emperor of Russia, and the Queen of England. I have collated the text of these given by Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 172–192) with the text of my Kirmán MS. (containing the whole of the first two and part of the third Epistles) and with the separate transcript which I received from Shíráz of the Epistle to the Queen of England. Baron Rosen's text is, on the whole, much the best; though, apart from mere careless omissions and mistakes occurring in my MS., the agreement is very close, and the only variant afforded by my text which seems to me worth mentioning is *النصارى* for *النصارى* on p. 177 at the beginning of line 21. Baron Rosen has seen that his text requires emendation here, but conjectures *يا ملة النصارى*.

Two more points remain to be discussed, and I pass on from the *Súra-i-Ḥeykal*. They are these:—(1) Were the four Epistles which constitute the second part of it written at the same time as the first part, or are they to be regarded as a later appendage? (2) What chronological relation subsists between the *Súra-i-Ḥeykal* and the three long

Epistles (to the Sháh of Persia, the late Sultan of Turkey, and the "Ra'ís," which follow it in the MS. described by Baron Rosen? These questions I propose to discuss together as briefly as possible.

We have seen (p. 282 *supra*) that the Epistle to the King of Persia purports to have been written *before* Behá left Adrianople, but *after* he knew that he was to be transferred to Acre. This fixes the date of its composition pretty closely, since on the one hand the *fermán* of banishment bore as its date July 26, 1868 (and Behá can hardly have been made acquainted with the intentions of the Turkish government before this), and on the other hand Behá was at Acre ere September of that year had yet begun. Though the Epistle may very likely have been finished at Acre, it must have been begun, therefore, in August, 1868.

Of the four Epistles comprised in the second portion of the *Súra-i-Heykal* it is only in the Letter to the Queen of England that I can find any internal evidence of the date of composition. This begins:—"O Queen in London! Hear the voice of thy Lord, the King of creation, from the Divine Lote-tree: 'There is no God but Me, the Mighty, the Wise.' Lay aside [all] that is on the earth, and adorn the head of dominion with the diadem of celebration of thy Glorious Lord: verily He hath entered into the world in His most great Glory, and what was recorded in the Gospel hath been fulfilled. *The land of Syria hath been honoured by the approach of its Lord, the King of men . . . etc.*" These concluding words seem too definite to allow us to suppose that they were written elsewhere than at Acre.

The Persian Epistle addressed apparently to Sultán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz must also have been written at Acre, inasmuch as it contains a detailed description of the arrival of the Bábís and their inhospitable reception at that place.

The *Laḥ-i-Ra'ís* contains certain expressions and allusions which seem to indicate that it too was written at Acre. These are as follows :

(P. 226, ll. 6-13). "O Dove! Hear the most glorious Voice [nida'a'l-abhá] in this night wherein the captains of war¹ assembled over us, and let us rejoice greatly. O would that our blood might be shed on the surface of the earth in God's way, and that we might be cast upon the dust, for this is my desire and the desire of him who had me in view and who hath ascended into my most wondrous and marvellous kingdom.² Know that one morning we found the friends of God in the hands of the malignants: the troops had occupied all the gates, and forbade men from entering or going forth, and were of the oppressors. *And the friends of God and His family were left during the first night without food: thus was it ordained unto those for whom was created the world and what is therein.*"

The words italicized in the above passage appear to refer to the arrival of Behá and his followers at Acre, which is described in very similar words in the Persian Epistle to Sulṭán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz as follows:

(P. 218, ll. 13-18.) "And after [our] arrival [at Acre] the captains of war [or *zaptiehs*, as above] encompassed all [the Bábís], men and women, small and great, and lodged all in the soldiers' barracks. *On the first night they kept them all without food or drink, for the zaptiehs had occupied the gate of the barracks and prevented all from going out, while none bethought himself of these poor people, so that they even craved water and none responded. Some while has [now] passed, and all are [still] imprisoned in the barracks.*"

Again in the *Lawh-i-Ra'is* we have the following passage, apparently referring to an incident of the voyage from Gallipoli to Acre:

¹ نبيما العسكرية. Perhaps we should rather translate "zaptiehs" or "military police."

² The Báb appears to be meant.

(P. 229, l. 7 *et seq.*) "Thank God for that He hath helped thee [to attain] to His knowledge, and caused thee to be beside Him on the day whereon the infidels encompassed the people of God and His saints and drove them forth from the[ir] houses with evident injustice, and desired to effect a separation between us on the shore of the sea . . ." Unless I am much mistaken the incident referred to is that described at *B. i*, p. 516 and *T.N. i*, pp. 126-7, and *ii*, pp. 100-101 and footnotes.

We may therefore fairly conclude that the *Lawh-i-Ra'is* also was written at Acre soon after Behá'u'lláh's arrival there. It contains several interesting allusions, some of which are at present not clear to me. One of these (p. 226, ll. 20-21), which I formerly (*B. i*, pp. 962-3 and n. 1 on the latter) regarded, without due reflection, as an allusion to the death of the 'Martyrs of Isfahán,' must refer to some other event, since this took place several years subsequently to the date to which the Epistle must be referred. The allusion (p. 226, l. 18) to "one of the friends who sacrificed himself to myself, and, for love of God, cut his throat with his own hand," seems to be to Hájí Muḥammad Ja'far of Tabríz (*T.N. ii*, pp. 100-101, and n. 1 on former, and *B. i*, p. 516); and it is probably the same person who is addressed (p. 227, l. 15) as ان يا ذبيحى. This conjecture (which I regard as almost a certainty) suggests another, which I offer as a mere hypothesis. The latter part of the *Lawh-i-Ra'is* (p. 226 *seq.*) is addressed, not to the infidel "Ra'is," but to some believer, concerning whom we gather (1) that he had come to visit Behá at Adrianople "on the day whereon the fire of injustice was kindled and the raven of separation croaked"¹ (p. 227, ll. 9-10) and had been with him as a "partner" in his "afflictions on the night wherein the hearts of the believers were troubled"; (2) that he had "entered in" [to Adrianople] "in love for" Behá, and

¹ *i.e.* as I suppose, when the final breach occurred between Behá and Ezel. (See pp. 296-7 *supra*).



had "gone out" at his "command" (p. 227, ll. 11-12); (3) that his heart was "melted with separation from God" (*sc.* Behá'u'lláh), in which, however, he is enjoined to be patient, for *he shall again stand in Behá's presence and converse with him* (p. 227, ll. 20-22); that he had borne grievous affliction for Behá's sake "the like of which few men have borne" (p. 228, l. 8); and that he had written to Behá a letter to which this is an answer (p. 228, ll. 18-19, and p. 229, l. 12). I think that no one who, bearing these points in mind, reads (at pp. 493-5 of *B. i.*) the account given to me by Hájí Mírzá Ḥ——, the Bábí missionary whom I met at Shíráz, of the circumstances which led to his banishment and that of his colleague Hájí Mírzá Ḥ—— 'Alí to Khartúm, will fail to see that these circumstances accord singularly well with the hypothesis that the latter part of this Epistle is addressed to one of these two missionaries. Thus (1) they went to Adrianople to visit Behá "about 1866 . . . before he was sent to Acre"; (2) on leaving "they were instructed (by Behá) to proceed to Cairo to . . . avert a threatened schism" (*i.e.* in all probability, to persuade the Bábís there to reject Şubḥ-i-Ezel and accept Behá). They travelled thither with Hájí Muḥamad Ja'far of Tabríz, who cut his throat "for love of God" (*cf.* *T. N. ii*, p. 100, n. 1).¹ On their arrival there, they were arrested and exiled to Khartúm, where for some time they could neither ascertain whither Behá had been removed from Adrianople, nor find means of communicating with him. At length, however, they succeeded in sending a letter to Behá, from whom after some time they received an answer "*telling them that they would shortly be released and rejoin him at Acre*" (*B. i.*, p. 494), which actually occurred some time later.

Having thus examined such passages in the Epistles included in and connected with the *Súra-i-Heykal* as throw

¹ I mention this point because if, as I have conjectured above, Hájí Muḥammad Ja'far be addressed in the words *اے یا ذبیح*, it is natural enough that he should be associated in Behá's mind with the missionaries who were his fellow-travellers.

light on the date of their composition, I may, I think, conclude—

- (1) That the Epistle to the King of Persia was at any rate begun at Adrianople about August, 1868, when Behá first learned that the Turkish Government had decided to send him to Acre.
- (2) That the Persian Epistle to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Azíz and the *Lawh-i-Ra'is* were written at Acre.
- (3) That the Epistle to the Queen of England was also written at Acre.

If I am correct in these conclusions, either the different portions of the *Súra-i-Heykal*, in the more limited sense of the term were not written at the same time but were subsequently put together in this form,¹ or the whole *Súra-i-Heykal* was composed at a later date than the Epistle to the King of Persia, and this would therefore properly stand first in order, as it does in my Kirmán MS. It seems to me not unlikely that the Epistles to the Pope, the Emperor of the French, and the Czar of Russia were written at Acre about the same time as the Epistle to the Queen of England; and that the first half of the *Súra-i-Heykal*, addressed to the Bábí church, was composed at Adrianople soon after the schism took place. Behá, after formally advancing his claim and rejecting Subh-i-Ezel's supremacy, almost must have addressed to the Bábís in Persia and elsewhere whom he desired to win over to his cause a circular letter of some sort. What more likely from its general drift and nature than that the first half of the *Súra-i-Heykal* should be this circular letter?

Having already devoted so much space to the *Súra-i-Heykal*, I must necessarily forego, for the present, the pleasure of giving as full an account of the remaining

¹ The possibility of such recension or re-arrangement must always be borne in mind. That the sanctity of the sacred texts is now considered to be violated by the publication of a "revised version" is clearly shewn by the very considerable alterations and suppressions made in the text of the *Epistle to the King of Persia* by the author of the *Traveller's Narrative*.

letters included in the MS. described by Baron Rosen as their great interest merits. A brief notice of each must suffice for the present.

IV. THE PERSIAN EPISTLE TO THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.

(*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 217-224).

Of all the documents published by Baron Rosen this is, perhaps, the most interesting, since it contains a pretty circumstantial account of several incidents connected with the transference of Behá and his followers from Adrianople to Acre, and the treatment they underwent during the early days of their sojourn at the latter place. Many of the details which Behá here gives are fully confirmed by the information which I was able to obtain in Cyprus from official documents and other sources. Thus Behá says (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 219, ll. 1-2), that he and his followers thrice changed ship between Gallipoli and Acre, and Şubḥ-i-Ezel informed me that he and the other Bábís were brought from Adrianople to Gallipoli, put on board ships, conveyed to Alexandria, and there transhipped into vessels bound for their respective places of exile (see *T.N. i*, p. 101, n. 1). Behá also mentions that four of his followers were separated from him and taken elsewhere, and that one of them, named 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár, threw himself into the sea. Confirmation of this statement is afforded by the Cyprus official records, which show that four of Behá's followers, to wit, the above-mentioned 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár, together with Mushkín Kalam, Sheykh 'Alí Sayyáh, and Muḥammad Báķir, were sent to Famagusta with Şubḥ-i-Ezel (cf. *B. i*, p. 516, and *T.N. ii*, pp. 376-389). The independent corroboration of Behá's statements thus afforded gives us confidence in the other details which he mentions—the imprisonment of himself and his followers in the barracks at Acre, the hardships to which they were subjected, the badness of the bread supplied to them, the message to the Sultan given by Behá at Gallipoli to the Turkish colonel 'Omar, to whose custody

he was entrusted, etc. Behá mentions, amongst other things, that most of his followers were ill from the confinement to which they were subjected; that two had died soon after their arrival; and that the Turks would not suffer their bodies to be buried until a certain sum of money was paid. Is it not possible that the deaths here alluded to are those of the *Khayyát-báshí* and Hájí Ibráhim, who, as the Ezelís declare (*T.N. ii*, p. 362), were assassinated by the Behá'ís in the caravansary of the corn-sellers and buried in quick-lime under the platform? If so, we may hope that the version contained in this Epistle is the true one, and that the suspicions of the Ezelís are unfounded.

The Epistle also contains (pp. 220–221) a rather fine description of a puppet-show which Behá saw as a child in Teherán. In simple and graphic language he describes the sense of wonder and admiration produced in his young mind by the mimic pageant. Then he continues (p. 221, ll. 4–10): “The audience [of the mimic Sultan] came to an end, and they drew the curtain of the tent. Twenty minutes later a man emerged from the tent carrying a box under his arm. I asked him what the box contained, and what the pageant was. He told me that all these things, exhibited together with their accessories, which I had seen, and the nobles, the ministers, the splendour, the pomp, power, and majesty which I had beheld were now in the box. *And by my Lord who created all things by a word on His part*, from that day forth all the things of the world have appeared and do appear in my eyes even as that [mimic] pageant, neither have they had, nor will they have, so much consideration as a grain of mustard-seed.” Allusion is made to a “great fire, which burnt most of the city” [probably Constantinople], and a fierce plague which broke out—these events being regarded by Behá as Divine chastisements for the Sultan's unbelief and hard-heartedness. We, for our part, may regard them as points which may help to determine more closely the date when the Epistle was written.

V. THE EPISTLE OF FÚ'ÁD PÁSHÁ.

(Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 231-3.)

I have already (p. *supra*) given my reasons for believing that the person whose death Behá exultingly celebrates in this document was Fú'ád Páshá. An additional reason for this belief I find in the following passage (p. 232, ll. 16-20), which, as it seems to me, contains a punning allusion to the Páshá's name:—

كذلك اخذناه بقهر من لدنا ان ربك شديد العقاب نأديه ملك
 عن يمين العرش هذه ملائكة شداد هل لك من مفرّ قيل الآ جهنم
 التي منها يغلى الفؤاد واستقبل روحه ملائكة العذاب قيل ادخل
 هذه هاوية التي وعدتها بها في الكتاب وكنت تنكرها في الليالي
 والايام *

“Thus did we overtake him with vengeance on Our part: verily thy Lord is stern in chastisement. An angel called to him from the right hand of the Throne: ‘These are ruthless angels: hast thou whither thou may'st flee?’ It was answered: ‘[No,] save Hell, wherewith the heart [Fú'ád] boils.’ To meet his soul came forth the tormenting angels. It was said: ‘This is Hell, wherewith thou wert threatened in the Book, and which thou wert wont to deny in the nights and in the days.’”

The whole Epistle affords a fine specimen of Behá's comminatory style, but this one extract must for the present suffice.

Of the two other Epistles contained in this precious MS. the *first* (Coll. Sc. vi, pp. 233-5) is in Persian, and presents no remarkable features of interest. The *second* (pp. 235-243) is of great interest, but also, as Baron Rosen points out, of singular obscurity and difficulty. It contains Behá's answer to one of the Báb's original apostles, or “Letters of the Living,” who had asked certain questions touching

the nature of the "First Point" (i.e. the Báb). I cannot better describe the letter than by quoting Baron Rosen's own words:—"Cette pièce est la dernière du recueil et donne des explications qui seraient très satisfaisantes si elles étaient plus claires. Telles qu'elles sont données par Béhâ, elles ont grandement besoin d'un commentaire. Ce qu'on voit bien, c'est que Béhâ répond à la question un peu malgré lui. Mais il ne pouvait l'éviter, car le curieux, cette fois, était un membre de 'la première Unité,' une des 'Lettres du Vivant': 'Si tu n'étais pas de la première Unité,' lisons-nous, 'je te punirais, car tu as posé une question concernant Dieu, qui t'a créé, qui t'a nourri, qui t'a tué et qui t'a ressuscité dans ton corps ici présent par le Point de l'Exposition pendant cette manifestation unique dans son essence.' Béhâ, il faut bien le dire, s'est tiré d'affaire avec une adresse admirable. La réponse est un véritable chef-d'œuvre de phrases bien sonnantes, très édifiantes, très respectueuses envers le Báb, mais en même temps très peu précises."

I have only one remark to make on this piece, or rather on a note appended to it by Baron Rosen. He says (p. 242, n. 1), alluding to a passage in the text:—"Cette date est singulière. L'an 1270 correspond à 1853/4. Le texte paraît faire allusion à la manifestation du Báb, mais la date s'y oppose." The solution of the difficulty is that the Báb, as I pointed out in *B. i*, p. 507, generally dates the commencement of his mission, *not from the flight of the Prophet (hijra), but from the time when he was first commissioned to preach the doctrine of Islâm*, which time he places ten years earlier. Many passages in proof of this might be adduced from the Persian Beyân, but one (the same which I previously quoted) will suffice. It occurs in the seventh chapter of *Vâhid* ii. and runs as follows:

و از حین ظهور شجرهء بیان الی ما یغرب قیامت رسول الله هست
که در قرآن خداوند وعده فرموده که اول آن بعد از دو ساعت یازده
دقیقه از شب پنجم جمادی الاول سنه ۱۲۶۰ که سنه بعثت میشود

اَوَّلُ يَوْمِ قِيَامَتِ قُرْآنِ بُوْدَةِ وَاِلَى غُرُوبِ شَجَرَةِ حَقِيْقَتِ قِيَامَتِ
قُرْآنِسْت

“And from the moment of the ‘Manifestation’ of the Tree of the Beyán until its disappearance is the Resurrection of the Prophet of God, which God hath promised in the Kur’án; whereof the beginning was after two hours and eleven minutes had passed of the night of the fifth of *Jemádi-ul-Awwal*, A.H. 1260, which was the year 1270 of the Mission [of Muḥammad]. [This was] the first day of the Resurrection of the Kur’án, and till the disappearance of the Tree of Truth [*i.e.* the Báb] the Resurrection of the Kur’án continueth.”

LIEUTENANT TOUMANSKY’S RESEARCHES AND ACQUISITIONS.

The sixth volume of the *Collections Scientifiques* concludes with a brief, but most interesting, postscript, dated October 15th, 1890, wherein Baron Rosen gives a short account of the discoveries made and the new MSS. acquired by M. Toumansky, a young artillery officer, who had spent some months at ‘Ishkábád during the summer of 1890, with the intention of entering into relations with the Bábí community there (which, as it appears, is pretty numerous), and learning more of the history, condition, doctrines, and literature of the sect. His plans were crowned with the fullest measure of success; he was welcomed effusively by the Bábís of ‘Ishkábád, and received from them a rich store of information, books, and photographs. The MSS. which he obtained were as follows:

(1) The *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, described by me in *B. i*, p. 496, *B. ii*, pp. 1002-3, and, more fully, at pp. 192-7 of vol. ii. of the *Traveller’s Narrative*. Baron Rosen remarks (*Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 244) that according to the Bábís of ‘Ishkábád this work was composed by Mánakj’í, who, till lately, acted as representative of the Zoroastrians of Bombay at Teherán, and watched over the interests of their down-trodden brethren of Persia. As he died about a year ago, I may now say,

without indiscretion, that I too heard from many Bábís that he was the author of the work in question, though by some it was asserted that his *mirzá*, or secretary, had a considerable share in its production. I have lately had occasion to go through the whole work again (having already transcribed and collated it throughout) and to make a translation of it, which I hope soon to publish, and my estimate of its value is increased, inasmuch as many of the events which it chronicles appear either to have been copied from a work composed by Hájí Mírzá Jání of Káshán (who suffered martyrdom at Teherán in A.D. 1852), or to have been supplied by eye-witnesses.

(2) An Epistle called *لوح مقصود*, with commentary, dealing mainly with ethical questions.

(3) Two most interesting Epistles from Behá'u'lláh, the first addressed to the Bábís of 'Ishkábád in particular, the second to the Bábí church generally. Both of these Epistles (of which the text is given in full by Baron Rosen) refer to and were called forth by the following strange episode, which, as Baron Rosen affirms, created a certain sensation even at St. Petersburg.

"On September 8th, 1889, at 7 a.m., two Persians, Mash-hadí 'Alí Akbar and Mash-hadí Huseyn, both fanatical Shi'ites, hurled themselves, dagger in hand, on a certain Hájí Muḥammad Rizá, of Isfahán, who was peaceably traversing one of the most frequented streets of 'Ishkábád, and inflicted on him 72 wounds, to which he succumbed. Hájí Muḥammad Rizá was one of the most respected of the Bábís of 'Ishkábád. The crime was perpetrated with such audacity, that neither the numerous witnesses of the tragedy, nor the constable who was present, were able to save the victim of this abominable attack. They yielded themselves up to the police without offering any resistance. They were placed in a cab for conveyance to the prison; during the journey they fell to licking up the blood which dripped from their daggers. The trial, conducted with much energy by the military tribunal, gave as its result that Muḥammad Rizá had fallen a victim to the religious

fanaticism of the Shi'ites, who feared his influence; those of 'Ishkábád, acting on the orders of Mullás who had come for this purpose from Khurásán, resolved to put a stop to the Bábí propaganda by killing Hájí Muḥammad Rizá. But, knowing very well that the crime would not remain unpunished, they drew lots to determine who should sacrifice themselves for the Shi'ite cause. Thus it was that the persons above mentioned became the assassins of Muḥammad Rizá, who had done them no harm. The sentence of the tribunal was severe—'Alí Akbar and Huseyn, together with two of their accomplices, were condemned to be hanged, but the death-penalty was commuted, by His Imperial Majesty, to hard labour for life.

"This sentence was hailed by the Bábís with an enthusiasm easy to understand. It was the first time since the existence of the sect, *i.e.* for nearly fifty years, that a crime committed on the person of an adherent of the new religion had been punished with the utmost rigour of the law. The impression produced on the chief of the sect, Behá, appears to have been equally profound. The two "revelations" which we shall submit to the reader sufficiently prove this. They are also interesting from another point of view: they are almost the only Bábí documents of which we can understand all the meanings, all the allusions."

The documents in question are indeed full of interest, but I must necessarily limit myself to translating one extract from the first of them, which is addressed to the Bábís of Ishkábád in general, and to one of them named 'Abdu'l-Karím of Ardabil in particular.

(P. 249, l. 2). . . "Your deeds have rejoiced me, and your patience in affliction. Ye were slain and did not slay. . . Ye have done that whereby the breaths of patient suffering are diffused through creation. In truth the Glorious State [of Russia] (may God strengthen it!) hath displayed justice, and justice is the cause of the supremacy, majesty, and power of Kings. Well is it with him who is

adorned therewith, and hath drunk of its cup, and hath been illuminated with its effulgences! This society [*i.e.* the Bábís] must unceasingly regard this condition. God (glorious is His Glory!) hath ever loved and doth love constancy, and in diverse epistles hath enjoined it on all. This succour on the part of the Glorious State [of Russia] and this manifestation of justice and equity will, please God, obliterate the injustice and violence of the world. We enjoin it on this society not to forget this [act of] justice, and to pray God from the bottom of their hearts to perpetuate and render permanent the works of him who holds the standard of justice by the maintenance of [his] dominion and power. . .”

(4) Five loose leaves, containing:—(a) A poem of 72 verses, praising the Emperor of Russia for his justice in punishing the assassins of Muḥammad Rizá; (b) Two religious poems by a Bábí poet named Rúḥání, whom M. Toumansky thinks may be identical with the poet روحا mentioned by me in *B. ii*, p. 1008. (c) Another religious poem beginning:—*طلعات قدس بشارتی که جمال حق شده*. This poem is included in a small MS. of Bábí miscellanies copied for me at Kirmán, and since Baron Rosen only gives the first *beyt*, and even this offers no less than three variants from my text, I shall publish the whole in the Appendix to this article. If I remember aright I was told that *Nabil* was the author of it, but it is evidently modelled on the two poems, written in the same rhyme and metre (*Kámil-i-muthamman-i-sálim*), which tradition ordinarily ascribes to *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*. Of these two poems I have published the text and translation (the first in *B. ii*, pp. 936–7 and 991; the second in vol. ii. of the *Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 314–6), and I cannot deny myself the pleasure of adding to them this further specimen of the Bábí poetic genius. (d) An account of the Bábí law of heritage, the division of the year, and the names of the months, drawn up for M. Toumansky by the Bábís of

'Ishkábád. (e) A short chronological notice of the principal events in the lives of the Báb and Behá, also prepared for M. Toumansky. To this I have already had occasion to allude (p. *supra*).

(5) A copy of the Bombay lithographed edition of the Bábí work mentioned by me in *B. ii*, p. 944, as *Muduniyyat* ("Civilization"). Its full title is given by Baron Rosen as *اسرار الغيبة لسباب المدنية*. At the end of this is given the text of an Epistle in pure Persian, free from all admixture of Arabic, written by Behá'u'lláh to a follower of the Zoroastrian faith. Of this epistle, and of another similar one, I obtained copies at Acre which are now amongst my MSS. One of them, if not both, was addressed, as I was informed, to the late Mánakjí (already mentioned as the author of the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*), whose full name appears to have been Mánakjí Limjí Hadarja, and who came from India to Persia in the summer of 1854.¹

I have now completed my notice of Baron Rosen's most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Bábíism. Lengthy as this notice is, I have had to omit much of which I should like to have spoken; yet, I trust, I have sufficiently made clear the extreme value of the materials which he has made accessible to scholars, and the exceptional claim which he has on the gratitude of all Orientalists.

¹ See *Z.D.M.G.* for 1881, vol. xxxiv, p. 328.

APPENDIX.

I. A POEM ATTRIBUTED TO NABÍL.

[Metre—*Kámil-i-muthamman-i-sálim: Mutafá'ilun* (— — —)
8 times.]

هو الحقّ

طلعاتِ قدسِ بشارتی که جمالِ حقّ شده بر ملا
 بزن ای صبا تو بمحضرش بگروه زنده دلان صلا
 هله ای طوائفِ منتظر ز عنایتِ شو مقتدر
 مؤسفاخر شده مشتهر متبہیاً ما جملاً
 شده طلعتِ صمدی عیان که بپا کند علمِ بیان
 ز گمان وهمِ جهانیان جبروتِ اقدس اعتلا
 بسریر شوکت و عزّ و شان به نشست آن شو بی نشان
 بزد این صلا ببلاکشان که گروه مدعی ولا
 چه¹ کسی طریقی مرا رود کنمش ندا که خبر شود
 که هر آنکه عاشقِ من شود نرهد ز محنت و ابتلا
 کسی ار نکرد اطاعتم نگرفت حبلِ ولایت
 کنمش بعید ز ساحتم دهمش ز قهر بجان لا
 صمدم ز عالم سرمدم احدم ز کشور لا حدم
 بی اهلِ افئدہ آمدم و هموا الی لمقبلا

¹ When جو is short in scansion, or is commonly written چه by modern Persians.

قیساتِ نارِ مشیتتی انا ذا الست بربرکم
 بگذر بساحتِ قدسیان بشنو صغیر بلا بلا
 منم آن ظهورِ مهیمنی منم آن سفینه ایمنی
 منم آن منیتِ بی منی ولقد ظهرت مجلجلا
 شجرِ مرفیعِ جان منم ثمرِ نهان و عیان منم
 ملک الملوکِ بیان منم و بی البیان فقد علا
 شهدای طلعتِ نارِ من بدوید سوی دیارِ من
 سرو جان کنید نارِ من که منم شهنشؤ کر بلا

TRANSLATION.

"Good news, O apparitions of holiness, for the Beauty of
 God is divulged!
 O Zephyr! convey to the quickened of heart a summons
 to his presence!
 Ho! ye peoples who expectantly await the Grace of the
 Mighty King,
 The glorious moon is publicly apparent, resplendent and
 beautiful.
 The Apparition of the Eternal hath appeared to set up the
 standard of the Beyán;
 Exalted beyond the conception of worldlings' fancy is the
 Most Holy Realm of Power!
 That Signless King hath sat on the throne of majesty,
 might, and state;
 He hath thus greeted the sufferers of affliction:—'O band
 who pretend to [my] love!
 When anyone treads my path I will cry to him, that he
 may know,

¹ It would appear that this should be بل بل .

That whosoever becomes enamoured of me shall not escape suffering and sorrow.¹

Should anyone not obey me, not take hold of the rope of my protection,

I will drive him far from my presence, I will give him in my wrath to the wind of Not [-being].

I am Eternal: I am from the World of the Everlasting: I am One: I am from the Land of the Unlimited:

I am come after the children of the Spirit, and unto me do they advance.

Kindlings of the Fire of my Will! Lo, am I not your Lord?

Pass to the place of the holy ones; hear the shrill cry of "Yea! Yea!"²

I am that Manifestation of the All-Protecting! I am that Ark of Safety!

I am that Impersonal Personality, and I have appeared in my Glory!

I am the uplifted Tree of Life! I am the Hidden and Apparent Fruit!

I am the King of the Kings of the Beyán, and by me is the Beyán exalted!³

O witnesses of my fiery Apparition! Hasten towards my country!

Make your heads and lives my sacrifice; for I am the Monarch of Kerbelá!"⁴

¹ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 315, n. 2.

² Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 315, n. 1, and *B. ii*, pp. 917-918.

³ Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 357, n. 5.

⁴ i.e. I am the Imám Huseyn returned again. Cf. *B. ii*, p. 932, and footnote 1.

II. A TARKÍB-BAND IN PRAISE OF BEHÁ.

(Authorship Uncertain.)

[Metre: — *Khafif-i-makbún* : *Fá'ilátun, mafá'ilun, fa'lun*

(— — —, — — —), twice.]

من خدا جویم و خدایم کو	نقد جان بر کف و بهایم کو
جز توام از دو کون بیگانه	بخدا حز تو آشنایم کو
سرآن دارم ای صنم کآیم	سوی کوی تو لیک پایم کو
تا زدم در طریق عشق قدم	جوی اندیشه از فنایم کو
گر شوم در رهش شهید چه باک	غیر دلدار خون بهایم کو
تا گدای در تو گردیدم	بشهنشاهی اعتنایم کو
خانه دل ز غیر کردم پاک	غیر دلدار در سرایم کو
من نگویم سخن و گر گویم	غیر این نکته مدعایم کو

جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

باز تابید جلوه دلدار	از در و بام یا اولو الابصار
ماه رویش طلوع کرد وز شرم	پرده افگند مهر بر رخسار
از لب روح پرورش زنده است	صد چو عیسی بهر کران و کنار
آرنی گو بطور دیدارش	همچو موسی نشسته اند هزار
ای تو مسجود انبیای عظام	وی تو معبود اولیای کبار
قدمی نه برون که در قدمت	ما سوا نقد جان کنند نثار
مدعی کو که تا ز من شنود	آنچه منصور گفت بر سردار
گوش دل باز کن که تا شنوی	تو ز ذرات جمله این گفتار

جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

مظهر ذات ذو الجلال توئی
 مظهر ذات ذو الجلال توئی
 تقد کججینة جلال توئی
 تقد کججینة جلال توئی
 جلوه گاه نبی و آل توئی
 جلوه گاه نبی و آل توئی
 بلکه هجران و هم وصل توئی
 بلکه هجران و هم وصل توئی
 ابد السمهر بیوزال توئی
 ابد السمهر بیوزال توئی
 بیشک از قدرت و نزال توئی
 بیشک از قدرت و نزال توئی
 چون خداوند بی مثال توئی
 چون خداوند بی مثال توئی
 که سزوار این خصال توئی
 که سزوار این خصال توئی
 جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
 جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
 گر تو جوئی خدا بجو ز بها
 گر تو جوئی خدا بجو ز بها

ای تو سرآوت حسن یزدانی
 ای تو سرآوت حسن یزدانی
 ای تو آورده در شب معراج
 ای تو آورده در شب معراج
 ای بدو گاه عرش مرتبه ات
 ای بدو گاه عرش مرتبه ات
 مضمّر اندر تو وصف قهاری
 مضمّر اندر تو وصف قهاری
 ای فزون از ستاره در خجلیت
 ای فزون از ستاره در خجلیت
 بر سر کوبیت ایستاده هزار
 بر سر کوبیت ایستاده هزار
 جان طلب کن بها بیک نگهی
 جان طلب کن بها بیک نگهی
 بهر ای رخست دگر دارک
 بهر ای رخست دگر دارک
 بلبل روح این خوش الحانی
 بلبل روح این خوش الحانی
 جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
 جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
 گر تو جوئی خدا بجو ز بها
 گر تو جوئی خدا بجو ز بها

نیست غیر از تو در نظر ما را
 جز تو مستظور کو دگر ما را
 برهت تا ز سر نفوسم پای
 نیست پر ای پسا و سر ما را

¹ MS. جلیلی.

² MS. om. *

چند گردانند ای صنم تا چند غم روی تو در بدر مزار
هر دم آید ز تیر و سگانست تیر بیداد بر جگر مزار
لب شیرین کثوف و ابرو کند تلخ در کام نیشکر مزار
هر شب از فرقت مهت ریزد اختر از دیده تا سحر مزار
بهر آنچه انگنم نظر گردن خشن روی تو جلوه گر مزار
دهمدم این ندا بگوش آید موسی آما ز هر شجر مزار
جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

تاوت شمس حقیقت از تو فاش لیک کورست دیده خفاش
ای بدنسای دون گیزو مانده تا بگی بهر رزق جهد و تلاش
دین بدست آرو بگذر از دنیا علم دین پیشه کن نه عقل و معاش
تاکی از جهل و غفلت^۱ بستر یاز تقلید پیرویست فرائش
رو بدرگاه^۲ عرش مرتبه که بود روح قدسیش فرائش
چهره اش را نگر ز غایت لطف قلم ایزدی شده نقاش
کز تراه لطف ایزدی باید مسینه بندگان او خراش
ساکنان حریم لاهوتی هستمان زین تکلم استیناش
جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

خلوت لا مکان مکان بهاست آیه آتما بشمان بهاست
نار نیران و شربت زقوم طعمه جان دشمنان بهاست
کوثر (و) سلسبیل و هم تسنیم بهره و بخش دوستان بهاست
عدل و دادی که مصطفی فرمود وعده دوستان زمان بهاست

^۱ MS. *غل*, but I think this emendation is needed.

^۲ MS. *omitted*, اگر لطف.

^۳ *غل*.
^۴ MS. *omitted*.

آن نشانها که در خبر آمد راستی جملگی نشان بهاست
 کتب انبیا و معجزشان رو بین جمله تو از آن¹ بهاست
 موسی و عیسی و حواریین بحقیقت ز پیروان² بهاست
 از سر صدق دائم الاوقات این سخن ورد بندگان بهاست³
 جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

بکشایب که پسته بندد لب بنما رخ که روز گردد شب
 ای دو صد یوسف فتاده اسیر زار و درمانده در چو غنچه
 دانی ای شه که بر من از اعدا میرود در غمت چه رنج و تعب
 میسند اینکه از تطاول دهر مؤمن منخسف شود مذهب⁴
 همتی کن که تا برون آیم از چو طبع چون مؤمخشب
 تن و جان من ار بپوته دهر بگدازنده آنچه ناکه ذهب
 نیستم غیر لعل تو مشرب نیستم غیر وصل تو مذهب
 بهر تمجید ذات اقدس تو هر دم این نکته آدم بطرب

جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا

گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

ای تو منظور خلقت آدم وی تو مقصود بعثت خاتم
 ای در آنجا که محترق گردد جان جبریل جسم تو محرم

¹ MS. امان, but, unless we can take this in the sense of امانت (a trust) some emendation seems missing.

² MS. پیروان, contrary alike to sense and metre.

³ MS. خدمات, by an obvious slip.

⁴ MS. بذهب. An emendation is clearly needed, but I am by no means certain that I have hit on the right one.

⁵ This word is very carelessly written, and might be read بگذارد.

فی غلط جسم و جان نه بر تو رواست که تویی فارغ از حدوث (و) قدم
 ای نزاده چه تو فصیح و ملیح مام دوران نه در عرب نه عجم
 ای کف تو محلل الاشکال وی لب تو موضح المبهم
 تا شدم بنده تو باز اغیار که من ایدر بوم بغم همدم
 چشم تا بر رخ تو کردم باز بیخود از لب دمد مرا این دم
 جز بها نیست جلوه گاه خدا
 گر تو جوئی خدا بجوز بها

TRANSLATION.

"I seek God, and where is my God? [I hold] the coin of
 life in my hand, but where is my price [or Behá]?¹
 Save for Thee I am a stranger to both worlds; by God!
 save Thee where have I a friend?
 O Idol! Fain would I approach thy street, but where is
 strength² for me [to do so]?
 Since I set my footsteps in the Path of Love, where [does
 there exist] a single grain of anxiety as to my
 annihilation?
 What matter if I die a martyr in His cause? Where will
 be my blood-wit save [with] the Beloved?³
 Since I became a beggar at Thy door, what do I care for
 sovereignty?
 I have purified the house of the heart from all else [but
 Thee]: where is there in my mansion anyone but the
 Beloved?"

¹ MS. *گر*, which seems to me to give no good sense.

² MS. *om. و*.

³ For *چو* see first footnote on preceding poem.

⁴ This line seems to me corrupt, but I cannot suggest an emendation.

⁵ The words "*Beháyam kú?*" have a double signification: either "where is my price?" in the sense of "where is my equivalent for this coin of life?"—"Where is an object on which I may worthily expend it?"—or, "where is my Behá?"

⁶ *Páyam kú?* Strength, endurance (*تاب و طاقت*) is a recognised and not uncommon meaning of *pd*.

⁷ i.e. my blood-wit or compensation will be nothing less than the Beloved.

I speak not, and, should I utter speech, what should I assert
save this maxim?—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

"Again hath the splendour of the Beloved shone from door
and roof, O men of vision !

The Moon of his Countenance hath arisen, and in shame the
sun hath cast a veil on its cheek.

By His life-fostering lip live a hundred such as Jesus in
every nook and corner.

Crying 'Show me'¹ by the Sinai of His aspect sit a thousand
such as Moses.

O Thou, the Adored of the mighty prophets! O Thou, the
Object of worship of the greatest saints!

Come forth but one step, that at thy feet all beside Thee
may cast down the coin of life!

Where is an adversary, that he may hear from me that
which Manşúr² cried on the cross?

Open the ear of the heart, that thou mayest hear this cry
from all atoms—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

"Thou art the King of the realm of the Everlasting! Thou
art the Manifestation of the Essence of the Lord of
Glory!

Thou art the Pearl of the store-house of Beauty! Thou
art the Coin of the treasury of Glory!

Thou art a Void for the Divine communing!³ Thou art the
temple of Glory of the Prophet and the [Prophetic]
Family!

Thou art Beauty and Love, Lover and Beloved; nay, Thou
art alike Separation and Union!

¹ Kur'án, vii, 139.

² Huseyn Manşúr the wool-carder (*halldj*), the celebrated Súfí who was
hanged or crucified for crying out in one of his mystical raptures *Ana 'l-Hakk*
("I am the Truth," i.e. "God.")

³ I am uncertain alike as to the correctness of the reading and the true sense
of this line.



Save Thee there is naught else which truly exists: Thou art
for ever changeless.

The Creator of creation and the Distributor of provision in
power and bounty without doubt art Thou!

Thou hast no peer or partner, since Thou art the Lord
without compare!

For creatures to assume equality with Thee is an error, for
Thou [alone] meritest this description—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá:
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

"O Thou, the Mirror of Divine Beauty! The Temple of
Glory of the Beauty of the Lord!

O Thou, who, on the Night of Ascent, did'st entertain the
Seal of the Prophets as Thy guest!¹

O Thou at the approach to the throne of whose rank
Gabriel² prides himself on holding the office of gate-
keeper!

Latent in Thee [is] the quality of compelling might; ap-
parent from Thee [are] the attributes of Merciful-
ness!

O Thou in whose retinue, surpassing the stars in number,
are servants like the Moon of Canaan!³

At the end of Thy street stand a thousand like Ishmael⁴
[ready] for sacrifice:

Demand [my] life, O Behá, only with a glance, that I may
readily lay it before Thee!

In love for Thy Countenance again hath the nightingale of
my soul this melody—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá:
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

¹ This alone is tantamount to a declaration of Behá's Divine Nature, since, according to Shi'ite belief, Muḥammad was God's guest on the night of his ascent to Heaven.

² Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 362, l. 5.

³ i.e. Joseph.

⁴ According to Muhammadan belief it was Ishmael (*Ismá'íl*), not Isaac, who was destined by Abraham for sacrifice, wherefore he is entitled *ذبيح*, "the sacrificial victim."

"In our sight there is none but Thee: save Thee to whom should we look ?

Since I made my head a foot in Thy Path I reckon no longer of foot or head.

How long, O Idol, how long shall yearning for Thy Face drive us from door to door ?

Each moment from the shafts of thine eyelashes doth the arrow of injustice smite our hearts.

He opened His sweet lips and [raised] his eyebrows, making bitter [by contrast] sugar-cane in our mouth.

Every night, through separation from Thy moon [-face] stars¹ rain from our eyes till morning.

On whatsoever I cast my glance the Beauty of Thy Face shines forth on me.²

Each moment this cry comes to my ear, as to [that of] Moses, from every tree—

'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá: If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'

"The Sun of Truth has shone forth unveiled from Thee, but the eye of the bat is blind.

O thou who liest in pledge to this low world, how long wilt thou strive and seek [but] for [worldly] provision ?

Take religion in thine hand, and forsake the world: make the study of religion thine employment, not the understanding of a trade.

How long shall thy pillow be of folly and heedlessness; or thy couch of the conformity of blind imitation ?

Go to the court of a throne whereof the rank is such that a Holy Spirit is its carpet-spreader.

Look ! Of the countenance, so gracious is it, the Divine Pencil must have been the limner !

If thou desirest the Grace of God, wound not the breasts of his servants !

¹ i.e. tears.

² Kur'án, ii, 109. — "فإيما تولوا فثم وجه الله." — "And whithersoever ye turn there is the Face of God."

The dwellers in the sanctuary of Divinity are familiarized with this utterance—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek him from Behá.'*

"The Seclusion of the Placeless is the place of Behá ; the verse 'only' ¹ is in reference to Behá ;

The flame of the fires and the draught of *Zakẖúm* ² are food for the souls of the foes Behá.

Kawthar, and Salsabíl, and Tasním ³ too are the portion and share of the friends of Behá.

The justice and fairness of which Muṣṭafá ⁴ made promise to friends is [fulfilled in] the time of Behá.

Those signs which have come down in tradition are all, in truth, the signs of Behá.

The books of the prophets and their miracles, go, see ! all are Behá's !

Moses, and Jesus, and the apostles are, in truth, amongst the followers of Behá.

This saying, uttered with all sincerity, is ever the portion of the tongues of Behá's servants—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek Him from Behá.'*

"Open Thy lip, that the pistachio-nut ⁵ may close its lips : shew Thy cheek, that the day may become night.

O Thou, in the dimple of whose chin two hundred helpless and hapless Josephs are fallen captive !

¹ The word *أَمْ* (*only*) occurs in so many passages of the *Qur'án* that it is difficult to conjecture which is here intended. I think, however, that *Qur'an vi, 109*, may be meant—*نَلَّ أَمْآ آيَاتِ مَدَّ اللّٰهَ*—"Say, 'signs [*áyat*] are in God's hands alone.'"

² The name of a foul and bitter tree which grows in hell. See *Qur'án, xxxvii, 60; xlv, 43; lvi, 52*.

³ The names of three celestial rivers.

⁴ *i.e.* Muhammad, called *al-Muṣṭafá* "the Elect."

⁵ The gaping of the shell of the pistachio-nut is continually taken by Persian poets as the emblem of a smiling mouth. Hence the meaning of this line is "Relax Thy mouth in a smile that all other smiles may seem in comparison of no account."

Thou knowest, O King, what suffering and hardship befall
me at the hands of mine enemies for [my] love of
Thee ;

Suffer not that, though the tyranny of fate, my moon should
be eclipsed, [or] put away.

Exert Thine influence, that I may come forth from the pit of
nature, like the moon of Nakhshab.

Though they should melt my soul and body in the crucible
of time like gold,

My source [of inspiration] shall be naught but Thy ruby
[lip], my religion shall be naught but union with
Thee.

For the glorification of Thy Most Holy Essence every
moment this word raises me to ecstasy—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek him from Behá.'*

"O Thou, who wert the object of man's creation! O Thou,
who wert the purpose of the Prophet's mission!

O Thou, whose body is admitted where the soul of Gabriel
would be consumed!

No, [I spoke] at random: it is not right [to talk of] body
and soul in connection with Thee, for Thou art free
from Time and Eternity!

O Thou, like unto whom in eloquence and grace Mother
Time hath brought forth none in Arabia or Persia!

O Thou, whose hand is the solver of difficulties! O Thou,
whose lip makes plain whatever is doubtful!

Since I became Thy servant [apart] from all others, so that
I might be here the companion of grief,

[And] since I opened mine eyes on Thy face, involuntarily
this utterance breathes forth each moment from my
lips—

*'The temple of God's Glory is none other than Behá :
If thou seekest God, seek him from Behá.'*"



ART. VIII.—*Four Cuneiform Texts.* By S. ARTHUR STRONG, M.A.

I.

(a.)

OF Aššurbêlkala, son and successor of the first Tiglath-pileser, we know little. The so-called synchronous history devotes a few lines to his reign, from which, however, we learn nothing more than that in his time the peoples of Assyria and Babylon were united in the bonds of friendship and alliance, and that he took to wife a Babylonian lady, daughter of the upstart Rammânapluiddinna, King of Babylon (W. A. I., ii. 65, 25). Two only of Aššurbêlkala's inscriptions seem to have come down to us. Of these the more important runs in seven partly defaced lines across the back of a nude female torso carved in stone a little under life-size. This monument—of the highest interest from an archæological point of view—was found at Kouyunjik, and is now preserved (No. 849) in the British Museum.

The first three lines of the inscription present the remains of the genealogy of the king. Then follow two mutilated and extremely obscure lines, and the closing words invoke the vengeance of the gods of Martu upon whosoever shall alter the name and writing.

That an Assyrian king should thus make a public appeal to the gods of the Amorites¹ is in itself remarkable; but it is not more so than the style of the figure considered as a work of art. The type, it is true, will not appear very select to those accustomed to Greek models; but the forms of the female nude have evidently been carefully studied,

¹ See below.



and are reproduced with an emphasis which in parts approaches exaggeration.

Now it is in the representation of the draped human form that the Assyrian artists may be said to have excelled. Their freedom of treatment, however, was confined within the limits of a convention that had become fixed at a comparatively early date, and was followed for centuries without material modification. For instance, the bas-reliefs of Aššurbanipal present, roughly speaking, the same characteristics as those of Aššurnasirpal. In both we admire the picturesque composition of a variety of incidents, and the vigour and naturalness of the representation of motion; but the later artists have not advanced far beyond their predecessors in the direction of freedom and realism; there is nothing to suggest that an interval of two centuries lies between them. Moreover, the nude never appears prominently in Assyrian sculpture. Occasionally, as on the bronze gates of Balawat, we see a row of impaled captives garnishing the wall of a conquered town; but the fancy of a naked goddess occurred but rarely to the formal Assyrians. In fact, the attenuated and closely-draped Ištar, who appears on cylinder-seals and, more rarely, on bas-reliefs, would hardly be recognized as a goddess at all, if it were not for her accompanying symbols.¹

These considerations suggest—though they do not involve—the conclusion that we have here to deal with the product of an art foreign in sentiment and method to that of Assyria. The fact that the name of the god whose vengeance is invoked has been obliterated must make it for ever impossible to determine with certainty the meaning and purpose of the statue; but we know that Assyrian kings—Sargon, for example, and Tiglathpileser III.—followed Syrian fashions

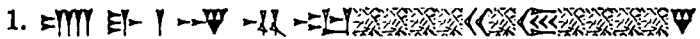

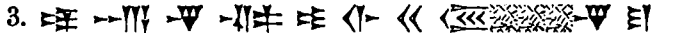
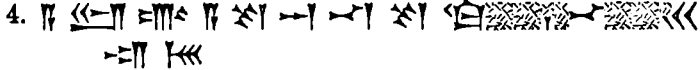
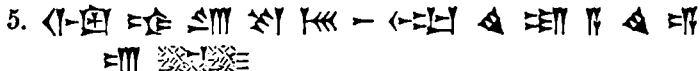
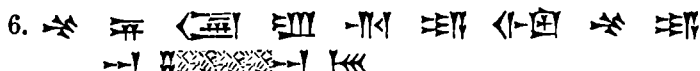
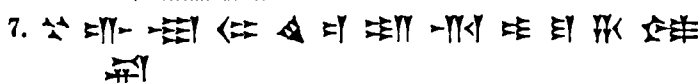
¹ Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art*, ii. 505) reproduce two cylinder-seals, on which Ištar is seen standing naked and emaciated in the presence of worshippers; but, in the first place, such a device is very unusual, and, in the second, the figure of the goddess bears no resemblance whatever to the statue under discussion. However, there are two little undraped figures from Nimrud (reproduced on pp. 507 and 508 of the same work), which are more in the style of the statue; but it is by no means certain either to what period they belong, or what they represent. Perrot and Chipiez take them and the statue as well for figures of Ištar.

in architecture, and it may be that influences—religious as well as artistic—from the same quarter have been at work here. In that case the statue may either have been made for Aššurbêlkala on some occasion or for some purpose unknown to us, or it may have been carried away with the booty of some victorious expedition to the West to find a new shrine and new votaries in Assyria.

The inscription has been published—but from a very imperfect and incorrect copy—in the first volume of *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, plate 6, No. vi. I have given an amended edition based upon an independent study of the stone.

Translations have been attempted both by Oppert (*Expédition*, i. 288), and by Menant (*Annales*, 54); but their renderings, made from the hopelessly corrupt text of W. A. I., contain little that is certain except the king's name.

Text.

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 

Transliteration.

1. ê-kal Aššur-bêl-ka-[la] šar kiš-[ša-ti]




2. apil Tukul-ti-apil-Ê-šar-ra [šarru?]
 dan-[nu]



3. apil A-šur-riš-i-ši šar kiš-[ša-ti šar Aš]-šur-ma
4. a-lam ga-a-tê an-na-tê ki [nari?] ilâni
5. u ar-ru-tê ina muḫ-ḫi-ši a-ḫi-ê
6. mu-ni-kir šit-ri-ia u šumi-ia Za ilâni
7. Mar-tu mi-ḫi-iṣ šî-ri i-ma-ḫa-ṣu-uš.

Translation.

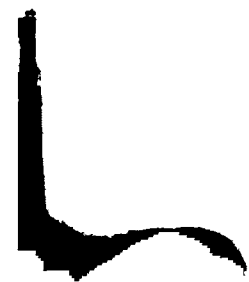
1. The palace of Aššurbêlkala king
of the whole (world), [King of Assyria],
2. son of Tiglathpileser the strong [king]
3. son of Aššur-riš-iši, king of the whole (world), king
of the same Assyria:—
4. an image these hands the inscriptions (?)
of the cities
5. and cursings with the crushing of the side
6. Whosoever alters my writing and my name the god
Za [and] the gods of
7. Martu with the crushing of the back shall crush him.

NOTES.

4. *alam gâtê*. I propose this reading with great hesitation ; but for *alam* with the meaning 'image' see W.A.I. iii. 70, 52, where  is rendered by  *ša-al-mu*, and cf. Arab. علم. With regard to *gâtê* for *ḫâtê*, the substitution of *g* for *ḫ* (a common feature of Babylonian phonetics) is not unknown in Assyrian texts even of the first period. For example, in the great inscription of Tiglathpileser I. the forms *gurunatê*, *gurunatê* (from the root ) occur in three places, viz. II. 21, III. 58 and IV. 19.

Mr. Pinches suggests the restoration of  before 











5. *arrutê* I take to be the plural of *arru(m)* in the sense of 'curse' or 'cursing.' Cf. W.A.I. ii. 27, 39, 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠
 𐎠𐎠𐎠 | 𐎠𐎠𐎠 - with W.A.I. v. 30, 65 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 |
 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠

muḥḥiṣi appears to be a noun of the type *فُجِّل* from the root *maḥṣu*. Both *muḥḥuṣu* and *muḥḥuṣṣu* are quoted by Strassmaier (A.V. p. 674); but in the former case he seems to have mistaken what is evidently the 3, pl. permansive ii. 1, (*ina lib-bi-šu-nu mu-uḥ-ḥu-ṣu-u*, 'in their midst they are smitten,' K. 680, 10) for a verbal noun of the type *فُجِّل*.

With *muḥḥiṣi aḥi* 'the crushing of the side (of the body)' cf. *murūṣ aḥi* 'the disease of the side,' with which among other plagues Iṣtar is smitten in Hades, W.A.I. iv. 31, *obv.* l. 71.

It is possible that the partially defaced character after 𐎠𐎠 should be read 𐎠𐎠𐎠.

6. The name of the god *Za*, if we suppose it to have been that of an Assyrian deity, might perhaps be restored as 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 ZA-GA-GA, which we find explained by 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 NIN-IB, W.A.I. ii. 57, 53 and 70; but, on the whole, it seems more probable that some god of the Phœnicians (or Amorites) was referred to.

7. 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 is equivalent to the characters 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠
 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠 (𐎠𐎠) which have usually been read *A-har-ri-i*, and explained to mean the 'West-country,' that is Phœnicia. Both the reading and the explanation appear to be founded upon a statement made by Norris, which, however, as it stands, is far from being conclusive, viz. "I have also a note that 𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠 is 'west,' but I have mislaid the reference" (*Dict.* I. 28). On the other hand, the occurrence on one of the tablets from El Amarna of the

4. 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣
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7. 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣
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8. 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣 𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎣
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Transliteration.

1. a-na Rammâni ašarid šam-ê irši-ti
2. ûmê ez-zu-tê ša a-na ri-gim
3. i-ru-bu ra-aš pu-ul-ḫi šad-lu
4. nam-ri-ri ilu ša ina ba-li-šu purussî šam-ê irši-tim
5. ul iš-ša-ka-nu nû-ri la na-mar gab-bu
6. tê-ni-šê-tê a-na mu-rim mar-ka-as šam-ê irši-tim
7. bêli-šu Aššur-bêl-ka-la ša ilu ina puḫur Aššur za-kar
šumi-šu
8. iz-kur maš-šu-u šakkanak ilâni

Translation.

1. To Rammân, prince of heaven [and] earth
2. glorious days, who for the fame
3. entered, who inspires fear, broad
4. brightness, the god without whom the decisions of heaven
[and] earth
5. come not to pass, the lights shine not, all [of them] (?)
6. mankind, to make fast the boundary of heaven and earth
.
7. his lord, Aššurbêlkala, for whom god throughout the
whole of Assyria the renown of his name
8. has noised abroad, the hero, governor of the gods

NOTES.

4. Cf. the annals of Aššurnaširpal, W.A.I. i. 17, 3, *ilu ša ina balušu purusst šamié iršitim la ipparsu*.
5. *nuri la namar*. This amendment I propose with great hesitation. The form of the phrase *nuri la namar* 'the lights (are) without shining,' that is 'shine not' would be parallel to that of such familiar expressions as *rubú la šanan* 'a prince without an equal,' *ašar la amaru* 'a place that is not seen.'
6. *ana murim*, etc. This phrase also occurs in the annals of Aššurnaširpal, *l.c.* 2. My rendering is conjectural; but that the root idea of *murim* is that of 'shutting' or 'making fast' is evident from the following glosses: W.A.I. ii. 23, 19, $\text{𒍪 𒀭 𒄀 𒍪 𒄀} | \text{𒍪 𒄀 𒍪 𒄀}$ *mu-rim ba-a-bi=da-al-tum* (a door), *l.c.* 33, $\text{𒍪 𒀭 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀} | \text{𒍪 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀}$ *mu-rim dalti=nu-ku-šu-u* (the hinge?). Cf. Arab. م , 'to twist a rope tight, mend.'
7. With *ina puḥur Aššur*, cf. W.A.I. i. 14, 102, *ina napḥar mat Ašur gabbi*.
8. *maššú*. It is difficult to determine whether the *ductus literarum* points to 𒍪 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀 *massú* or to 𒍪 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀 *maššú* as the true reading. The difference, however, appears to be only one of form. For the meaning cf. W.A.I. iv. 27, 63a, *belum napīšti māti massú šamié u iršitim*, 'O Lord, the life of the land, the hero of heaven and earth' (Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 498), and W.A.I. ii. 47, 15a, where $\text{𒍪 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀} | \text{𒍪 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀}$ is explained by $\text{𒍪 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀} | \text{𒍪 𒄀 𒄀 𒄀}$ *maššú ašaridu*.

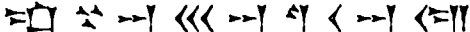
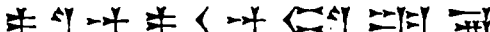
II.

At the end of the monolith-inscription of Šamši-Rammān III., King of Assyria, there is mention made of a Marduk-balātsu-ikbi, upon whom the king, in the course of his campaign in Chaldæa and Babylonia, inflicted a signal defeat. This Marduk-balātsu-ikbi, who may be inferred—though he is not expressly stated—to have been King of Babylon, has been generally identified with the king of the same name mentioned in the inscription before us, and—in the absence of any more precise indications from other quarters—we have thus a fixed point from which to determine its date more or less closely, for it was in the year 812 B.C. that Šamši-Rammān made the expedition against Babylon, which ended, as it seems, with the overthrow of Marduk-balātsu-ikbi.

The inscription covers the face of a small oval black stone, evidently a land-mark. At the top are three divine emblems of the kind usually found on these monuments, while the middle of the face is adorned with a rudely executed bas-relief representing the "dagger-bearer" and—presumably—his royal patron. The lines are separated by division-marks, and the characters, with few exceptions, are as clumsily formed and executed as the figures. The text, though it runs in the conventional style, is difficult, owing to the occurrence here and there of unusual terms and expressions.

The stone was found by Mr. Rassam at Abu Habba, and is now preserved in the British Museum.

Text.

1. 
2. 
3. 

4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

Transliteration.

1. ṣal-mu Rammānu-êtir naš paṭri Marduk
2. um-mat Sin Šamsi u Nergal
3. pa-liḫ Nabû u Marduk ka-rib
4. šarri bêli-šu Marduk-balaṭ-su-iḫ-bi
5. apil-šu rabu-u êpuš-ma
6. a-na ṣa-at û-mê
7. a-na zir-šu u pir'i-šu
8. u-kîn
9. man-nu arku-u
10. ṣa ṣal-mu

11. u narû
12. an-na-a
13. ub-ba-tu
14. lu-u ina
15. ši-pir ni-kil-tu u-ḫal-la-ḫu
16. Marduk bêlu rabu-u iz-zi-iš
17. lik-kil-mê-šu-ma šumi-šu u zir-šu
18. lu-ḫal-liḫ Nabû dup-šar gim-ri
19. mênûti ûmê-šu arkûti kabrûti
20. na-šir-šu la-li-ê balâti luš-bi

Translation.

1. The image of Rammânu-êtir, priest of Marduk,
2. worshipper of Sin, Šamaš and Nergal,
3. who fears Nabû and Marduk (the god) who blesses the sacrifice of
4. the king, his lord, Marduk-balašsu-iḫbi,
5. his eldest son made, and
6. for the eternity of days,
7. for his seed and his offspring,
8. set up.
9. Whoever hereafter
10. the image
11. and inscription,
12. this one,
13. overthrows,
14. or with
15. work of cunning destroys,
16. may Marduk, the great lord, in anger
17. look upon him, and his name and his seed
18. destroy! Nabû, the scribe of the universe,
19. (through) numbers of his days long (and) large
20. protecting him, with the fulness of life may he be filled!

NOTES.

1. *naš patri*, literally 'dagger-bearer,' was the priest whose duty it was to cut out those portions of the victim which belonged to the gods, and to offer them up in their presence. Besides the ecclesiastical there was also a military order of *naš paṭrūtu*. See Jeremias in Delitzsch's *Beiträge*, I. p. 289, and Tallqvist, *Babylonische Schenkungsbriefe*, p. 23.
2. *ummat*. The reading here is not certain, for the character which I have taken for *um* is somewhat defaced. Moreover there seems to be no other instance in Babylonian or Assyrian of *ummat*, *ummatu* with the meaning which from its position in the sentence it ought to have here, viz. that of 'priest' or 'worshipper.' Nevertheless, if the reading be correct, I venture to regard it as the Babylonian equivalent of the Arabic عالم , which, among other meanings, is said to have that of *sectator* and *summus sacerdos*.
3. *karib* I take to be an epithet of Marduk 'the god of sacrifice,' or 'the god who blesses the sacrifice.' The word occurs several times as a divine name or epithet in the Babylonian contracts published by Peiser, and always in connection with Marduk or his temple: e.g. *iḱu (ilu) karib bābi papaḥu Marduk* (*Babylonische Verträge*, xxviii. 5), *pān (ilu) karibi ina Esaggil bīt Marduk* (*ib.* lxiii. 2). In all such cases Peiser renders it by 'Opfergott.'
19. My rendering of this difficult line is only conjectural. The character which has the form of *mé* on the stone seems in reality to be the plural-sign. The reading of the character printed as 𒌦 is not quite certain, for just above it—and underneath the *šar* of the preceding line—there is a seemingly superfluous wedge, which, although other characters have taken unusual forms on this monument, makes it a matter of some difficulty

to understand the intention of the scribe. However, if KIL-MEŠ be the true reading, it looks as if it should form a parallel to the BU-MEŠ which immediately precedes, and, as a matter of fact, KIL itself is quoted with the meaning of *ardku* (W.A.I. iii. 61, 2, 30). For KIL as representing *kabāru*, *kabru*, see Brünnow, *List*, p. 413.

[The above two articles were sent in in December, 1891, but their publication was unavoidably delayed.—R.H. D.]

III.

THE following inscription is on a fragment of a cylinder of clay, brought by Mr. Rassam from Babylon, and now (Rm. III. 105) in the British Museum.

It is unfortunately too mutilated to enable us to gain more than a general idea of its meaning, and the style, even of the parts which remain, is often obscure and difficult. It was written by or for a certain Nabû-šumu-imbi, who, in addition to various ecclesiastical titles, calls himself *šaku*, or governor of Borsippa.

The first column opens with an invocation, in which, in the present state of the text, it is difficult to find and follow the main thread, or to distinguish the gods directly addressed from those incidentally mentioned. We then learn that an important work (probably a dam or embankment), which the negligence of certain officers had allowed to fall into decay, was taken in hand and restored by Nabû-šumu-imbi.

The narrative now passes abruptly to the main incident. In the reign of Nabû-šumu-iškun, the king, son of Dakuri, the men of Babylon, in alliance, as it seems, with Chaldæans, Aramæans, and the men of Dilbat, attacked the men of Borsippa, and a riot ensued, the disturbance lasting for many days. Borsippa was captured, and the house of Nabû-šumu-imbi surrounded by the hostile party. Prominent in the ranks of the insurgents was the *šatam* or judge of Êzida, Nabû-šumu-iddina. In fact, it seems certain from what remains of the end of Col. I. that he must have taken advantage of the state of confusion to seize the governorship of Borsippa. Though there is not enough of the record to enable us to tell precisely how the matter ended, still the accent of gratitude and confidence that marks the final address to the gods leaves no doubt that the situation was eventually solved to the satisfaction of Nabû-šumu-imbi.¹


¹ The end, like the beginning, of the inscription is sadly mutilated, so much so that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether the subject is a male or a female divinity.

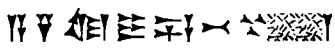
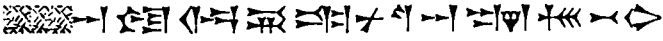
In order to fix the date of these interesting events, there is one point of fact from which we can start, and that is the mention of the *king* Nabû-šumu-iškun. Now the only king of Babylon of that name otherwise known to us was a contemporary of Rammân-nirâri II., king of Assyria, that is, he must have lived about 890 B.C., and there is nothing either in the style or in the matter of the document before us to disturb the conclusion that this is the king referred to. The fact that he is called *apil Dakuri* probably means simply that he came from Bit Dakuri, or the northern part of Chaldæa.

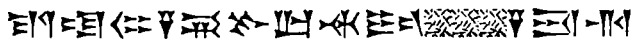
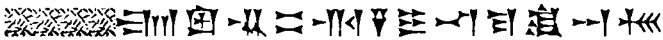
In the same way the phrase *apil Aššur* seems to suggest that, in spite of the genuinely Babylonian ring of his name, Nabû-šumu-imbi was of Assyrian extraction. For we know that the overthrow of Nabû-šumu-iškun by Rammân-nirâri was followed by a period of close intimacy and alliance between the peoples of Babylon and Assyria; and it may be that Nabû-šumu-imbi had profited by his Assyrian extraction or his Assyrian leanings, and that some such cause as this provoked the outbreak of the men of Babylon.

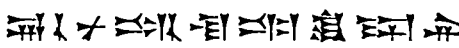
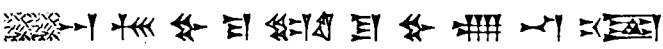
The inscription is now published for the first time.


Text.


























































































































































































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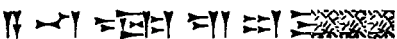





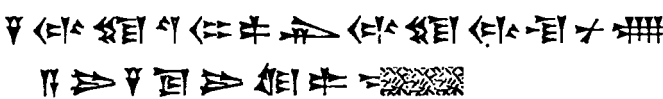
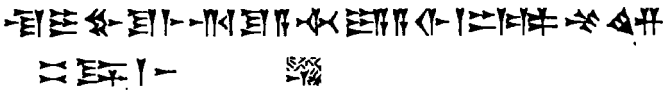
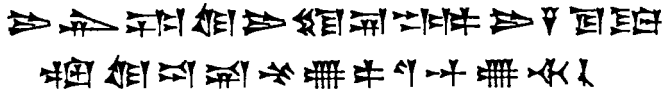
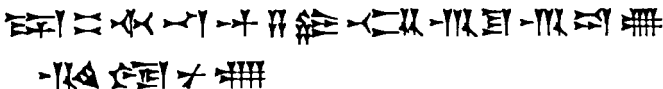
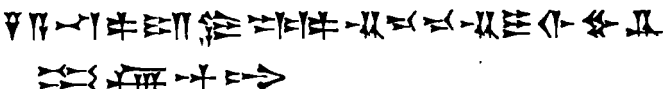
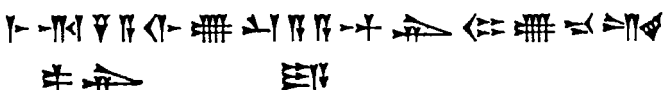

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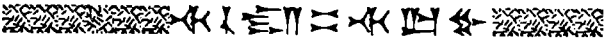
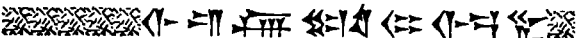
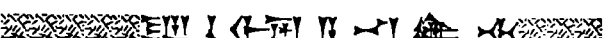

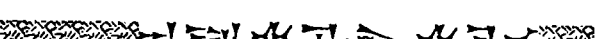





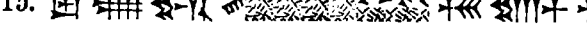


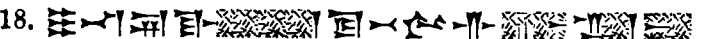
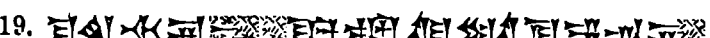




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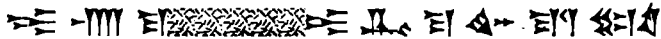
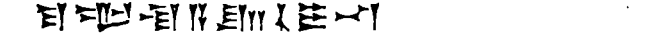
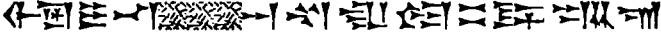


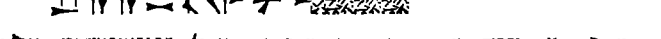


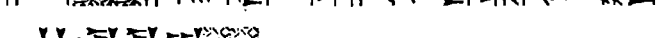

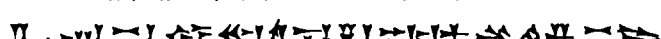

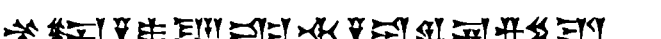


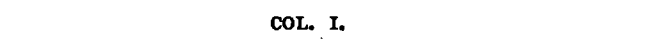


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31.  

Transliteration.

COL. I.

1. ni šu-bat šar-ḫi Nabû ša ki-i ê-til-
-li (P)
2. bêltu dam-ga ka-nu-tu Ištarâti bê-lit da-ad-mi
ša-ga-pu-ur-ti i ša gim-ri
3. [NIN]-IB bêl bi-ri ša i-na ma-ḫar ilâni kali-
šu-nu il-la-ka ḫar-ra-ni
4. ilâni git-ma-li šu-pu-u na-ram Êa
5. ni-mê-ki u ši-tul-ti muš-ta-bi-li tê-ri-ê-ti
6. šarru-u-ti mu-ma-'-ir gim-ri na-din ḫattu
kussu u pali-ê a-gi-ê šarru-u-ti
7. NIN-IB git-ma-li aplu kun-nu u i-lit-ti
ru-bat ilâni Ê-ru-'-u-a

8. Ê-sag-ila bêl gim-ri šit-lu-ṭu na-ram Marduk
 9. Aša-ri aplu riš-tu-u a-ša-riḍ a-lik maḥ-ri ša it-ti a-bi
 a-li-di ša-ti
 10. [dân] ilâni šar ilâni rabûti ša i-na ſi-taš
 u ſil-la-an-šu
 11. ma-lik ram-ni-šu li-ḳu-u un-ni-
 ni šê-mu-u taš-li-ti rap-šu uz-[ni]
 12. ti-šu ka-bit-ti Igigi ap-pi i-lab-bi-nu-šu
 A-nun-na-ki
 13. mê-lam êllûti ḥa-lib na-mur-ra-ti ša pul-ḥa-
 a-ti ma-lu
 14. šu i-šak-ka-nu šib-ṭu u Lubaru (?)
 la i-šak
 15. u-a la-li ina ḳar-ba-a-ti mu-al-lid
 16. ti ša-ki-nu zâzu duḥ-da u meš-ri-ê a
 17. ilâni rabûti
 18. u-šam-mi-ḥi
 19. la iš-ša-an-na-ni
 20. ti ma

CONTINUATION OF COL. I.

1. šu-tê-šur ni-[ši]
 2. a-na Bar-sip
 3. i-šad-di-ḥi u-ru-ḥi
 4. aš-ruk-ka-ti šu-a-ti
 5.¹ u-raš ta-na-da-ti si-ma
 6. ša aš-ruk-ka-ti šu-a-ti i-na
 7. i-ḳu-pu-u-mi i-ni-šu il ên
 8. ša ul-tu û-mi pa-ni ul-tu ul-la-nu-u-a ša-ḳu ḳi-pi
 9. la i-pu-šu ſip-ri šu-a-ti ia-a-ši Nabû-šumu-im-bi apil
 Aš
 10. ni-sak-ki tu-bît Nabû ša-ḳu Bar-sip du-uš-mu-u pa-liḥ
 ilu-u-ti-šu
 11. ra-bi-ti na-an-za-az maḥ-ri-šu ri-du-u mut-nin-nu-u
 12. ša a-na pa-ra-aš Nabû bêl mâtâti bêli i-ši-bu tuḳ-ḳu
 sa-an-tak

¹ In lines 5 and 6 the characters *si-ma* and *i-na* are no longer to be found upon the cylinder in its present state. I have restored them from a copy of the first column of this text made some years ago by Mr. Pinches.

4. Nabû-šumu-im-bi apil Aššur ša-ku [Bar-sip

5. li-ḫi-šu [na]-an-za-az maḫ
6. ti-šu ra-bi-ti liḫ-bu
7. lim-gur sa-li-mi dumḫu
8. ruk-šu u a-na ḫiš-ti
9. (meš) bê-lit Ištârâti
10. il-ti rim-ni-ti ba-na
11. mit-gu-rat a-ḫur-rit ši-it
12. la in-nin-nu-u ki [-bit-su?]
13. i-na ma-ḫar pa-ri-is purûsu šam-ê u
14. apil Bêli û-mi-šam lit-taš-ḫar a-bu
15. lu-u uš-šip (meš) arḫûti šanâti
16. ba-laṭ na [-piš?] na ši-rik-ti
17. pir'u lu-u
18. i-na ê-kal ku mit-gu-rat
19. it-ti ê Bar-sip li-ku-un ri [-u-tu?]
20. li-ti-ib šu êli šar ilâni bêl bêli ri-šit
21. u Bar-sip na ma-ḫar Nabû u Na-na-
 ilâni šur-bu [-ti]
22. liš-ba-a lit i-na ša-aš-mi ḫab-li taḫazi dan-nu
 u a-lak
23. ša-a-ši pir'u šu-a-šu ri-šu-us-si a-la-ki
 šum-ḫut nak-(?)
24. zâzu ma ḫêgallu ma-'da li-ma-al-la-a ḫâtâ-šu
 i-na
25. u i-na Lubâru šal-ba-bi apil Bêl ra-a-mi ga
26. paṭ-ri . . . [el-] la-tê-šu ša-lim-ti lu-ša-ak-na-si š-bi-šu
 lim-nu-u-[-ti]
27. pul ki-ma la-'mi ilu-u-ti-ku-nu u lib-bi [-ku-
 nu?]
28. a-na nišê (P) dar-ka-a-ti at-ta mi-ên lu tuk-la-šu
29. i-bi šu-uš-šu a-na û-mi da-ru-u-ti ta-nit-ti
30. iḫ-ri-bi-šu ḫu-li-ê ša Nabû-šumu-im-bi ša-ku Bar-sip
31. mu-šar ša aš-ruk-ka-ti ša du-ru Ê-zi-da

Translation.

COL. I.

1. the dwelling of the powerful one, Nabû,
who like the lord
2. the gracious lady, who establishes the Ištars,
queen of mansions, the mighty one
of the whole,
3. NIN-IB, lord of vision, who in the presence
of the gods all of them has gone (his) way,
4. the powerful gods, the exalted one,
beloved of Êa,
5. (lord of) wisdom and decrees, who proclaims commands,
6. kingship, ruler of the whole, who gives
the sceptre, the throne and the reign, the crown of
kingship,
7. NIN-IB, the powerful, the rightful son,
offspring of the princess of the gods Zarpanit,
8. Êsagila, lord of the whole, victorious,
beloved of Marduk,
9. Asari, the chief son, the leader going before, who with
(his) father, (his) begetter
10. judge of the gods, king of the great gods,
who in his rising and going down
11. counsellor of himself (?), receiver of
sighs, hearer of prayers, broad of ear
12. soul, the Igigi bowed down
their faces before him, the Anunnaki
13. the lustre of the shining ones, covered
with brightness, who is full of terror
14. established the sceptre
15. enjoyment (?) in the midst (?) begetting
.
16. making overflow, abundance and righteousness
.
17. the great gods

18. made to flourish
 19. is not to be contended with

CONTINUATION OF COL. I.

1. ruling the people
2. to Borsippa
3. enters the way
4. this dam (?)
5. the crown of glory, the insignia
6. of this dam
7. decayed, grew weak
8. which from former days, from beyond me, the governor,
 the overseer
9. did not do:—this work I Nabû-šumu-imbi son of Aššur,
 governor of Borsippa,
10. the prince, *tu-bit* of Nabû, lord of Borsippa, the
 opulent one, who fears his great godhead,
11. who stands before him, the ruler, the prayerful,
12. who according to the command of Nabû, lord of the
 lands, the lord, the prince, (is) regular in devotion (?)
13. this work I established, I entrusted to myself,
14. this work I laid the foundation of, I made, I spake,
 (and) it came to pass.
15. In Borsippa, this city of justice and righteousness,
 (there were) destruction (and) rebellion,
16. and this siege (?)—In the reign of Nabû-šumu-iškun
 the king, the son of Dakuri,
17. the men of Babylon, the men of Borsippa, the city of
 the joining together of the banks of the Euphrates :
18. the whole of the Chaldæans, the Aramæans, the men
 of Dilbat, for many days
19. at one another their weapons they discharged, one
 another they wounded,
20. and with the men of Borsippa upon their fields they
 made war.

21. Nabû-šumu-iddina, son of Dan-
nabû, *tubtt* of Nabû, judge of Êzida,
22. himself over against Nabû-šumu-imbi son
of Aššur governor of Borsippa made

COL. II.

1. In the midst of the night like (?) foes
.
2. the adversary, the evil ones (?) those who
were not obedient to me
3. to Êzida I brought back, Êzida and Borsippa
4. they took: over the city and the temple a din
and
5. they made, they made war, and the house of Nabû-
šumu- [imbi?]
6. lord of Borsippa, in the night those men of Borsippa
and
7. who to help one another stood, they besieged, with
the bow and
8. until the rising of the sun they made war, from (the
evening?)
9. until the rising of the sun Nabû-šumu-imbi son of
Aššur, governor of Borsippa
10. entreated Nabû (?)

CONTINUATION OF COL. II.

1.
2. blessing
3. graciousness
4. Nabû-šumu-imbi, son of Aššur, governor of
Borsippa
5. in front of him (?), who stands in his presence
.
6. his great godhead, may he speak
7. may he be gracious, favour, mercy
8. [may he bestow] upon him, and for a
guerdon

9. lady of the Ištar
10. the gracious goddess, who creates
11. the propitious, the noble lady of the rising
[of the sun]
12. whose command is not to be resisted
13. in the presence of who makes the decrees
of heaven [and earth]
14. son of Bel daily may he speak on behalf
of
15. may he increase two-fold long
years
16. preservation of life as a gift
.
17. offspring
18. in the palace propitious
19. with Borsippa may he establish
[lordship]
20. may it be good towards the king
of the gods, the lord of lords, the chief of
21. and Borsippa in the presence
of Nabû and Nanâ the great gods
22. may he be satisfied with offspring in ruin,
fight, battle strong and
23. [may] she [upon] this [her] descendant her help
[bestow?] when he goes to destroy [his enemies?]
.
24. with fulness and abundance amply may she fill his
hands
25. and with Lubâru (?) the son
of Bel, who loves
26. [with] the sword of his might in safety may he subdue
his evil foes
27. fear (?) like (?) your godhead and your
heart
28. for future people mayest thou whoever thou art his
strength
29. proclaim his name during everlasting days, (his)
majesty

30. his prayers, the petitions of Nabû-šumu-imbi, governor of Borsippa.
 31. The inscription of the dam of the wall of Êzida.












NOTES.

COL. I.

1. For this form of Nabû see, e.g. W.A.I. iv. 20, 3, 7.
 2. *šagapurti*. Cf. W.A.I. ii. 31, 62, *é-til-lum* | *ša-ga-pi-ru*.
 3. $\rightarrow\text{I}$ 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 is the god of the South or midday sun, according to W.A.I. ii. 57, 51c, a form of NIN-IB.
 7. The group $\rightarrow\text{I}$ 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 I take to be equivalent to $\rightarrow\text{I}$ 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 , which (W.A.I. iii. 67, 66c) is explained by *NIN-IB ša mé-ib-ri*. For Zarpanit as equivalent to Erûa (or Erû'a) see, e.g. W.A.I. ii. 54, 59e.
 9. With the phrase *Asari aplu rištû*, W.A.I. ii. 55, 68c, where *Asari* is explained by $\rightarrow\text{I}$ 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 .
 14. $\rightarrow\text{I}$ 𒀭 𒀭 . See Delitzsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 191.

CONTINUATION OF COL. I.

4. *ašrukkati* I have translated doubtfully by *dam*. The text is unfortunately in too mutilated a condition to enable us to determine inferentially the nature of the work referred to. In point of form *ašrukkati* looks like a feminine plural of *ašrukku*, of which, however, I am acquainted with no other instance. In W.A.I. ii. 29, 69 the similar form *ašurrakku* appears as the explanation of 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 𒀭 and in connection with the words *mulû* 'mound,' *mušpalu* 'depression,' and *šuplu* 'hole.'
 5. That *uraš* means some kind of garment, perhaps a head-dress or crown, is clear from the following glosses:—

W.A.I. v. 28, 60  *mud-ru-u* | *u-ra-šu* compared with W.A.I. ii. 7, 42e   (       | *šu-bat a-riš-ti*; and W.A.I. v. 28, 59  *mud-ru-u* | *kar-ru* compared with l.c. 10 *kar-ru* | *šu-bat a-dir-tu*.

7. *ikupūmi*. The verbal forms in *mi* are a peculiar feature of this text. The suffix *mi* seems to correspond to the *ni* which, as a sort of modal sign, is not uncommon in verbal forms, especially in the language of the letters; but the exact meaning of which is difficult to determine or to express. Cf. e.g. K 613 rev. 23-28 (W.A.I. v. 54, 2), *a-bu-tu ša u-du-u-ni* | *a-na šarri béli-ia* | *as-sa-pa-ra* | *šarru béli* | *ki-i ša i-la-u-ni* | *li-pu-uš*, 'the intelligence which I know to the king my lord I send, may the king my lord according as he wills do.' On the other hand in *uḫānnimi* (line 13) we seem to have a combination of the elements *ni* and *mi*.
10. The *tu-bitu* was some kind of temple official. Of the character of his functions nothing is known, though it is clear from contracts that have come down to us that certain dues were claimed by the *tu-bitu* as by the *naš-patri*. See e.g. Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge*, xci. I suggest that the characters should be read *érib bitu* as the title of the priest who in the discharge of his functions *introit ad altare dei*. Cf. Strassmaier, A.V. 1114, where (s.v. *tumalutu*) mention is quoted of (*amēlu*) *érib bitutu pān Béli*, etc. *dušmū*, if that be the true reading, I propose to connect with Arab. *نسيم* 'fat.' Cf. Heb. *רשבי הארץ* as in *רשבי הארץ* 'the opulent of the earth.'
12. *tukku* might be explained formally as the permansive II. 1 from a root *tikū*, whence we have the verbal noun seen in the phrases *tik riḫsi* (Tiglathpileser I., Col. I., 42), *tik šamiē* (Sargon, *Nimrūd*, 15). In each of these places, however, *tik* must mean

something like 'stroke, impetus,' which does not throw much light on the present passage. In point of meaning the conditions of the problem would be satisfied, if we could assume a connection with the Arab. *تَقَى* 'fear of god,' *تَقِي* 'pious.' For *santak* in the sense of 'regular, regularly,' see J.R.A.S. (July, 1891).

14. *ušarrimi*, perhaps for *ušar'i* 'I laid the foundation of,' as in the phrase *išisu apsá ušar'imma*, Nebuchadnezzar, Col. II. 23 (Abel and Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte*). Cf. also Aššurnasirpal, II. 87, *ékal ina Tilûli ušarri*, which Peiser (*Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, I. p. 86) translates by 'in den Palast in Tilûli zog ich ein.'
- 15 and 16. These lines are extremely difficult owing, in the first place, to the redundance of *šâti*, and, in the second, to the obscurity of the words *rihâti* and $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$ *rihâti*. I connect with the rt. *rihû* 'to destroy.' See Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, pp. 83, 93. Perhaps it should be taken closely with *sihi* so that the phrase would mean 'the destruction (or suppression) of the revolt.' Of $\text{𒌦} \text{𒌦}$ the reading is quite uncertain. I can only suggest that in view of Col. II. l. 7 it may be connected with *lamû* according to the type *𒌦*.
17. *maḥaz guptéti*. The following gloss (W.A.I. ii. 39, 49 and 50) may throw some light on this difficult passage: 𒌦 | *gup-pu-tu* (l. 50) compared with l. 49, *pu-uh-ri* < 𒌦 | *pu-uh-ḥu-rum*. If these comparisons are valid, *guptéti* would seem to be a feminine abstract with the meaning of *puḥru* i.e. 'bringing together, uniting.'
20. *šulâti*, from a root 𒌦 (?), whence come *šaltu*, *šêlûtu* *šiltu*, to which last our form is perhaps related as *šubdûtu* to *šibtu*.

COL. II.

6. *šumi* seems to stand for *šunu*. See note on Col. I. (cont.), l. 7.
8. *tanuḫāti*. Perhaps connected with *tukumtu*, pl. *tukmâtê*.
10. The characters which I have read doubtfully as *kišušûa* are almost obliterated. Mr. Pinches thinks that the true reading is *ḫašušûa*. In either case I am unable to suggest a satisfactory explanation.

CONTINUATION OF COL. II.

5. *liḫišû*. If this be the true reading, cf. the root 𐎠𐎢 seen in the phrase *ina laḫ enišû*, W.A.I. v. 9, 107.
11. 𐎶 𐎠𐎢 𐎶𐎶 I have read doubtfully as *aḫurrit*, regarding it as the construct of the fem. of *aḫru*, which we find explained by *itlu* (W.A.I. II. 1, 172-3) and *ašaridu* (W.A.I. iv. 70, 17).
14. I restore *littaškar abûtu* as a phrase equivalent in meaning to the more usual *lišbat abûtu*.
15. 𐎶𐎶 is plainly to be restored after 𐎶𐎶.
26. *lušaknasi* for *lušaknaši*.
28. Cf. W.A.I. II. 35, 11, *dar-ka-tum | aḫ-ra-a-tu. mien* perhaps for *min* as seen in *mimma (min-ma)*.
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CORRESPONDENCE.

The following five interesting letters (Nos. 1-5) have appeared in the *Academy*:—

1. THE NEW BILINGUAL HITTITE INSCRIPTION.

Dahabiyeh Istar, Cairo,
Dec. 28, 1891.

The Hittite cylinder, of which the Ashmolean Museum has become the fortunate possessor, is, next to the lost boss of Tarkondêmos, the most important monument of the kind yet discovered. It was found in Kilikia, and is of hæmatite. The figures and characters upon it are exquisitely engraved; indeed, from a merely artistic point of view, it is one of the finest cylinders with which I am acquainted. For me, however, the interest of the cylinder chiefly lies in the fact that the four Hittite hieroglyphs inscribed upon it are accompanied by three lines of cuneiform, and that this new "bilingual" confirms in a very gratifying way my system of Hittite decipherment.

The cuneiform characters, which resemble those found on certain of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, read "Indisilim the son of Serdamu, the worshipper of the goddess Iskhara." After the cuneiform inscription come the figures of the owner of the cylinder and of a deity. The owner stands with an offering in his hand; behind the deity, who is also standing with outstretched arms, are the four Hittite hieroglyphs of which I have spoken.

The last two of them occur on another hæmatite seal found in Kilikia, and now in the Ashmolean Museum, upon

which a paper of mine was published two years ago. I there showed that, if my system of Hittite decipherment is correct, they must represent the name of a goddess whose figure appears upon the seal. The cylinder of Indisilim proves that the name is that which was pronounced Iskhara in Assyrian.

Before the name of the goddess come two hieroglyphs, the second of which I cannot identify in spite of repeated examinations. It may be intended for the arm with a dagger in the hand, in which case it would signify "great." But it has more resemblance to the character which in Old Egyptian represented a "district." The first hieroglyph is the goat's head (*tarku*), which I have shown elsewhere must mean "prince," as it interchanges with the ideograph of "king." Now, in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* (xiii. 3, 4, p. 160), M. Bouriant has published a corrected copy of the treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites, which was engraved on the walls of Karnak. We learn from this that the Hittite goddess, invoked by the side of the god Suteteh, was "Shashkhir, the regent of the mountains." A very slight change in the form of the first character of the name would give us Âshkhir instead of Shashkhir; and it must, therefore, remain doubtful whether the name of the Hittite deity was actually Iskhara, which is given in the cuneiform tablets as the equivalent of the Babylonian Istar, or whether Iskhara is a Babylonian name, which has been assimilated to the Hittite Shashkhir on account of the likeness of sound. In any case, in the goddess of the Kilikian seal we must see the Hittite goddess of the treaty; and since she is there called "the regent of the mountains," we may conjecture that the unidentified second hieroglyph on the cylinder denotes a "mountain," the whole inscription reading "the regent of the mountain-land, Iskhara."

From the *Academy*,
Jan. 9, 1892.

A. H. SAYCE.

2. A BURMESE ANECDOTE.

Ealing, Feb. 5, 1892.

SIR,—Herewith an anecdote from Burmese literature. I have an idea that the same kind of story has been told of some one else, but cannot recollect where. Perhaps some of your readers may know.

“When Pingala (afterwards Devadatta) reigned in Bārānasi, the most excellent lord (Gotama Buddha) was his son. As Rājā Pingala was very gruff in his mode of addressing people, his subjects did not love him, and prayed for his speedy removal.

“When Pingala died, and the future Buddha had ascended the throne, he observed one of the doorkeepers weeping. On asking why he wept, the man replied: ‘Dear son, I do not weep because I loved your late father; but he used such bad language in this life, that I feel sure that if he does the same in hell King Yama will not be able to keep him, but let him go, and he will come back to this world. That is why I weep.’” (*From the “Maniratanapōn.”*)

R. F. ST. ANDREW ST. JOHN.

3. A BURMESE ANECDOTE.

*Dedham School, Essex,
Feb. 16, 1892.*

SIR,—“A Burmese Anecdote” quoted by Mr. R. F. St. A. St. John in the *Academy* of February 13, forms part of the Mahāpingala-jātaka (Fausböll i, vol. ii. pp. 240-242), and was translated into English in the *Folk Lore Journal* by the writer of this note.

It was not Pingala’s rough language, but his cruel deeds, that made his subjects rejoice at the accession of a new king. The porter, whose head had now some rest from his late master’s blacksmith-like fist, wept, because he feared that Hell’s warders and even Yama himself would get a taste of the departed king’s mighty blows upon their pates, and unable to endure them, would release him, and bring him

back to this life. Buddha comforts the porter by telling him that those who had gone to another world will not return in "the body" to this world.

R. MORRIS.

4. THE BEGINNINGS OF PERSIAN HISTORY.

*Athenæum Club, S. W.,
Feb. 15, 1892.*

SIR,—The publication of another volume of the "Records of the Past" is a welcome incident for those students who like to unravel the intricacies of early history, and have not the advantage of being able to read the Egyptian and Assyrian records in the original. Perhaps you will allow me to comment on some problems which have suggested themselves in reading the inscriptions referring to Cyrus published in Prof. Sayce's new volume.

Cyrus calls himself in his own inscriptions King of Ansan or Anzan, and the same title is given to him in the inscription of Nabonidus from Sippara. The name Ansan has given rise to a sharp polemic—Oppert, Winckler, and Nöldeke denying, and Rawlinson, Sayce, Halévy, and others affirming, that it means simply Elam, which itself means The Highlands. It seems to me that the latter view is established beyond all doubt, and Prof. Sayce's arguments are conclusive. Among them is a quotation from a lexical tablet, published in the second volume of *The Inscriptions of Western Asia* (xlvi. 18), in which Ansan is distinctly given as the equivalent of Elam.

That Cyrus should style himself King of Elam was a startling revelation to some people, and yet it was not so strange after all. The Elamites¹ or "mountaineers" styled themselves, as we learn from the second column in the Achaemenian inscriptions, Hapirdi. This was converted by the Greeks into *Ἀμάρδοι* or *Μάρδοι*, just as they converted the Persian Bardhiya and the Babylonian Burziya into

¹ The Semites so called them, whence their Greek name of Elymeans.

Σμέρδης or Μέρδης, both names meaning simply the Mard or Bard. The native name of the Elamites, therefore, was the Bards or Mards (see Halévy, *Babylonian Record*, iv. 76).

Now, Ctesias, among his many blundering statements, distinctly calls Cyrus the son of a Mardian robber; and Herodotus and others had already told us that he called his eldest son Μέρδης or the Mard, while he repeatedly tells us that Susa was the capital of the Achaemenian kings. There were ample reasons, therefore, for suspecting a close connexion between Cyrus and Elam.

The fact that he should call himself King of Ansan was, nevertheless, remarkable. That he and his people were Persians there can be no doubt whatever; and Darius, who claims to descend from the same stock, styles himself distinctly an Aryan and a Persian. On the other hand, the Elamites or Mards were neither Persians nor Aryans. Their language and their race were not even Indo-European. It follows that Elam must at some date have been conquered by the Persians, whose king then took the name of King of Ansan or Elam. This seems clear. When, then, did this conquest take place? Cyrus in his cylinder inscription calls himself the son of Cambyses the great king, the king of the city of Ansan; the grandson of Cyrus the great king, king of the city of Ansan; and grandson of Tsaispis the great king, king of the city of Ansan (see his Cylinder Inscriptions, l. 21).

This inscription seems to establish two facts: first, the trustworthiness of the descent of Cyrus and Darius as given by Herodotus, with which it completely agrees; and the worthlessness of the statements of Ctesias on the same subject, when he calls Cyrus the son of Athadates, a Mardian brigand, and Argosti, a goat-herd. In the second place, it points to the fact that the Persian conquest of Ansan or Elam took place at least as early as the time of Tsaispis, or Teispes, as Herodotus calls him; and it seems very probable that Tsaispis was the first Persian leader who occupied it. This was suggested by E. Meyer in his *Geschichte des Alterthums*, and supported by an ingenious argument which does not

seem to have been noticed by English writers, although it throws an interesting light on the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

Jeremiah, prophesying at the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakin, *i.e.* about 604 B.C., still recognizes kings of Elam (c. xxv., v. 25). Prophesying again, at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, *i.e.* about 596, he writes :

“The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet concerning Elam in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might. And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them toward all those winds; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come; and I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord; and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them; and I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence king and princes, saith the Lord. But it shall come to pass in the latter days, that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord” (Jeremiah xlix. 34-39).

A few years later, namely, in the twelfth year after Jehoiakin had been carried away, *i.e.* in 586 B.C., we find Ezekiel writing:

“The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of the midst of hell with them that help him, they are gone down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword. Asshur is there. . . There is Elam and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living; yet they have borne their shame with them that go down to the pit. They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain with all her multitude; her graves are round about him, all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword; though their terror was caused in the land of the living, yet have they borne their

shame with them that go down to the pit; he is put in the midst of them that be slain" (Jeremiah xxxii. 24, 25).

These passages have been understood to refer to the campaigns of Assurbanipal against Elam; but this is impossible. Assurbanipal had then been dead some time. His reign extended from 668 to 626; nor did he destroy the kingdom as is implied in the prophecies. They evidently, as Meyer urges, contemplated the annihilation of the nation, which only followed on its conquest by the Persians; and this probably took place about 596 B.C.

Having approximately fixed the date of the conquest of Elam, the next point that suggests itself for inquiry is, whence did the invading Persians come? This question involves difficulties, and is perhaps fruitful of some suggestions which I will reserve for another letter.

H. H. HOWORTH.

5. THE HUNDRED AND TENTH PSALM.

*Oriental MSS. Department, British Museum,
Feb. 14, 1892.*

SIR,—While reflecting on the date of Psalm cx. with the Hebrew text before me, it struck me that the psalm contains an acrostic, and that the name embodied in it is no other than that of Simon, Hebrew שִׁמְעוֹן. The שׁ is the first letter in the word שֶׁב, which begins the oracle in v. 1; and the headings of the next three verses—viz. מִשֶׁה, עֹמֵר, נִשְׁבַּע—complete the name שִׁמְעוֹן.

If this be so, the theory (lately advocated with so much force by Prof. Cheyne in his Bampton Lectures) that Simon the Maccabee was the person originally addressed in Psalm cx. would appear to receive a striking confirmation from an entirely unexpected quarter. After the introductory phrase, "The oracle of Yahweh to my lord," the psalmist, bearing the name of his lord vividly in mind, proceeds to weave that name, by means of an acrostic, into the divine oracle itself; and one almost

hears the psalmist say, "The oracle of Yahweh to my lord, even to Simon: Sit thou on my right hand."

It would not be very difficult to make more or less plausible guesses as to the acrostic nature of the first letters of the remaining three verses, viz. the letters $\text{D}^{\text{I}}\text{N}$: but, considering that competent critics look upon this part of the psalm as manifestly incomplete, the difficulty of finding a perfectly satisfactory solution for the $\text{D}^{\text{I}}\text{N}$ is at once explained. In fact, the break in the acrostic appears to confirm the theory that the latter half of the psalm is incomplete, and the theory of incompleteness may in its turn be held to confirm the acrostic theory. For, if the second part of the psalm wants a verse or two (more likely one than two), the acrostic must be imperfect also; and, as the theory of incompleteness and the acrostic theory have been proposed in perfect independence of one another, the fact of their mutual confirmation should appear to be of considerable importance.

With regard to the theological question involved in this subject, it is perhaps best to quote the well-weighed words of Prof. Driver in his "Introduction" to the Literature of the Old Testament, in a note on p. 363, where he says that the cogency of our Lord's well-known argument based on this psalm "is unimpaired, so long as it is recognized that the psalm is a Messianic one, and that the august language used in it of the Messiah is not compatible with the position of one who was a mere human son of David."

A very eminent Biblical critic, to whom I made a private communication on the acrostic, before making it public, has drawn my attention to the fact that the idea of acrostic psalms in general had occurred to Bickell (see his *Conspectus rei Syrorum Literariae*, p. 20), and also to the late, much lamented Lagarde (see *Academy*, January 1, 1872). It will probably be worth while, on a future occasion, to review the observations made by these great scholars, and to make further investigations into the subject.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

6—YÜAN CHWANG OR HIOUEN THSANG ?

The name of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim and translator is spelt in English in the following ways (among others):—

1. M. Stanislas Julien. Hiouen Thsang.
2. Mr. Mayers.¹ Huan Chwang.
3. Mr. Wylie. Yuén Chwàng.
4. Mr. Beal. Hiuen Tsiang.
5. Prof. Legge.² Hsüan Chwang.
6. Prof. Bunyiu Nanjio.³ Hhüen Kwän.

Sir Thomas Wade has been kind enough to explain this diversity in the following note:—

“The pilgrim’s family name was 陳, now pronounced *ch’én*, but more anciently *ch’in*. His ‘style’ (official or honorary title) appears to have been both written 玄¹ and 元². In
 奘 奘

modern Pekinese these would read in my transliteration (which is that here adopted by Dr. Legge)—

- 1 *hsüan chuang.*
- 2 *yüan chuang.*

The French still write for these two characters—

- 1 *hiouen thsang,*
- 2 *youan thsang,*

following the orthography of the Romish Missionaries, Premare and others, which was the one adapted to English usage by Dr. Morrison. I doubt, *pace* Dr. Edkins, that we are quite sure of the contemporary pronunciation, and should prefer, therefore, myself, to adhere to the French Hiouen, seeing that this has received the sanctification of Julien’s well-known translation of the pilgrim’s travels.”

¹ Reader’s Manual, p. 290.

² Fa Hien, p. 83. etc.

³ Catalogue, p. 435.

It is quite clear from the above that in the Chinese pronunciation of the first part of the name there is now nothing approaching to an English H. And of course Julien never intended to represent that sound by his transliteration. Initial H being practically silent in French, his Hiouen is really equal to Iouen, that is, to what *would be expressed by Yuan* in the scientific system of transliteration now being adopted for all Oriental languages. But the vowel following the initial letter is like the German ü, or the French u, so that *Yuan* would, for Indianists, express the right pronunciation of this form of the word. It is particularly encouraging to the important cause of a generally intelligible system of transliteration to find that this is precisely the spelling adopted by Sir Thomas Wade.

This is, however, only one of two apparently equally correct Chinese forms of writing the first half of the name. The initial sound in the other form of the word is unknown in India and England. Sir Thomas Wade was kind enough to pronounce it for me; and it seems to be nearly the German ch (the palatal, not the guttural,—as in Mädchen) or the Spanish x, only more sibilant. It is really first cousin to the Y sound of the other form, being pronounced by a very similar position of the mouth and tongue. If it were represented by the symbol HS (though there is neither a simple h sound nor a simple s sound in it), then a lazy, careless, easy-going HS would tend to fade away into a Y.

The latter half of the name is quite simple for Indianists. Using e for our English ch and ŋ for our English ng (ñ or ñ or m), it would be simply cwāṅ.

Part of the confusion has arisen from the fact that some authors have taken one, and some the other, of the two Chinese forms of the name. The first four of the transliterations given above are based on Sir Thomas Wade's No. 2, the other two on his No. 1. All, except only that of Mr. Beal, appear to be in harmony with different complete systems of representing Chinese characters in English letters, each of which is capable of defence. The French, not having the sound of our English CH, for instance, have endeavoured

to reproduce it by TS. This may no longer be used even by French scholars; but in Julien's time reasons could be adduced in support of it.

It appears, therefore, that the apparently quite contradictory, and in some part unpronounceable, transliterations of this name, so interesting to students of Indian history, are capable of a complete and satisfactory explanation, and that the name, or rather title, is now in Pekinese—whatever it may have been elsewhere and in the pilgrim's time—YÜAN CHWĀNG.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

7. THE PUMMELO.

37, *Harrington Road, South Kensington,*
March 22, 1892.

DEAR SIR,—Can any member of your Society throw any light on the origin of the word 'Pummelo'? Its immediate parent is 'Pompelmoes,' by corruption into *Pummelnoes* or *nose!* and then making it singular—*pummelo*. But what of Pompelmoes? It is some Malay or Dutch name given to the large variety of 'Citrus decumana.' I understand that in the Mauritius, or some adjacent island, there is a cape called 'Pompelmoes' point—where the Pummelo is largely grown; but whether the fruit received its name from the cape, or the cape from this kind of fruit grown there, is not clear.

Then there are the Indian 'Sūngtārā' and Kāmālā oranges. Rumphius, 200 years ago, said there were oranges in China called *Seng Kam* and *Bit Kam*. These words appear to have something to do with Sung and Kam of the former. Perhaps some member of your Society may be able to throw some light on these points.—Yours faithfully,

G. BONAIVIA.

8. THE KAMMAVĀCĀS.

Hampstead, March 21, 1892.

DEAR PROFESSOR,—In the last number of the "Journal" I had occasion to notice the fact of the sudden introduction of Burmese into the Pāli text of the Kammavācās. Since writing that article I have had the opportunity of studying a MS. in which whole sentences in Burmese follow the Pāli (not, of course, in the way of Nissaya, that is common enough).

Being on paper made from the bark of the mulberry and opening both ways, this MS. has, at first sight, all the appearance of an ordinary Shan book, but in reality it consists of a Collection of Kammavācās in Pāli and of Instructions to the Shin (Sāmaṇera) and Pyin Shin (Upasampanno) in Burmese, together with a few final directions in Shan.

The order of the Kammavācās differing from that of the other MSS., it may be well to mention it:—

1. Upasampadā.
2. Saṅghādisesā (Suddhantaparivāsa, chāratta, abbhāna) beginning:
Ahaṃ puttarakkhito bhikkhu . . .
4. Kaṭṭhinadussaṃ.
4. Ticīvarena avippavāsa.
5. Uposatha.

Mr. St. John has kindly pointed out to me that, the Burmese which I transliterated sunkrimvrat (p. 73) is *thōn gyane yūt*, i e. tikkhattum vattabbo.—Yours truly,

HERBERT BAYNES.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January, February, March, 1892.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

15th March, 1892.—Sir FREDERICK GOLDSMID, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The election since the last general meeting of the following gentlemen as members of the Society was announced :—

Members elected since May, 1891.

- 1 Mr. W. H. D. Rouse.
- 2 Mr. Hira Lal.
- 3 Mr. Edward T. Sturdy.
- 4 The Hon. P. Rāma Nāthan.
- 5 Dr. Hirschfeld.
- 6 Mr. Hugh Nevill.
- 7 Dr. Grigsby.
- 8 Dr. Mann.
- 9 Mr. Frederick Jameson.
- 10 Mr. C. E. Biddulph.
- 11 Mr. B. A. Evetts.
- 12 Rev. J. N. Cushing.
- 13 Mr. A. Constable.
- 14 Mr. F. Sessions.
- 15 Mr. Nūrallah Shāh.
- 16 Mr. A. A. Bevan.
- 17 Mr. Consul Devey.
- 18 Mr. Ralph Slazenger.
- 19 Rev. B. Mitford Morton.
- 20 Mr. St. Andrew St. John.
- 21 Dr. J. Diaz de Leon.

The gift to the Society of a set of Oriental carpets for the three rooms of its Library from the Mahārāja of Bhaunagar was announced by the Secretary. He pointed out how thoroughly in accord with the best traditions of the Indian courts was such a gift from an enlightened prince to a Society of scholars, and how interesting a proof it was of the fact that the educated natives of India were beginning to realize the value to themselves and to their country of the work done by European scholars to interpret the East to the West, and more especially to make the English people acquainted with the great merits and real importance of Indian literature and thought. The Society passed a unanimous vote of thanks for this generous and beautiful gift, and elected the Mahārāja a life non-resident member of the Society.

Surgeon-General H. W. BELLEW read a paper 'On the Survival of Greek Words in Pukhto or the Language of the Afghans.' The lecturer, referring to his 'Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan,' published last year, and to the identification of certain Afghan tribes therein described as being of Greek descent, proceeded to illustrate the presence of Greek words in the Pukhto language by a number of examples in which the Pukhto word varied but very slightly from its Greek original. These examples were followed by others in which the departure of the Pukhto word from the original Greek form was more or less considerable, but still not so great as to prevent easy recognition. Besides the Greek words in Pukhto several instances were mentioned in illustration of grammatical forms peculiar to Pukhto, and referable only to the Greek as the source of their origin. The lecturer, after describing the way in which he came to discover these Greek elements in Pukhto, expressed his opinion that a more thorough investigation of the subject would prove conclusively that the language spoken by the Pukhtūn, Pathān, or Afghān people—and more especially in the country of the Suleiman range, which, as Arrian asserts, was settled by Alexander the Great with people

of his own in place of the Indians he had conquered in it—was no other than a degraded dialect of the Greek formerly spoken during several centuries as the colloquial tongue of that region by the Greek conquerors and their successors, who colonized and hellenized the country by a wholesale transplantation of tribes—such as the Syrian, Lydian, Kilikian, Bithynian, Mysian, Pamphilian, Ionian, and others—from Asia Minor to this eastern frontier of the Greek Empire in Asia founded by Alexander the Great. This view is supported by the fact that the descendants or posterity of these several tribes are now found in Afghanistan by the identical names of Sūri, Lūdi, Ghilji or Khilichi, Batani, Mūsāzi, Farmuli or Parmuli, Yūnus, Yāni, or Yā respectively, and others from the same western region. Taking this view of the Pukhto language, the lecturer said that it threw a new light upon the past history of this part of Asia, and cleared up many obscure points relating to the rise and progress of the Parthian sovereignty, and to the history of the long succession of dynasties that had flourished in this part of Asia subsequent to the commencement of the Mohammedan era.

A discussion followed, in which Dr. Thornton, General Maclagan, Prof. Bendall, and Mr. Lyon took part.

II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. JOURNAL ASIATIQUE.

Vol. xviii. No. 3. Nov. Dec. 1891 (received Feb. 1892).

Rubens Duval. *Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade (Suite)*.

C. de Harlez. *Vajracchedikā (Prajñāpāramitā)*. Traduite du texte sanscrit avec comparaison des versions chinoise et mandchoue.

J. Halévy. *La correspondance d'Aménophis III. et d'Aménophis IV. (Suite)*.

Vol. xix. No. 1. Jan. Feb. 1892 (received March, 1892).

Rubens Duval. Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade (Fin).

Clermont-Ganneau. L'épigraphie et les antiquités semi-tiques en 1891.

2. WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES.

Band v. Heft 4, 1891 (received Jan. 1892).

G. Bickell. Kritische Bearbeitung der Proverbien (Schluss).

H. H. Dhruva. Notes on two Chaulukya Copper Plates in the Baroda Collections.

G. Bühler. A further Note on the Mingai or Bower MS.

J. Karabacek. Julius Euting's Sinaïtische Inschriften.

Franz Kuhnert. Die Partikel 是 *si* in Lao-tsi's Taò-tek-king.

Band vi. Heft 1, 1892 (received Feb. 1892).

Ernst Leumann. Die Legende von Citta und Sambhūta (Fortsetzung).

P. Jensen. Elamitische Eigennamen.

F. Müller. Die Pahlawi-Inschriften von Hadziabad.

F. Müller. Bemerkungen zum *Pahlavi-Pazand* Glossary v. Hoshangji-Haug.

G. Bickell. Die Strophik des Ecclesiasticus.

J. Goldziher. Der Chaṭīb bis den alten Arabern.

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

M. P. A. De Lagarde.—The sudden death of this eminent scholar, which the *Athenæum* announced on Jan. 2, makes a great gap in many branches of learning. Lagarde, like Ewald, his predecessor in the Semitic Chair at Göttingen, was a most active worker in a variety of subjects and languages. He studied theology, Oriental languages, and philosophy at the universities of Berlin and Halle; became *privatim docens* in the latter university in 1851, and later

professor in various gymnasiums, until he succeeded Ewald in 1869. He edited in 1854 the Syriac "Didascalia Apostolorum," and followed this up with other Syriac texts collected in the British Museum and at Paris. In 1877 he engaged in Armenian investigations; in 1883 he took in hand Persian studies, in which year he also published "Aegyptiaca," relating to Coptic studies. Most of his publications are connected with the Bible, such as the edition of the Aramaic translation (the so-called Targum) of the Prophets according to Codex Reuchlinus, preserved in the library of Carlsruhe; the Hagiographa Chaldaica; the Arabic translation of the Gospels; the Syriac translation of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament; the Coptic translation of the Pentateuch; and a part of the Lucian text of the Septuagint, which he was fortunate enough to reconstruct from MSS. for nearly half of the Old Testament.

Minor articles, mostly on Semitic philology, are to be found in his books entitled "Symmicta" and "Mittheilungen," as well as in contributions to the volumes issued by the University of Göttingen. How far the Lucian text is ready we shall soon know; thanks to his minute method of working there can be no doubt that some one will be able to carry his notes through the press. One of the deceased's last works was the collation of the "Evangelium Hierosolimitanum," edited by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo from the unique Vatican MS., but not to the satisfaction of the deceased. Lagarde, like Ewald, meddled with politics, which he expressed in his "Deutsche Schriften" and other monographs. He belonged to the Prussian Conservative party. In anti-Semitic prejudice Lagarde far exceeded Ewald; and he unfortunately displayed a lack of generosity towards fellow workers who had the misfortune to be of another opinion than himself. Indeed, he did not recognize any one as his equal, far less as his superior. He attacked even those who had been long dead—for instance, the late Dr. Zunz, who was certainly a superior Rabbinical scholar to Lagarde; strangely enough, he laughs at him for having in a translation of one of Judah Halevi's liturgies the

following sentence, "The plowers plowed upon my back," not observing, although a professor of Hebrew, that Judah Halevi was using the words of Psalm cxxix. 3. He was agreeable and jovial in society, but he showed himself bitter and irritable towards most of his fellow workers.

From the *Athenæum*,
Jan. 9, 1892.

A. NEUBAUER.

Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., D.C.L.—This is the last duty I could have wished to discharge, viz. to record the death of my dear life-long friend, Sir George Campbell, M.P. for Kircaldy Burghs, N.B. He was a member of this Society since 1875, but never took an active part in its meetings, though on many subjects connected with Asia generally, and with India specially, he was a competent authority. Born a Scotchman in 1824, he received his early education at St. Andrews and in Edinburgh. On receiving a nomination to the Bengal Presidency of the Indian Civil Service he passed two years at Haileybury College, where he was distinguished for his mathematical and legal attainments rather than for Oriental scholarship. In fact he never claimed to be a scholar in the broad sense of that word, but he was an able administrator of Asiatic Provinces, and a close observer of Asiatic habits and customs. He filled successively the posts of Judicial Commissioner of the Province of Oudh, Member of the High Court of Judicature of Calcutta, and Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Bengal. Throughout his whole career he evidenced talents of the highest order, and an unrivalled grasp of difficult administrative problems. As far back as 1852 he published his two volumes "Modern India," and "India as it should be," which left their mark on the administration of the next twenty years.

On his return to England in 1875 he received the honour of Knight Commander of the Star of India, and of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. He was returned in the same year to Parliament as member for the Kircaldy Burghs, and occupied that seat to the day of his death with every

prospect of re-election, and he was indefatigable in the discharge of his duties in the House of Commons.

He visited the United States, and published a volume "White and Black in the U.S." He visited the Danubian Provinces and published a volume "Handy Book of the Eastern Question." He visited Egypt repeatedly, and he also published a book, the "British Empire," with special reference to India and the Colonies. All his writings evidence careful inquiry and a far-seeing intelligence.

He was a Liberal in politics, and followed Mr. Gladstone, but his views with regard to Ireland were formed from a careful local investigation on the spot, and were placed before the public in his volume on "Ireland" several years before Mr. Gladstone developed any portion of his Irish Policy.

In India as in Ireland he was a champion of the interests of the hereditary occupying tenant of the soil as against the alien absentee landlord.

A student of anthropology he made one lasting contribution to the science. In considering the ethnical relations of the Non-Aryan race of Southern India, he came to the conviction, no doubt indicated previously by earlier authors, that in the Vindya range there existed certain races, who were neither Aryan nor Dravidian: he struck out the name of "Kolarian" in 1866, and that term is now accepted.

He was esteemed and loved by all who knew him. A friendship of fifty years enables the writer of this notice to testify to this fact. If he attained every post and honour which were attainable, it is because he was most worthy of them; and the opinion is deliberately expressed that of all the members of the Indian Civil Service since 1840 up to the date of the change of system in 1856 he and Sir Richard Temple, Bart., occupy the highest rank for administrative ability and knowledge of India.

Feb. 24, 1892.

R. N. C.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

Harsha Carita.—Mr. Thomas, of Trinity College, Cambridge, is preparing, in collaboration with Prof. Cowell, a translation of this work, which will be published, when completed, by the Royal Asiatic Society's Oriental Translation Fund.

Mr. W. W. Rockhill, one of the results of whose last journey to Tibet was the excellent series of articles in our "Journal" of last year, has again started on a tour of exploration in that country, beginning with the Kokonor district.

Chinese Caricatures.—Dr. Griffith John's researches into the causes at the bottom of the recent anti-Foreign riots in the valley of the Yangtze have resulted, writes the *Mercury*, in the publication of one of the most remarkable books ever printed in China. We refer to the volume just issued at Hankow, entitled "The cause of the Riots in the Yangtze Valley: a complete Picture Gallery," which has been sent to us for review. The book is printed upon Chinese paper and bound in native style; it consists of thirty-two coloured facsimiles of the most revolting pictorial products of the anti-Foreign party in Hunan. No attempt is made by the printers to gloss over the shocking grossness of these abominable cartoons, either in the illustrations themselves or in the letterpress which explains the Chinese text around the border of each. A more abominable collection it has never been the lot of any printer to publish; but, undoubtedly, Dr. John and his colleagues have done well to bring before the foreign world a knowledge, such as these pictures inculcate, of the foul weapons which the reactionary party in China, headed by the gentry and literati of Hunan, use to stir up the evil passions of the ignorant masses to stem back the tide from the West which threatens to sweep them away. This class of literature, as Dr. John has already demonstrated, is chiefly produced in Hunan, and nowhere in such variety or quantity as Changsha, the capital of the province.

The New Asoka Inscription.—Mr. Lewis Rice, M.R.A.S., Director of Archaeology in Mysore, who recently undertook a survey of the Chitaldroog District, reports a most important discovery of edicts of Asoka inscribed on immense boulders in the same ancient characters, and the same Pali language, as have been already met with in the case of similar records discovered in Northern India. None of these edicts have hitherto been found south of Guzerat and Ganjam, and hence the importance of the present discovery. It is known that after the third Buddhist Council held in the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign, missionaries were sent to Banavasi and Mahisa-maṇḍala, which latter, from its connexion and name, may be identified with Mysore. The principal inscription now found consists of thirteen lines, covering a space of $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The words *devānam* and *piye* can be read at the end of the first and eighth lines, and *Jambu-dīpa* towards the end of the third line. No further particulars have yet been received.

Java.—The Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences has brought out an elaborate work on the antiquities of Java by Mr. Yzerman, chief engineer, with an atlas of plates. The Society has done good work in the past in preserving these antiquities from European business enterprise and from native love of destruction.

The Straits Settlements.—General Sir Charles Warren, K.C.B., has been elected president of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Van District.—About eighteen months ago two French gentlemen, Messrs. G. Pisson and A. Develay, made a journey "en Asie Antérieure" on behalf of the Ministries of Education, Commerce, and Agriculture of the Republican Government. An account of this journey has recently appeared in French, of which the following is a short abstract.

From the Black Sea coast they followed the usual high road between Trebizond and Erzeroum, along which passes so much merchandize, camel-borne, for Tabreez and Teheran, and even farther East; a detailed description of this stage

may be found in Mrs. Bishop's most recent book of travel. At Erzeroum they branched southwards, and, after crossing the steep and lofty Palandoken mountain, passed into the regions inhabited by Armenians and Kurds; the former are mostly agricultural, and live in the open plain, whilst the villages of their neighbours generally skirt the surrounding mountains, which afford rich pasturage for their numerous flocks and herds. After calling in at Khanous, a little Mussulman town picturesquely situated in the bosom of a deep sheer basalt cutting, the bed of a mountain brook, they visited the world-old Armenian Monastery, Sourp Garabed (St. John's), or Changeli-Kilisseh (Church of Chimes), built in the days of St. Gregory the Illuminator. M. Pisson, having sustained an injury on the road near here, had to remain several weeks in the Monastery, whilst his friend, anxious to make the best use of his time, rounded the north coast of Lake Van, and, having visited the chief place of the district, crossed into Persia to Tabreez, passing the border in two places in mid-winter by little-known mountain bridle-paths. Having rejoined his companion at Bitlis, they then proceeded by the track presenting fewest obstacles among the mountain valleys, viz. through Sert and Jezireh to Mosul. During a few days' sojourn in what was probably once an environ of Nineveh, they viewed the Koyunjik mound and the remains of Assyria's capital; their road now led through Arbela, scene of Alexander's victory over Darius; here all the villages are built on artificial mounds, testifying to the ancient populousness of the country, and two broad rivers have to be crossed by the kellek, or inflated sheepskin raft. The Lesser Zab was also crossed a little later at Altun Keupri (Golden-Bridge), a small borough on an islet of conglomerate in mid-river; and next the not inconsiderable town of Kerkuk pleased our travellers by its bright and well-to-do aspect and wide gardens of tropical produce.

Here the road forward was certainly considered unsafe, as an escort of thirty gendarmes was furnished for safe conduct to Suleïmanieh; and fanaticism is the order of the

day in this region. A sheikh of the Hamavend Arab tribe, however, gave the protection of his company for a space, and Suleïmanieh, the last considerable town in Turkey, was duly reached ; it contains 5000 houses, all of one storey only, and there are but twenty families of Christians.

Just before the Persian frontier, the French party passed the village Tavileh, and hereafter serious difficulties of more kinds than one had to be overcome ; a horse perished, the tracks were very bad and difficult to follow, and the Kurds proved overreaching and untrustworthy.

The Avroman Mountain here is of quite a different character from the mountains of Armenia, where large plateaux occur frequently. The hills are much rockier and wilder, and an ascent of 4500 feet has to be made in one place. Thus, with much scrambling up and down, Hajish, a village shut in by peaked mountains and huge masses of grey rock, was reached. And after ascending the valley of the Gaveh-Rud some way, and passing the villages Ruar and Tefen, and having had to put up with short rations, Sihna, or Senneh, a Kurdish town of 35,000 inhabitants, afforded a short rest to the exhausted Frenchmen.

There is little to chronicle respecting Sihna, except that it has grown from the condition of a big village to its present dimensions within the last fifteen years. The horses are reckoned fine animals, and the best quality of Kurdish rugs are woven here. There are also two mosques which contain "chambers of refuge" for criminals flying from justice.

Upon leaving Sihna, a visit was made to the districts of Guerrous and Karaghan, following or touching the bed of some tributaries of the Rivers Kizil-Uzun (lower the Sefid Rud) and Abhar-Chi, which empties into the salt marsh to the south of Teheran. M. Develay also "rode Chappar" from Sihna to Teheran in seven days by the highway through Hamadan.

After some months in the Persian metropolis, the homeward route of the "Mission Scientifique" lay through Resht and Baku and across the Caucasus.

Religions in India.—The various religions of the population of India have been returned in the last census as follows (so far as ascertainable):—

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Hindoos, Brahmos, etc. | 207,654,437 |
| Mussulmans | 57,365,214 |
| Christians | 2,284,191 |
| Jains | 1,416,109 |
| Sikhs | 1,907,836 |
| Buddhists | 7,131,057 |
| Jews | 17,180 |
| Parsees | 89,887 |
| Forest tribes | 9,302,083 |
| Minor forms of Belief — Theists,
Agnostics, Atheists, etc. | 289 |
| Not returned | 38,763 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total. | 287,207,046 |

Brahmos 3401, of whom 3338 are in Bengal, Aryas (*sic*) 39,948, chiefly in N.W.P. and Punjab.

An Indian Fakir's Horrible Performances.—An account of the performances of the Indian fakir Soliman ben Aissa is given by the Vienna correspondent of the *Lancet*. The exhibition has very properly been forbidden in public places in Vienna, but a series of private entertainments has been arranged. An aristocratic audience was present at the first of these. The Fakir commenced his performances by inhaling the fumes of burnt powder prepared from extracts of snake and scorpion poisons, and by certain quick movements of the head he produced a foaming at the mouth. After these preliminaries needles and other sharp instruments were thrust through various parts of his body, including a stiletto a foot long and half an inch broad, which was thrust through his tongue. Another feat which is said to have caused great sensation consisted in pulling forward the eyeball and presenting it outside the orbit to the view of the audience between two fingers. He was "invulnerable" also to the heat produced by a

flaming torch held for a minute and a half against the under surface of his forearm. Chewing glass and playing with poisonous snakes were among his other tricks. The *Lancet* recalls the experiments of the celebrated "Fire King," who many years ago created a sensation in London by advertising his power to drink prussic acid without injury to himself. The history of his exposure, sudden downfall, and subsequent malignant challenge to Mr. Wakley to fight a duel, form one of the most interesting and humorous chapters in the older volumes of the *Lancet*. The *Lancet* deprecates medical men lending their countenance in any degree to such dismal spectacles. Medical science has nobler purposes to fulfil and higher motives to guide it than the gratification, under the seeming sanction of science, of the morbid curiosity of certain classes.

Rulers of India.—We would venture to call the special attention of our Indian readers to the very excellent series of manuals on the great rulers of India, both native and English, now being brought out at Oxford under the editorship of Sir W. W. Hunter. Written in a very interesting manner, and having the charm of the personal interest attaching to the treatment of history from the 'great man' point of view, they throw many sidelights on the history of the development of institutions and of thought in that great continent, and they cannot fail to promote that mutual knowledge on which a genuine sympathy between residents of all classes in India must depend, and which all true scholarship does so much to promote.

Buddhist Paintings.—A most interesting collection of Chinese pictures has been given by M. Rubens Duval to the Museum of Religions at Paris, better known as the Musée Guimet, from the name of its founder, who has now given it to the French nation. This collection was made by the great traveller Klaproth, who has written short explanatory notices on the back of each piece. It includes a set of miniatures, probably of the last century, painted with exquisite delicacy on leaves of the sacred *bigonia*, in

the shadow of which the Buddha is related to have passed the great mental struggle which ended in his Buddhahood. They represent the twenty lo-hans, that is, Arhats, or masters of the true doctrine: such miniatures, painted on leaves of the Bo-tree, are not infrequent in China, but good specimens are rare in Europe, and there are none in our Library.

Karakorum Inscription.—Dr. George Huth, *privat-docent* at the Berlin University, has published a short monograph on this interesting inscription. He proves quite clearly that it must be the record of a language that contained suffixes, prefixes, and changes in the middle of roots. He draws the conclusion that the language cannot be Uraltaic, and is most probably the ancestor of the various Yenissei languages treated of by Klaproth and Castrén. As, however, the Chinese inscription on the same stone dates from about 732 A.D., and we have no specimens of these languages till many centuries after that time, this is only a first step towards decipherment, and the author does not in fact propose as yet a translation of any word, or an identification of any letter.

Epigraphia Indica.—We have just received, in February, 1892, the new part of this valuable serial. It has printed on the title page "Issued October, 1891," so the mode of transmission must be singularly slow. It contains some short Jain inscriptions by Prof. Bühler, two short papers by Dr. Hultsch, and an elaborate and important article by Professor Jacobi on the computation of dates in Hindu inscriptions, with supplementary astronomical tables.

Etruscan.—With reference to the announcement in our last number, p. 167, we have now to add that Prof. Krall has now communicated to the Academy of Vienna the results of his examination of the inscribed band on the mummy of a woman in the museum of Agram, which was brought from Egypt by ^{sed} hael Baric in 1849. H. Brugsch in the winter of 18^{an}9 had already found on the mummy the end of a band^{en} which afterwards proved to be 14 metres long) almost entirely covered with characters

to him completely unintelligible. The director of the museum having apprised Prof. Krall of the event, the band was brought to Vienna, and at length, after eleven months study, discovered by him to be the longest Etruscan inscription known to us, the longest hitherto known to exist being the Perugian cippus containing 125 words. The Etruscan mummy band contains 1200 words divided into some 200 lines, distributed in at least 12 columns after the fashion of writing on papyri. The material is undoubtedly of ancient Egyptian manufacture, and the ink shows the same colour as that of the ordinary writing on mummies. According to the Etruscan scholars Bücheler, Deecke, and Pauli, there can be no doubt whatever about the authenticity of the text, so if this real relic of antiquity comes to be read, our knowledge of Etruscan will be assured. So far, Prof. Krall has presented to the academy an unpublished tentative reading, restoring the text and adding a list of all the words occurring in it with additions and explanations by W. Deecke. Messrs. Edler have succeeded with great difficulty in making photographs of the text.

The Present State of the Nestorian Tablet at Sigan.—This tablet, as is well known, stands outside the west gate of Si-gan, Shen-si, and enunciates the leading doctrines of Christianity. It was erected A. D. 780–781, and is the only relic hitherto discovered in China of the Nestorian Christian Church. The stone is white, is of an ordinary grey colour and sonorous, responding with a bell-like sound on being struck sharply. It is supported on the back of a half-buried tortoise. The dimensions are: total height, 103 in.; breadth, 37 in.; thickness, $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. It stands facing an old, half-ruined Buddhist temple on the south of the road, a mile and a half from the west gate, and half a mile from the suburb. Its surroundings are not interesting; the country is flat, well cultivated, and very fertile. The remains of a mud wall enclose it and hide it from the road, though, even were it visible, there is nothing by which a passer-by could distinguish it from the hundreds of other stones that are to be found in this district.

Buddhist Folk Lore.—Professor Fausböll (Hon. Member R.A.S.) has completed the fifth volume of his great *editio princeps* of the Jātakas, bringing it down to No. 537 (out of the total of 550). The volume is dedicated to Professor Rhys Davids and Dr. Morris. The remaining 13 stories, the longest in the collection, will probably occupy three more volumes. One of them is the Bhūridatta, translated in our last issue by Mr. St. John.

New Oriental Department, British Museum.—On the retirement, in January last, of Dr. Rieu, the well-known Persian scholar, from the Keepership of Oriental MSS. at the British Museum, it was decided by the Trustees to create a new Oriental Department to consist of Oriental printed books and MSS., in both of which collections the Museum is very rich. This has now been done, and Professor Douglas (one of the members of our Council) has been appointed Keeper of the new department.

Sanskrit name for Australia.—Mr. E. Delmar Morgan, M.R.A.S., has published in brochure form a very interesting paper he read at the Geographical Congress of Berne on the 'Early Discovery of Australia.' He there proves that the coast line of Australia appears with full details on several early maps, much older than any literary record of the actual discovery having taken place. The first authenticated voyage to Australia is that of the yacht *Duyfhen* or *Dove* in 1606. But already in a map of the year 1521 (by La Salle) the 'Terra Australis' is given under the curious name of *Patalis regio*, derived, according to the Vicomte de Santareus, from the Sanskrit (or Pāli) Pātāla, meaning 'the nether regions.' This is the oldest and least perfect of these early maps of Australia, several of which Mr. Morgan gives in facsimile. Perhaps the name has some connection with *Pātali-putta*, the old name for Ceylon. Where did these old map-makers get their information from?

V. NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A MEMOIR ON THE COEFFICIENTS OF NUMBERS. BEING A CHAPTER IN THE THEORY OF NUMBERS. By BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, M.A., Principal Berhampore College, Bengal. (Calcutta, Hare Press, 1891.)

It is said that the German mathematician Kronecker, at a scientific gathering in Berlin, proposed the health of *The Theory of Numbers*, the only branch of mathematics, perhaps of human learning, as yet unsullied by a practical application. And from this point of view we may congratulate Mr. Brajendranath Seal, whose memoir deals with speculations remote indeed from every-day life. A perfect number is one which is equal to the sum of its division (*e.g.* $6=3+2+1$). The coefficient of a number is defined to be the ratio which any number bears to the sum of its division. Perfect numbers have been studied by Euclid, by Bachet, Fermat, and Euler. The mention of these names shows that the class of problems with which Mr. Brajendranath Seal deals has attracted the acutest of mathematical speculators. Mr. Seal's memoir is concerned with the properties of these perfect numbers and attempts to find all numbers for which the coefficient (as above defined) is given. Many interesting theorems are proved by the way; for example, that no perfect number is divisible by only four prime numbers, and the paper abounds with examples worked out in detail.

In the history of science it has always been the strong fastnesses, from which we are afterwards to survey the country, that have offered the stoutest resistance, until the walls which have defied force vanish before the wand of the magician. We cannot doubt that the spirit of Mr. Seal's work is that by which we shall at last be able to understand the secrets of *number* pure and simple—secrets guessed at by the great Masters, such as Euclid, Fermat, and Gauss, but, save for such guesses, almost entirely unknown to us now.

EUGÈNE BURNOUF—Ses travaux et sa correspondance. Par J. BARTHELEMY ST. HILAIRE (Paris, 1891, *privately printed*).

No more suitable author of an 'appreciation' of the great scholar Eugène Burnouf could be found than the veteran *savant* so long his personal friend, and a co-worker with him on several fields, M. Barthelemy St. Hilaire. It is pleasant to find that M. St. Hilaire, who first made the acquaintance of Burnouf on leaving the Lycée Louis-le-Grand seventy years ago, should still have health and energy to publish these graceful and touching memorials. Not that they are new. They are a reprint from articles in the *Journal des Savants* published from time to time between 1852 (when Burnouf died) down to 1891, and have not been altered to fit the altered circumstances of the times. There being also neither index nor table of contents, the usefulness of the book as a work of reference is seriously hampered. But they are very interesting and inspiring reading, and give a very clear and pleasant picture of the devoted labours of the genial scholar in whose honour they have been composed; and they contain those personal facts of his history which must form the basis of a critical judgment of the great Burnouf.

As to his greatness there can never be any question, but when M. St. Hilaire puts in the fore front of his panegyric an eulogium of the method that he followed, we feel compelled to distinguish. The result of his twenty years labours for instance in Buddhism lies before us in the two magnificent volumes, the 'Introduction' and the 'Lotus.' It is agreed on all hands that these works introduced Buddhism to the West and remained for a quarter of a century the authorities on the whole subject. It is agreed on all hands that they give proofs not only of the rarest industry, but of the ripest and most balanced judgment, and also of a faculty that cannot be described as less than genius in feeling the way to a right conclusion out of insufficient and often contradictory data. But a

further question remains. There can be no doubt that had Burnouf devoted those years to editing and translating the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas he would have accomplished the task, and accomplished it in a masterly way, within the time. Would not that method, rather than the one which he followed, have led sooner and more surely to the desired goal? Is it well to waste such priceless tools as the enthusiastic industry and critical insight of a Burnouf on weighing one against the other the statements of writers who lived many centuries after the events of which they speak, when materials contemporaneous or nearly so are, all the while, at hand? Is it the better method to read works in MS. and publish the results of such reading to the world (which has not the authority before it), or to publish the works themselves first, and then draw the conclusions which every scholar can test for himself? These are the kind of questions which would have to be settled in discussing the question of the best method to be followed by a pioneer in opening a new field of historical inquiry, of the best way (in the interests of science) in which a great scholar can use the abilities and the time at his command.

It only remains to add that in a list of the unpublished works there is much that would seem, from our author's description, to be still of the greatest value. Cannot especially the 'Examen de la langue du Lotus' and the 'Comparaison des textes Palis et Sanskrits,' and the translation of the Khudda-sikkhā Dipanī be published at once either in the 'Journal Asiatique' or elsewhere? It is perfectly true that it is a kind of sacrilege to publish matter which a great author has deliberately put aside as not to be published. But there is no evidence whatever that these finished studies were withheld by their author for any other reason than want of opportunity or want of space. Those on the spot can judge. To those at a distance it seems cruel to keep concealed what is of value now, but will certainly in another generation have lost its worth.

A CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT AND OTHER WORKS IN THE
ORIENTAL SECTION OF THE ADYAR LIBRARY, compiled
to December, 1891. (Adyar, Madras, 1891.)

This catalogue of the collection at Adyar begun in 1886, and yearly increasing in value, has been put together under the supervision of H. S. Olcott, the President of the Theosophical Society. It shows seventy-eight printed works (some of several volumes) and sixty-two MSS. of Vedic literature. Among the latter may be especially mentioned a palm leaf MS. of Mādhava's commentary on the Yajur Veda (described 'as a very old MS., about 400 years old')—a collection also on palm leaf and in the Telugu character, of fifteen treatises on phonetics many of which are unknown in Europe—a palm leaf MS. containing five works by the father of Rāmānuja—and the Vaidika Jyotisha of Lagadha. The Itihāsa and Purāṇa books are twenty-three printed ones and sixty-eight MSS., among which we may notice an old copy on palm leaf in Telugu characters of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa—a palm leaf MS. in Devanāgarī characters of the Bhārgava Purāṇa, treating of the lives of Vaiṣṇava leaders among others of Rāmānuja—and a similar MS. of the Badari Mahātmya. The law books are eighty-two printed and fifty-two MSS., the philosophical books 135 printed and 131 MSS., of which the Nyāyatātparyapariśuddhi of Udayana and the Nyāya Kaustubha of Mahādeva are described as rare works. Some thirty works on medicine, the like number on astronomy or astrology, and a few on music, precious stones, etc., complete this part of the catalogue. There then follow lists of 229 Buddhist, Jain, and Vaiṣṇavite books (of which about forty are Grantha or Telugu MSS.), of twenty Tantra MSS., and of 220 miscellaneous works (stories, poems, dramas, etc.), of which about thirty are in MS., and 121 Sanskrit grammars or lexicons, of which about seventy-five are manuscripts.

The printing is not good, and the transliteration of Indian words is very inaccurate, and the column headed remarks

gives some curious details. 'The original Kathasarit Sagara (*sic*) was a poetical compilation by Soma Deva, and published in Holland.' And it is disappointing to find that of Buddhist works, in which the library was supposed to be rich, there are so few, among which are only two MSS. described respectively as 'A Buddhist work' (p. 139) and 'A Buddhist religious book, name unknown' (p. 163). The Pali books seem to be kept in Ceylon, and the Chinese and Japanese, some 500 in number, are not yet catalogued. But we should not look a gift horse in the mouth, and will only express our hope that the library may rapidly increase and flourish.

AN ENGLISH-SINHALESE DICTIONARY, by CHARLES CARTER.
(Colombo, Skeen.)

This dictionary is a very great advance on previous works of the kind, from the well-known dictionary of Clough published sixty-eight years ago to the little pocket dictionary issued by the Wesleyan missionaries. It is in six parts, making a total of nearly 1100 octavo pages, and is very well and clearly printed—the English words in Clarendon, and the Sinhalese words in a bold and readable type. It is printed at the Government Press and at Government expense. We congratulate the ruling powers of the island on so enlightened a use of the public funds, and the veteran missionary on the successful accomplishment of his tedious but most useful labours. What still remains an urgent want is a good Sinhalese-English Dictionary, that of Clough being altogether out of date. Such a work giving full quotations and references, and the history and derivation of each word,—precisely because it would be beyond the power of any single man to produce,—would be a noble gift from the English rulers of Ceylon to the loyal and intelligent people of that ancient home of learning and culture.

DIE GOTTESDIENSTLICHEN VORTRAEGE DER JUDEN HISTORISCH ENTWICKELT. Second edition, under the auspices of the "Zunz Stiftung," by Dr. N. BRÜLL. pp. 516. (T. Kauffmann, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1892.)

It is exactly sixty years since the first edition of the above-mentioned work appeared and marked the creation of a study out of elements till then generally considered as unworthy of serious attention. How much the book has been appreciated by all interested in these researches is best inferred by the circumstance that it has been out of print for many years and only obtainable at a high price.

The single branches of Rabbinical literature have, of course, been largely expanded by able students since Zunz's work was first published, and it would have been most deplorable if it had been otherwise. Yet this does not in the least diminish the value of the book, and the idea of a second edition is surely a most happy one, especially as this was done by so profound a scholar as Dr. N. Brüll of Frankfort-on-the-Main. It is lamentable that the second editor died before his task was finished, and thus the scientific world was deprived of the supplement which he had commenced, and which was to contain a critical selection of the literature concerning the subject and a bibliography of the writings reviewed. It is to be hoped that the publisher will succeed in finding another scholar who, equipped with the material left by the deceased, will prove able to complete the supplement.

It is also desirable that he should pay closer attention to the Jewish Arabic literature referring to the subject. The Jews in Arabian countries possessed not only Arabic translations of the Bible, but used this language also for liturgical readings. There exist Arabic versions of the Haggādāh for Passover, of the story of Matathias, which latter is to be found in most MSS. of the Yemen prayer book, several poetic versions of the story of Hamah and her sons, translations of the Aramaic Targums, the Canticles, and others of the smaller Hagiographa, adaptations of portions of the

Midrash and entire Midrashic treatises, as the Nūr al Zulun, of which MSS. are in London, Oxford, and Berlin.

The finishing touch of the book was added after the death of Dr. Brüll by Steinschneider, who also wrote the preface. It is regrettable to hear from such a competent authority that the number of writers interested in the subject is rather on the decline than on the increase, and this was one of the reasons why the new edition was undertaken. Let us hope that it will help to revive the enthusiasm for this branch of enquiry.

As to the arrangement of the new edition, which considerably surpasses the first in size, it only contains alterations and corrections added by Zunz himself in his copy, and which are made recognizable both in text and footnotes by square brackets. Entirely new are the indices, which were worked out by a young scholar, Dr. A. Loewenthal, in Berlin, and a concordance of the pages of the two editions. The book is beautifully got up, and the price so low that every one interested in the subject can procure it for himself.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THINGS JAPANESE by BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN. (Tokyo, the Hakabunsha.)

This second edition of a most useful work contains some twenty new articles, and is provided with an excellent map of the country. The book is rather intended for the use of the globe-trotter, and that valuable customer of the book-maker, the 'general reader,' than for the scholar, and calls for no extended criticism in the pages of this journal. That it is, in the main, the work of a scholar is, however, evident enough, but this fact rather irritates than satisfies the reader, who feels that the author, too often, deals out but a niggard share of the knowledge he possesses. Among the new articles much the most important is Messrs. Aston and Gowland's contribution on Archæology, while the most amusing one is that entitled "English as she is Japped." The articles on 'History

and Mythology,' 'The People,' 'Demoniacal Possession,' 'Tokyo,' 'Ten Ceremonies,' 'Lacquer,' 'Poetry,' and 'Printing' are interesting, and those dealing with the aspects of modern Japan are full of shrewd observations, while quite devoid of the somewhat silly gush which characterizes so much of the more recent literature dealing with Japanese subjects.

MANUAL OF THE SIYIN DIALECT SPOKEN IN THE NORTHERN CHIN HILLS by Captain F. M. RUNDALL, D.S.O., Gurkha Rifles. (Rangoon, Government Press, 1891.) Price, Two Rupees.

This is a most praiseworthy contribution to our knowledge is an entirely unknown region in the province of Burma, and the author deserves our hearty thanks. We are glad to find that a manual of the Baungshē *Dialect* spoken in the Southern Chin Hills has been published by Lieut. Macnabb (it is in fact a different *language*). It appears that the Siyin is one *Dialect* of a form of speech, which has no leading *Dialect*, but consists of several, of equal importance (1) Siyun, (2) Nwengal, and (3) Kanhaw. Two other forms of speech are mentioned, (1) Haka, and (2) Tashen, and are pronounced to differ so materially as to be quite different languages. Here then we have revealed to us a group of four languages previously totally unknown, but in which communication is held by British officers with subject races.

The geographical position of these tribes is as follows:

A line drawn from Mandalay to Chittagong passes almost through the Chin Hills. In the North they are bounded by the Manipūr Valley, on the East by the Kubo Kalē, Myillha, and Yan valleys, on the South by the Arakan Hill tracts, on the West by the Lushai Hills. The District occupied by the Siyin is roughly between N. Lat. 23°-10 and 23°-25, and E. Long. 93°-45 and 94°-5. The highest elevation is about 8800 feet above sea-level, but the average height of the range is about 5000 feet.

The language is monosyllabic. Genders are distinguished by the addition of the word "pa" and "nu" to indicate male and female, and one or two other suffixes in the case of animals. The plural is expressed by the suffix "te," but it is frequently omitted.

March 24, 1892.

R. N. C.

VI. ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY, JAN.-MARCH, 1892.

Presented by the India Office.

Madras. Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency for 1890-91. Parts 1-4.

fol. *Madras*, 1891.

Giles (G. M). Report of the Investigation into the causes of the diseases known in Assam as Kulā-Azār and Beri-Beri.

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Indian Museum Notes. Vol. 11, No. 5. The Economic Value of Birds in India.

List of Heads of Administration in India and of the India Office in England. Jan. 1892. fol. pamph.

Catalogue of Books printed in the Madras Presidency during July, August, and September, 1891.

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Central Provinces. Report of the Administration of, for 1890-91, by A. P. MacDonnell. fol. *Nagpur*, 1891.

Hyderabad Assigned Districts. Report of the Administration of, for 1890-91. fol. *Hyderabad*, 1891.

Madras, Government of. Results of Observations of the fixed Stars made with the Meridian circle at the Government Observatory, Madras, in 1871-73, under the direction of the late Norman Poyson, by C. Mitchie Smith. 4to. *Madras*, 1892.

Government of India. Selections from Records of Home Department No. 276, Serial No. 10. Report on Publications issued and registered in the Several Provinces of British India for 1890.

fol. *Calcutta*, 1891.

Bombay, Selections from Records of Government of. Papers relating to Revision Survey Settlements of 47 Government Villages of the Sānand Tāluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate. fol. *Bombay*, 1891.

Catalogue of Books registered in the Punjāb for 3rd quarter of 1891. Two copies. fol. pamphlet.

Bengal Library. Catalogue of Books for 2nd quarter of 1891. Appendix to Calcutta Gazette. fol. pamphlet.

Archæological Survey of India. South Indian Tamil Inscriptions. Vol. II. part 1. 4to. 1892.

Bombay, Selections from Records of Government of, No. 250. Revision Survey Settlement of 171 Government Villages of Jāmner Tāluka of the Khandesh Collectorate. fol. *Bombay*, 1891.

Do. 251. R.S.S. of 31 Talukdari Villages and 8 villages of sons of Latifkhan and also of the Talukdari Wanto in three Government Villages of the Dholka Tāluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate. fol. *Bombay*, 1891.

Presented by the Editor.

Oriental Translation Fund N.S. Part 1, Vol. II. Mirkhond. Rauzat-us-Safa. Translated by E. Rehatsek. Edited by F. F. Arbuthnot.

royal 8vo. *Royal Asiatic Society, London*, 1892.

By the Author.

Casartelli (M. L. C.) Cyêna-Simurgh-Roc. Un Chapitre d'Evolution Mythologique et Philologique.

royal 8vo. pamphlet. *Paris*, 1891.

By the Trustees of the British Museum.

Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, Vol. II.

London, 1891.

Lane-Poole (Stanley). Catalogue of Arabic Glass Weights in the British Museum. Edited by R. S. Poole. 8vo. *London and Paris*, 1891.

By Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids.

Catalogue of the Sanskrit and other Works in the Oriental Section of the Adyar Library. royal 8vo. *Adyar*, 1891.

By the Publishers.

Whitney (W. D.) Max Müller and the Science of Language. 8vo. *New York*, 1892.

Chamberlain (B. H.) Things Japanese. 8vo. *London and Tokyo*, 1890.

By the British Association.

Report of 61st Meeting for the Advancement of Science, held at Cardiff in 1891. 8vo. *London*, 1892.

By the Author.

St Hilaire (J. Bart.) Eugène Burnouf, ses Travaux et sa Correspondence. 8vo. *Paris*, 1891.

By the Author.

Bellew (Surgeon-Major H. W.) Ethnography of Afghanistan. royal 8vo. *Woking*, 1891.

By Peter Griffon, Esq.

Leon (Dr. J. Diaz de). El Cantor de los Cantores traducido del Hebreo. royal 8vo. *Aguascalientes*, 1891.

Matthes (Dr. B. F.) Het Boek der Psalmen in het Boeganeesch. royal 8vo. *Amsterdam*, 1891.

and Het Boek der Psalmen in het Makassaarch. royal 8vo. *Amsterdam*, 1891.

Telang (K. T.) Subandhu and Kumārila. 8vo. pamphlet. *Bombay*, 1891.



PALI TEXT SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

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Managing Chairman—T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, 3, Brick Court, Temple, E.C.
(With power to add workers to their number.)

Hon. Sec. and Treas. for America—Prof. Lanman, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

Hon. Sec. and Treas. for Ceylon—E. R. Gooneratne, Esq., Atapattu Mudaliyar, Galle.

This Society has been started in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically unused in the various MSS. scattered throughout the University and other Public Libraries of Europe.

The historical importance of these Texts can scarcely be exaggerated, either in respect of their value for the history of folk-lore, or of religion, or of language. It is already certain that they were all put into their present form within a very limited period, probably extending to less than a century and a half (about B.C. 400–250). For that period they have preserved for us a record, quite uncontaminated by filtration through any European mind, of the every-day beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves, just as they were passing through the first stages of civilization. They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves, and which has influenced so powerfully, and for so long a time, so great a portion of the human race—the system of religion which we now call Buddhism. The sacred books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious

movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to early Christianity. In the history of speech they contain unimpeachable evidence of a stage in language midway between the Vedic Sanskrit and the various modern forms of speech in India. In the history of Indian literature there is nothing older than these works, excepting only the Vedic writings; and all the later classical Sanskrit literature has been profoundly influenced by the intellectual struggle of which they afford the only direct evidence. It is not, therefore, too much to say that the publication of this unique literature will be no less important for the study of history—whether anthropological, philological, literary, or religious—than the publication of the Vedas has already been.

The whole will occupy about nine or ten thousand pages 8vo. Of these 6000 pages have already appeared. The accession of about fifty new members would make it possible to issue 1000 pages every year.

The Subscription to the Society is only One Guinea a year, or Five Guineas for six years, payable in advance. Each subscriber receives, post free, the publications of the Society, which cost a good deal more than a guinea to produce.

It is hoped that persons who are desirous to aid the publication of these important historical texts, but who do not themselves read Pāli, will give Donations to be spread if necessary over a term of years. Nearly £400 has already been thus given to the Society by public-spirited friends of historical research.

** * * Subscriptions for 1891 are now due, and it is earnestly requested that subscribers will send in their payments without putting the Chairman to the expense and trouble of personally asking for them. All who can conveniently do so should send the Five Guineas for six years, to their own benefit and that of the Society also.*

The Society keeps no books, and its publications *cannot in any case* be sent to subscribers who have not already paid their subscriptions for the year.

Cheques and Post Office Orders should be made payable to the "Pāli Text Society." (Address: 22, Albemarle Street, London, W.)

JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1892.)

I. GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

12th April, 1892. — Mr. E. L. BRANDRETH, Honorary Treasurer, in the Chair.

The election of Mr. Rogers, formerly of the Bombay Civil Service, as a resident member of the Society was announced to the meeting.

Major Conder, R.E., LL.D., M.R.A.S., read a paper in which he proposed a decipherment and translation of the letter of King Dusratha discovered at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt. The paper will be printed in full in the Society's Journal for the current year.

17th May, 1892, *Anniversary Meeting*. — The Earl of NORTHBROOK, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following new members was announced to the meeting :—

1. B. Houghton, Esq., B.C.S.
2. M^d S. Husain, Pension Department, Madras.

The Secretary read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1891.

The Council regrets to have to announce the loss, during the year, either from death or from retirement, of the following members. There have died :—

Mr. G. Bertin.

Commendatore Gorresio.

Nawab Ikbāl ud Daulah.
 Babu Rajendralala Mitra.
 Ahmed Véfek Pasha.
 The Rt. Rev. Bishop Caldwell.

There have retired :—

Mr. David.
 Prof. Halévy.
 M. Raoul de Lagrasserie.
 Mr. Justice Pinhey.
 M. Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx.
 Mr. H. Priestley.
 M. Sauvaire.

On the other hand the following new members have,
 during the same period, been elected :—

Resident Members—

1. Rev. C. J. Ball.
2. Mr. R. Chalmers.
3. Mr. Sultan Hosain.
4. Mr. J. Kennedy.
5. Surgeon-Major Oldham.
6. Dr. Schrumpf.
7. Mr. E. Sturdy.
8. Mr. C. L. Tupper.

Non-Resident Members.

9. Mr. H. Baynes.
10. Mr. T. H. S. Biddulph.
11. Mr. E. H. Corbet.
12. M. Le Comte Goblet D'Alviella.
13. Dr. Hirschfeld.
14. Mr. Hira Lāl.
15. Hon. P. Rāma Nāthan.
16. Mr. Hugh Nevill.
17. Mr. Haridās Sāstri.

The comparative statement showing the membership of the Society for the last five years stands now, therefore, as follows:—

| Date. | COMPOUNDERS. | | SUBSCRIBERS. | | Libraries. | Hon. Members. | Total. |
|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|---------------|--------|
| | Res't. | Non-Res't. | Res't. | Non-Res't. | | | |
| 1888 (July) | 43 | 53 | 127 | 154 | — | 30 | 411 |
| 1889 (Oct.) | 50 | 62 | 115 | 168 | 7 | 30 | 432 |
| 1890 (Oct.) | 48 | 62 | 112 | 179 | 11 | 30 | 442 |
| 1891 (Jan.) | 48 | 62 | 110 | 185 | 16 | 30 | 451 |
| 1892 (Jan.) | 47 | 62 | 113 | 183 | 23 | 30 | 458 |

Since the appearance of the list in January last, the following changes have taken place.

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|----|----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|
| Deaths and retirements | 2 | — | 2 | 4 | — | 6 | 8 |
| Elected . . . | 45 | 62 | 111 | 179 | 23 | 24 | 23 |
| | — | 1 | 3 | 9 | 4 | 6 | |
| Transfers . . . | 45 | 63 | 114 | 188 | 27 | 30 | 467 |
| | +3 | —3 | +3 | —3 | | | |
| | 48 | 60 | 147 | 185 | 27 | 30 | 467 |

There is one feature of these figures which is particularly encouraging. While the Council in its last report had to state that the number of resident members had steadily declined, we have now to point out that the number has again gone up, so that the total of the resident members stands this year between the numbers of four and five years ago, while that of the non-resident members is at 186, the highest figure yet reached in the history of the Society; and that of the subscribing libraries is 27, also the highest figure yet reached.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1891.

| RECEIPTS. | | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-----|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1891 | ... | | | 26 19 8 |
| do. Petty Cash | ... | | | 4 17 10½ |
| 103 Resident Members at £3 3s. | ... | 324 | 9 | 0 |
| 67 Non-Resident Members at £1 10s. | ... | 100 | 10 | 0 |
| 75 " " at £1 1s. | ... | 78 | 15 | 0 |
| 1 " " (in advance) | ... | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Arrears | ... | 23 | 15 | 0 |
| Compositions | ... | 68 | 5 | 0 |
| Donation from the India Office | ... | 210 | 0 | 0 |
| " from Gordon Clarke, Esq., M.R.A.S. | ... | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| Dividend on Stock (N.S.W. £1002 13s. 10d. 4 per cent.) | ... | 39 | 2 | 0 |
| Sale of Journal and Index | ... | 74 | 13 | 1 |
| Library Subscriptions for Journal (24 at 30s.) | ... | 36 | 0 | 0 |
| Fee for use of Library | ... | 10 | 6 | 0 |
| Advertisements | ... | 18 | 15 | 8 |
| Lecture—Sale of Tickets and Donations | ... | 19 | 3 | 0 |
| Rents— | | | | |
| British Association | ... | 117 | 0 | 0 |
| Hellenic Society (2 quarters) | ... | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Numismatic Society | ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Aristotelian Society | ... | 15 | 15 | 0 |
| Folk Lore Society | ... | 14 | 14 | 0 |
| | | <u>£1214</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>9½</u> |

| EXPENDITURE. | | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-----|--------------|-----------|-----------|------------|----|----|
| House—Rent | ... | 312 | 10 | 0 | } 370 1 5 | | |
| Insurance | ... | 4 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Water | ... | 9 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Gas | ... | 16 | 8 | 4 | | | |
| Coals | ... | 4 | 19 | 0 | | | |
| Repairs | ... | 4 | 11 | 0 | | | |
| New Lease | ... | 18 | 3 | 1 | | | |
| Salaries—Secretary and Assistant | ... | 250 | 0 | 0 | } 280 0 0 | | |
| Income Tax | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Bedford (pension) | ... | 25 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Journal—Printing | ... | 236 | 10 | 6 | } 300 10 6 | | |
| Illustrations | ... | 64 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Library—Preparing Catalogue, on account | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 | } 30 13 7 | | |
| Bookbinding | ... | 20 | 13 | 7 | | | |
| Lecture Expenses | ... | 20 | 18 | 11 | | | |
| Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing | ... | 10 | 10 | 10 | | | |
| Postage, Parcels, and Messengers, etc., etc. | ... | 48 | 6 | 11½ | | | |
| Housekeeper, cleaning, attendance, etc. | ... | 60 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Balance at Bank—Dec. 31, 1891 | ... | 82 | 17 | 8 | | | |
| do. Petty Cash | ... | 1 | 10 | 11 | | | |
| | | <u>£1214</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>9½</u> | | | |

Examined with the Vouchers and found correct. } H. C. KAY,
 May 12, 1892. } L. ASHBURNER.

One consequence of these figures is the increase of a little over one hundred pounds in the total receipts of the Society for the year 1891, as compared with the figures presented to you at our last meeting. The advertisements, which figure this year in our accounts for the first time, show a receipt of £18 5s. 8d., and the increase in the amount received for subscriptions from members is only a few shillings less than £70. One of the reasons for this improvement in our income is the increase in receipts from advertisements, and from the sale of the Journal. Now that the Society is its own publisher, the whole benefit of any such increase accrues to the Society without any abatement for discount or agency charges. Under both of these latter heads also, as in the number of members and of subscribing libraries, the Council expresses its full confidence that the Society may expect each year an increase, steady, if provokingly slow, in its receipts.

On the expenditure side there is an increase of £20 owing to the higher rent the Society has to pay under its new lease, an increase of £30 in the expenditure on the Society's Journal (most of this being in illustrations), and an increase of £30 under the head of lectures. The general result of the whole account is a balance, in spite of these increased expenditures, of rather more than £50 on the year's working.

As you are aware from the last report, the signs of revival in the Society, continued now through successive years, have encouraged the Council to undertake the publication of a printed catalogue of the Society's valuable library—a work which has, for more than a generation, been a crying want. The preparation of this catalogue, which has entailed considerable labour on all concerned, is now complete; more than 200 pages are actually struck off, several sheets more are in type, and the whole is expected to be published by the end of this year. It will be no less than a landmark in the history of the Society to have carried to a successful completion so long-delayed and so useful, even necessary, a work.

The Council has reason to congratulate the Society on the quality of the papers which are now being offered to them in increasing numbers. They have selected for publication Mr.


Rockhill's standard articles on the present geography and ethnography of Tibet, a detailed account drawn from the Chinese, giving entirely new information which may any day prove to have a political, in addition to its scientific, value. There have appeared also translations of four new Oriental texts (in two cases accompanied by the texts themselves), and the Society has returned to its old love, Assyriology, by publishing five cuneiform texts with translation and notes. The Council considers this side of Oriental enquiry of so much importance that it has decided to issue, as a separate book for students, a selection of reprints from the cuneiform articles to appear in this year's Journal. It is impossible to over-estimate the historical importance of these very early records of mankind, and the Council trusts that the course it has adopted will meet with your approval, more especially as such reprints are comparatively inexpensive.

During the year a systematic re-arrangement and re-numbering of the very valuable MSS. in the possession of the Society has been undertaken. It would be very desirable to have full catalogues of all these MSS. (such as the catalogue of the Hodgson Buddhist MSS. prepared by Professors Cowell and Eggeing) printed in the Society's Journal. It would, however, be too costly a proceeding, in the present state of the Society's finances, to have such catalogues prepared by competent scholars. To make these MSS., many of which have lain for years unused on the Society's shelves, better known to scholars, rough lists of the titles only have therefore been prepared, and these will appear from time to time in the Journal. The special thanks of the Society are due in this respect to its hon. librarian, Dr. Codrington, to Dr. Wenzel and to General Ardagh, who have prepared such lists of the Malay, Persian, Arabic, Tibetan, and Burmese MSS. A rough list of the Sanskrit MS. (not Buddhist) has already appeared, and lists of the Pali and Sinhalese MSS. have been also prepared during the year under review.

The year 1891 was further memorable by the fact that the Society's lease expired in that year. The Council spent

a great deal of time and anxious thought in the endeavour to make the best decision in the Society's interest on this important and difficult question of what course to adopt. Other premises were viewed, and other offers considered, but it was finally decided best on the whole to retain our present premises, though that could only be done at the cost of an increased yearly rental. By the terms of the old lease the Council was compelled to spend a sum of over £200 on the repair of the roof, and on the internal decoration of its rooms. The Society may regret that so large a sum, which it would have preferred to spend on the purchase of books, or in the publication of translations of Oriental texts, has been absorbed by this claim upon it. But the expenditure was absolutely necessary, and indeed legally incumbent on the Society; and it will not recur for many years to come.

The Council has to express its regret that no item appears in the accounts for 1891 for expenditure on books. The margin of available funds was so very narrow that the Council felt it could not recommend any expenditure on this head. But there are a considerable number of books, in various branches of Oriental literature (over and above those the Society receives as presents from the authors or from public or semi-public bodies) which the Society ought to possess. An amount of £100 a year at least would be required to supply the gaps on the Society's shelves where books of first class importance and interest ought to stand. And at least £50 a year will have to be spent for several years to come on bookbinding and repairs in order to put even the existing library in a satisfactory state in this respect. The Council would venture urgently to press home upon the members and on all friends of Oriental and historical research the desirability of donations either of books or of money to meet these crying defects. In this respect the Council has much pleasure in announcing the gift of a handsome selection of books on Siamese history and allied subjects from Mr. Satow, late Her Majesty's Consul at Bangkok.



The Council regrets that the same want of funds has prevented it pushing forward, as it would have wished, the revived Oriental Translation Fund. But as the Society is aware, the generosity of one of their number has already rendered possible the publication of two volumes, and others are to follow under the same auspices. The Council has very much pleasure in announcing that the President of the Society, the Right Honourable the Earl of Northbrook, has most generously undertaken to defray the cost up to the amount of one hundred guineas of the publication of some standard work, if possible Sanskrit, dealing with Indian history. The Council has accordingly selected the *Harsha Carita*, a work, perhaps, more urgently required than any other, and is glad to inform you that Professor Cowell, of Cambridge, has undertaken, with the assistance of Mr. Thomas, of Trinity College, to make the translation into English.

As announced in the lists read at the commencement of the Report, the Society has lost during the year 1891 no less than five of its Honorary Members. Under the rules of the Society vacancies in the list of such members can be filled up only at the Annual General Meeting; and the total number of Honorary Members is not to exceed thirty. The thirty names should be, as far as possible, those of the thirty most distinguished Orientalists in the world, and due regard being had to the representation of as many countries, and also of as many sides of Oriental activity as possible. With these objects in view the Council recommends for election on this occasion

Prof. Schrader,
Brugsch Pasha,
M. Emile Senart,
Sumangala Mahā Nāyaka Unnānsē, and
Prof. Vasilief.

By the rules of the Society Professor Robertson Smith and Professor Sayce, who were elected Vice-Presidents of the Society three years ago, retire from office at this meeting.

The Council begs to recommend that they be elected Vice-Presidents for another three years, and that the Rev. James Legge, D.D., Professor of Chinese at the University of Oxford, be also elected a Vice-President of the Society.

By the rules of the Society the following five members, of whom two are re-eligible, retire this year from the Council.

Mr. E. Delmar Morgan,
Mr. Arbuthnot,
Mr. Dickins,
Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, and
Prof. Macdonell.

The Council proposes for election to fill these vacant places :

Mr. E. Delmar Morgan,
Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot,
The Rev. J. C. Ball,
Mr. E. W. Gibb, and
Dr. Rost.

Copies of the yearly Balance Sheet, as certified by the Honorary Auditors, lie on the table.

Mr. Delmar Morgan moved, and General Pearse seconded the adoption of the Report. This motion, on being put to the meeting, was carried unanimously.

21st June, 1892.—The Earl of NORTHBROOK, President, in the Chair.

The election of the following new members was announced.

1. Mr. H. Altuart.
2. Mr. G. T. Peppe.

Surgeon-Major Oldham, M.R.A.S., read a paper on the Ancient Course of the Sarasvatī. The paper will be printed in full in the Society's Journal.



II. CONTENTS OF FOREIGN ORIENTAL JOURNALS.

1. WIENER ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES.

Band vi. Heft 2.

P. Gr. Kalemkiar. Die siebente Vision Daniels.

G. Bickell. Kritische Bearbeitung des Iob-Dialogs.

G. Bühler. A new Variety of the Southern Maurya Alphabet.

A. von Kegl, Seibânî, ein moderner persischer Dichter des Pessimismus.

2. ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT.

Band xxv. Heft iv.

Kresmárik, (J.). Das Waqfrecht vom Standpunkte des Šarī'atrechtes nach der ḥanefitischen Schule.

Huth, (G.). Das buddhistische Sūtra der "Acht Erscheinungen." Tibetischer Text mit Übersetzung von Julius Weber.

Hommel, (Fritz). Ueber den Ursprung und das Alter der Arabischen Sternnamen und insbesondere der Mondstationen.

Stackelberg, (R. von). Iranica.

Schmidt, (Dr. R.). Specimen der Dinālāpanikāçukasaptati.

Bradke, (P. von). Ueber Vorvedisches im Veda.

Goldziher, (Ign.). Die Ginnen der Dichter.

Jacob, (Georg.). Kannten die Araber wirklich sicilischen Bernstein?

III. OBITUARY NOTICES.

General Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.S., M.P.—The news of the sudden death of this amiable and distinguished officer, at the age of 67, fell heavily on the ears of his numerous friends and admirers. He joined this Society in 1858, and had served on the Council, and contributed papers to this *Journal*. He went out to Bombay in the Native Infantry

in 1841, but at a very early date he was employed in the Political Department under Sir James Outram and General John Jacob, and he accompanied the former in the Persian expedition in 1856. In 1859 he was Secretary of Legation at Teherán, and became Chargé d'Affaires on the retirement of Sir Henry Rawlinson. In 1861-2 he acted as Consul on the East Coast of Africa; in 1862 he became Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and in 1872 he accompanied Sir Bartle Frere on his mission to Zanzibar. In 1873 he was Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputána, and in 1874 he was Special Commissioner at Baróda. In 1876 he was appointed Plenipotentiary for the frontier discussion of Afghan affairs, at the special desire of the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, and soon after he returned to England, having received repeatedly the thanks of the Government of India, and the Orders attached to his name. His public career in India and Persia was most remarkable.

But there was a literary side of his career also: he was an admirable Persian scholar, and he contributed to the Proceedings of Scientific Societies, published separate pamphlets, was a constant writer in periodicals and newspapers, and under his direction was collected and published the *Miracle Play of Hasan and Hasain*, a set of thirty-seven dramatic scenes, concerning which the *Times*, in a long review under date August 19th, 1879, remarked that it was full of matter of the highest value to the student of comparative theology; in fact it was a work unique of its kind, and which no one could have put forth who had not the peculiar experiences and knowledge of Sir Lewis Pelly.

In 1885 he stood successfully in the Conservative interest for the Northern Division of Hackney, and sat for that borough up to the date of his death. He knew certain subjects well, and wisely confined himself to those subjects, and when he spoke, his words had due weight. He was a Director of the Imperial British East African Company, and his last utterance in the House of Commons was in connection with the affairs of East Africa, with which his official experience had made him very familiar.

He was extremely courteous in his manner, and agreeable and instructive in his conversation, and he was one of the best type of the Anglo-Indian officials.

R. N. C.

June 9th, 1892.

Mr. Stephen Austin, of Hertford.—The death, at the age of 87, occurred at Hertford on Saturday, the 21st of May, of one who in years was perhaps the oldest member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Austin was printer to the East India College at Haileybury until it was closed in 1858. Supported by the authorities of that institution, he started the printing and publishing of works in Oriental languages, and for many years he was one of the very few Oriental printers in England. As an Oriental printer he acquired a world-wide reputation, and many of the finest specimens of Oriental typography have borne his name. In 1834 he started the newspaper since known as the *Hertfordshire Mercury*, and for upwards of fifty years he actively superintended its publication. After the extinction of the East India Company the college buildings at Haileybury were purchased by the British Land Company as a speculation; and it was largely owing to the unwearied exertions and persevering energy of Mr. Stephen Austin that the old college was preserved as a place of education, and the present successful public school founded on its site. For the last 25 years the Journal of the Society has been printed at Hertford, and a great variety of Oriental types have been introduced into its pages in beautiful style and with great accuracy: books were produced from his press in the following languages, Sanskrit, Bangālī, Arabic, Persian, Pashtu, Hindustani, Hindī, and Hebrew, all these with different or varying alphabets: there were also considerable issues in the more familiar languages and alphabets of Europe, Greek, Latin, French, and English.

Mr. Austin received gold medals from Her Majesty the Queen and the Empress Eugenie of France, in acknowledgment of the taste and skill displayed in his productions, and medals of the first class at the International Exhibitions of

Paris and London, and in 1883 the Congress International des Orientalistes presented him with a diploma for services rendered to Oriental literature.

Full of enterprize in early life, and of sympathetic intelligence in his declining years, he secured to himself firm and lasting friendships: he was highly appreciated for his services by his fellow citizens, and his death has left a gap which will not easily be filled.

R. N. C.

June 8, 1892.

IV. NOTES AND NEWS.

The Game of Wei Chi.—At a recent meeting at Shanghai of the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, M. Volpicelli read a paper on "The Game of Wei-chi," which, he said, was the great game of China. It is considered by the Chinese to be far superior to chess, and to be the special game of the literary class. Wei-chi possesses interesting features and requires great skill in playing. It has for us the merit of absolute novelty, because it differs essentially from all Western games. Unlike chess or draughts, the men are never taken, but remain where they are played. The game is not a series of skilful evolutions, but a successive occupation of points which, joined together, give a final winning position. Though the game is on a very extensive scale, the board containing 361 places and the men employed being nearly 200 aside, still it is very simple in principle, all the men having the same value and the same powers. To achieve the object of the game on such an extensive board requires great foresight and profound calculation. This object is to occupy as much space on the board as possible. He who at the end of the game commands most places has won. This can be carried out in two ways—by enclosing empty spaces on the board with a certain number of one's men, and by surrounding and capturing the enemy's men. The name wei-chi comes from wei, meaning "to surround." Though it is so easy to state

in general terms the object the player has in view, it requires great skill to effect it if the player is matched with a good adversary. While he is trying to surround the enemy's men his are being surrounded by the adversary's, and this often occurs in the same part of the board, so that the men get interlocked and the position of one additional man may turn the scale. As there is no piece of vital importance, like the King at chess, and as the object of the game is of a general arithmetical character—to secure most places—the places lost in one part of the board may be compensated by surrounding the enemy in another quarter; so that wei-chi, instead of concentrating the attention of the player in one spot, as in chess, on the King, diffuses it all over the board. Very nice calculation is always necessary, so that one may balance the losses here with the gains there. The game was first mentioned in Chinese writings about B.C. 625. It was probably derived from the Babylonian astronomers, who were at that time the teachers of the East. Chinese Emperors have been very fond of the game, though it subjects them to the necessity of forgetting their rank, and those who play with the Emperor sit in his presence. It is recorded of an Emperor of the fourth century that on one occasion he made a move irregularly. The courtier who was playing with him held the Monarch's finger, and the Emperor was not offended. This was thought important enough to be mentioned in history.

Khalsa College.—The Sikh community at Lahore has been celebrating the opening of the new College for the education of the Sikhs there.

Mr. Fleet.—We are glad to see that the University of Göttingen has granted to Mr. Fleet the Honorary Degree of *Philosophiæ Doctor* for his distinguished services to Indian epigraphy and other branches of historical study in India.

Captain Bower's Expedition.—This traveller, together with Dr. Thorold and the rest of the party, arrived safely in Shanghai on Tuesday, the 12th of March, having traversed Ladak and a portion of Tibet.

The Mythical Bird (Syena, Saena, Rok Garuḍa).—Mr. Casartelli, M.R.A.S., has sent to the library a copy of his brochure on the Vedic, Persian, Arabic, and later Indian forms of this legend. The little pamphlet is a very excellent guide to the literature of the subject, and contains a very ingenious and probably true explanation of the mysterious name Rukh, or Rokh, given to this gigantic bird in the Arabian Nights.

Jñāneṣvara.—At Alundi, about ten miles from Poona, an annual festival is held in honour of an old Mahratta scholar of this name, who is supposed to have lived at the end of the twelfth century, and to have completed his *Dnyānevari* (a commentary in old Mārāṭhī on the *Bhagavad Gītā*) in the Saka year 1212. He is also the author of the *Jñāneṣvarashtaka* mentioned in Burnell's Catalogue.

Cremation of D. A. De Silva Baṭuwantudava Pandit.—A correspondent, Mr. Capper, of the *Ceylon Times*, has sent us the following interesting particulars as supplied to that paper:—

“Last Saturday morning there was a copious supply of white sand strewn from one corner to the other in Dam Street, which, according to Eastern custom, indicated an occurrence of a most dismal nature. It was the cremation day of Pandit Baṭuwantudava, an oriental scholar, whose equal can hardly be found in Ceylon. As the day wore on groups of sympathizers and friends were wending their way to his residence; and by 3 p.m., the appointed time for the removal of his remains, there was a large concourse of people assembled, not deterred by the inclemency of the weather which continued throughout the day. Precise to time, the hearse moved on in the following order of procession: First, there was a cart containing *pori* (roasted paddy), which was sprinkled all along the way as a mark of respect for the departed. Next followed a number of boys with banners and flags, succeeded by a dozen tomtom beaters, who played a sort of dead march. Then came the hearse with the pall-bearers, followed closely by the principal mourners, sons, and near relations of the

deceased, the numerous sympathizers and friends closing the procession.

“At the crematorium over 200 Buddhist priests of different sects awaited the approach of the hearse. There were the high priest Sumangala and his followers, Dharmarama and his followers, Suriyagoda priest representing the Malwatta Vihara, Mulleriyawa priest representing the Cotta sect, and also the priests of the Amarapura sect.

“After the coffin was removed and laid on the pyre by the relatives of the deceased, the usual offering of cloths (*pansakula*) was made by them to the priests. The time having come for the oration over the deceased, the high priest by right of office had to discharge this duty. He was, however, overpowered with grief at the sad bereavement he had sustained in the loss of one who was dear to him as a fellow student in early days, and as a fellow labourer in the literary field later in life. He could only speak a few words, deputing the work to priest Nanissara, his ablest pupil, who delivered a short and comprehensive speech, first dwelling on the unselfish, pure, and modest life led by the deceased, combined with abilities in the department of oriental languages rarely to be met with; next, the duty of relations and friends to honour such a man; and, lastly, what benefits they will derive therefrom. The discourse being over, the pyre was set fire to by the nephew (sister's son, Mr. F. S. Abeyratna) of the deceased, in accordance with ancient rites.

“Thus closes the last scene in the life of Pandit Batuwantudava. That he has rendered eminent service for his country's good goes without question. A better knowledge of medicine has been disseminated among the native vedaralas by Sanskrit works being translated into the vernacular by the pandit; and his efforts in the direction of religious and metaphysical works have given an impetus to oriental studies among Buddhist priests and laymen, and have also opened the way to those interested in the study of Buddhism. His work in connection with the Mahāwansa, required by the Ceylon Government, should receive marked

recognition. A few pages of the *Tikā* (commentaries) was being revised by the pandit when he was cut off. One of his sons is treading in his footsteps, and with oriental studies he combines a knowledge of modern languages which was wanting in the pandit, and which placed him at a very great disadvantage with oriental scholars in Europe.—*Ceylon Times*.

Mohammedan Coins.—Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has just finished his "Catalogue of the Coins of the Mogul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum," from the invasion of Baber in 1525 to the establishment of a British currency by the East India Company in 1835. It contains descriptions of over 1400 coins, chiefly gold and silver, 500 of which will be represented in the autotype plates illustrating the work. As the Museum possesses incomparably the finest collection in the world of this splendid coinage the volume will offer a special interest to Indian students and collectors. In his introduction, Mr. Lane-Poole deals with the various historical, geographical, and other problems suggested by the coinage, and with the difficulties of classification presented by the early imitative issues of the East India Company and the French *Compagnie des Indes*. This volume, the fourteenth, will complete the description of the entire collection of Mohammedan coins in the Museum, which has been in course of publication since 1835 and with which may be grouped the same author's analogous "Catalogue of the Arabic Glass Weights," 1891, and Mr. R. S. Poole's "Catalogue of Persian Coins."

Indian Numismatics.—Mr. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, has finished his "Catalogue of the Coins with Persian or Arabic Inscriptions in the Lahore Museum," and practically finished his "Catalogue of the Coins in the Calcutta Museum." His own immense collection has now been purchased by the Pañjāb Government, and he has nearly completed his catalogue of that. These catalogues will be of very great importance alike for the numismatics, and for the modern history of India, and we congratulate the distinguished author on the completion of his laborious task.

Indian Scholars.—We have been requested to publish the following correspondence :

63, *Elm Park Gardens, S.W.*,
27th May, 1892.

MY LORD,—I am one of the oldest students of the Languages of British India, and venture to address your Lordship on the subject of the necessity of extending some additional encouragement to the study of these languages, and of Indian Archæology.

The abolition of the Indian Army, and of a Covenanted Civil Service trained in a special college, has cut away the sources of the former supply of Oriental scholars. No civilian of the past generation would have had any scientific knowledge of languages if he had not been trained at the East India College of Haileybury.

The Civil and Military services do not now produce scholars ; no doubt for their special duties they are equally, or even more, efficient, but the steady flow of Oriental scholars has ceased. The Educational Department does not supply the void, and language is but a small fraction of that Department. Nor does the native community, with some rare and splendid exceptions, supply scholars who can hold their own in European circles.

This failure is becoming yearly more manifest at the triennial Congresses of Oriental Scholars held at the different capital cities of Europe, nearly all of which I have attended.

If any post falls vacant, requiring scholarship, in Great Britain, or the Colonies, or even in British India, a Continental scholar has to be sent for, which wounds the *amour propre* of the subjects of Her Majesty.

It occurs to the undersigned, who at the close of a long career dedicated to the best interests of British India, has no personal object to serve, to suggest that your lordship might, with advantage, extend to young scholars in Oriental Languages and Indian Archæology, the same encouragement of Imperial favour, as is properly extended to the great Engineer, or Soldier, or Judge, or Administrator ; some members of the very distinguished Civil and Military

Services might then be induced to strive to maintain the glories of the epoch which produced Sir W. Jones, Mr. Colebrook, and Dr. H. H. Wilson, and others of a later date. At present this branch of study is nearly entirely neglected.

The undersigned takes the liberty of illustrating his argument by two instances: Mr. Brian Hodgson, still living at the age of ninety, and the late Sir Henry Yule; the names of both these scholars is mentioned with respect and admiration in Continental circles. In their own country their services to literature have, in the first case been entirely unacknowledged, and in the latter, so tardily, that death accompanied the honour. It is true that they, and others of the older generation, have laboured *for the work's sake*, not for the chance of honour, and in that they have their full, *and to them sufficient*, reward; but the object of the State should be to encourage others, and it seems as if the younger generation is compelled now to enquire, what will pay best in the long run, and, as certainly Oriental study does not in that sense pay, it suffers, and the high repute of the British name suffers with it. It is an object of desire to secure to the British name an all round reputation in arts and arms, and in every branch of human science, especially in a branch so closely connected with the religion, customs, and culture, and welfare of the great Indian nation confided to our charge.

It is therefore, with the profoundest respect, that I suggest to your lordship, that year by year a certain number of honorary decorations be reserved to those who have distinguished themselves in the advance of Indian Languages, Literature, Archæology, and Culture, whether Europeans or Natives of Asia. Some men return to their home, illustrious as Soldiers, or Statesmen, or Judges, or Engineers; let it be possible that to some it should be permitted to be honoured as Scholars, and possibly the fruit of their labours will survive into the next generation, when the achievements of the other illustrious public servants will be forgotten. It may perhaps be argued that in this respect, viz., in the enduring of their reputation to future ages, they have their

reward, and that the Father of Buddhist research and the Author of the Life of Marco Paolo would gain no additional lustre from anything that the Secretary of State for India had it in his power to give, but perhaps the Secretary of State himself might derive honour from the fact that he honoured those who were deserving of honour; at any rate younger scholars would be encouraged. There are some who have not attained such honours, though worthy of them; there are others who would not care for them, if offered for their acceptance; but there are others who in youth or middle life, with still unexhausted powers, might be encouraged to labour on the prospect of the fruits of their labour being recognized, and in behalf of the young scholars now in India I venture to intrude on your lordship's patience.—I am, your lordship's obedient servant,

R. N. CUST.

*To the Right Honble.,
The Secretary of State for India,
India Office.*

Copy of Reply.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord Cross to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th instant, and to thank you for the suggestions contained in it as to the encouragement of Oriental Scholarship.

His Lordship desires me to say that your remarks will be borne in mind, and that a copy of your letter will be sent to the Viceroy for his information.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

A. W. WILLIAM WYNN.

India Office, June 10th, 1892.


V.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KRITIK DES MAHĀBHĀRATA. Von
Dr. ADOLF HOLTZMANN. (Kiel, 1892.).

In this work the Epic is traced by Dr. Holtzmann (who incidentally complains of the almost exclusive attention bestowed on Vedic and dramatic literature) from its primeval Indo-Germanic home, to its development in India. There he asserts, "Epos und Veda sind gleich alt," the Epic flourishing alongside of, but quite independent of, the religious and philosophic poetry of the Brāhmans, being specially the property of the warrior caste, composed by bards at the courts of kings, and handed down by oral tradition. It had in its oldest forms as its gods Brahmā, Indra, and Agni, and in its later developments Vishṇu and Siva, and it was only gradually united into a chronological sequence, arranged so as to please the king at whose court the bard resided.

The instances of Polyandry, the rules of family right and caste customs, as well as the great freedom of women, are examined to show the age of the underlying portion of the poem. The construction of the poem, in its collected form, is believed by Dr. Holtzmann, after a careful and critical study of the chief personages, to be the work of one individual poet, whom he believes to have been a Buddhist, at the court of Asoka, or one of his immediate successors. The invasion of Alexander the Great is said to have roused a national spirit, and the Hindu monarch, who ruled at the time, is supposed to be depicted in the character of Suyodhana, or, as he appears afterwards in the Brāhmanical revision, Duryodhana.

References to Buddhism are suggested in Cārvāka, the mendicant monk, in the connection between the name of *Asvatthāman* and the *ficus religiosa* (*asvattha*): in the passing of the amulet in the forehead of *Asvatthāman* (the personification of decaying Buddhism), to *Yudhishṭhira*, the believer in Vishṇuism, and in the red cloth, *Kashāya* (Pali



Kasāva) of the Buddhist (?) mendicant. The absence of any clear signs of Buddhism in the poem is accounted for by the suggestion that the Buddhism in its earliest form differed but slightly from Brahmanism, and that all signs of Buddhism were carefully expunged by the Brāhmanical revisers. The first Brāhmanical revision is ascribed by the author to the revolt from Buddhism caused by its leanings towards Sivaism adopted from the Demonology of the Dravidian aborigines. This revision was a wholesale falsification of the old Epic, Yudhishtira being in the new version extolled as a king after the hearts of the Brāhmins, and Krishna exalted into an incarnation of Vishnu, a type of the pantheistic deity. The Brāhmanical tendency is shown in the introduction of the Brāhman Vyāsa as the author of the poem substituted for Bhīshma as the father of Dhṛitarāshṭra, Pāṇdu, and Vidura. A second Puranic revision was undertaken by the Brāhmins between the years 900-1100, who found it necessary, as soon as all fear of opposition from Buddhism had passed away, to retain their supremacy and strengthen their position by incorporating the old Sivaitic superstitions into the poem, where they may be traced, according to Dr. Holtzmann, as mere mechanical mixtures, the old Vishnavite portions being on the other hand chemically combined. The enlargement of the poem, the metre and grammatical forms of which were then definitely fixed, the introduction of didactic sections, and even the addition of entirely new books were the result of this Puranic revision. The whole argument is in the highest degree interesting and suggestive. It will be followed by two further volumes. The first of these will give a critical survey of the additions, etc., of the whole poem, and also of the meaning and history of the various parts of it; and the second will deal with the relations of the poem to the rest of Sanskrit literature

C. H.

GRAMMAR OF THE GUJARÁTI LANGUAGE. By Rev. W.M. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, Missionary of C.M.S. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. London, 1892.)

This is one of the important series of Trübner's Collection of Simplified Grammars of the principal Asiatic and European Language, and the twenty-second of that series. The author is a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and his knowledge has been obtained on the spot from intercourse with people who speak the language. The language is one of the important Arian languages of Northern India, which make up what may be called the Neo-Sanskritic family, as they occupy to the Sanskrit the same relation that the Neo-Latin Languages of Europe occupy to Latin. The population which speaks this language exceeds seven millions.

Our author is by no means the first, or the only, grammarian in the field. The literature of this language in the strict sense is poor, but there is great activity in the Native presses, and a great many newspapers are published in Gujaráti: there is one distinct and well-defined dialect, the Parsi, and the whole Bible is translated into the language. There is a form of written character peculiar to the language.

The author tells us in his preface that when he arrived in Bombay not a single copy of the earlier grammars could be obtained; he alluded to two Vernacular Grammars of later date, one by the Rev. J. Taylor, and the other by Sir T. C. Hope, Educational Inspector. He mentions also a Handbook of Gujaráti Grammar by P. M. Bhatt.

The Grammar is accompanied by a set of Reading Lessons and a Vocabulary, and is very creditably turned out, and no doubt will be very useful.

March 25th, 1892.

R. N. C.

GRAMMAR OF THE TÉLUGU LANGUAGE. By HENRY MORRIS, Esq., late of H. M. Indian Civil Service. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1890.)

The Telinga or Telugu language is one of the four great Dravidian forms of speech of South India, which have been

enriched and strengthened by an infusion of Arian words. It is spoken by a population of nearly twelve millions, according to the Census of 1881, in a ring fence, and occupying the northern portion of the Province of Madras. It has a written character of its own; the symbols differ in form from the Nágari alphabet of North India, but the group of the symbols in both alphabets is homogeneous indicating a common origin.

It is a language with a considerable literature, and well supplied with grammars and dictionaries, and the whole Bible has been translated into it; it is a vigorous and important vernacular. Mr. Morris' Grammar is carefully prepared, beautifully printed, and will be of great use to future students. A short text is given with a careful analysis.

March 25th, 1892.

R. N. C.

A COMPREHENSIVE GRAMMAR OF THE SINHALESE LANGUAGE.

BY ABRAHAM MENDIS GUNASEKARA, M.R.A.S., Ceylon Branch. (Colombo, Skeen.)

This substantial volume of 516 pages, royal 8vo., is by far the best and most complete grammar of the Sinhalese language which has yet appeared. Adapted primarily for the use of students and writers in the Ceylon Civil Service, it will also be found the most reliable work of reference on the subject by philological students here in Europe. It is a pity, however, that the book has not been constructed on historical principles. The forms given, not only in the paradigms of nouns, verbs, etc., but also in the examples on the rules of syntax, are not always in current use, and obsolete forms of different periods are given indiscriminately side by side. Sinhalese literature having lasted through so many centuries, during which the language was constantly changing, it is not possible to give any grammar that will apply equally to all the books it contains. It would have been better therefore either to omit the Elu forms not now in use or to trace the history of the various grammatical forms now obsolete, the insertion of which has so much increased the bulk of the work.

ART. IX.—*Catalogue and Description of 27 Bábí Manuscripts.*By E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.¹

To my second paper on the Bábís in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889 I added an Appendix (App. IV, pp. 1000–1008), wherein I briefly described some of the chief Bábí works of which I had obtained MSS. in Persia, arranging these according to their authorship and the date of their composition, where these could be determined. Of the MSS. themselves (some of which were of composite character) I gave no description. This I now regard as an error of judgement, since, for many reasons (and chiefly that in the future, when they shall pass into other hands, there may be no difficulty in identifying them), it is desirable that their contents should be clearly and succinctly stated. This defect in my previous work I now propose to remedy; but I should not perhaps have done so were it not that since the year 1889 I have acquired a considerable number of new MSS. from authentic sources, a description of which may facilitate the identification of Bábí MSS. in other collections. To each of these MSS. I shall now give a distinctive press-mark, which shall be inscribed on the title-page, and which shall serve for its future identification. The whole class I denote by the letters *BB* (the first *B* indicating that they are Bábí MSS., the second that they form part of my collection).

¹ Throughout this article I employ, in referring to my previous writings on the Bábís, and to those of Baron Rosen, the abbreviations already explained at the beginning of my last article (*J.R.A.S.* for April, 1892, pp. 259–260), which is itself denoted by the abbreviation *B. iii*, just as this article will in future be referred to as *B. iv*.



I further subdivide them according to the source whence they were obtained as follows:—

- (I.) MSS. obtained in Persia between the dates February 28th, 1888 (when I first succeeded in establishing communications with the Bábís at Isfahán), and August 22, 1888, when I acquired my last Persian MS. (the Persian Beyán) in Rafsinján near Kirmán. MSS. of this class I denote by the letters *BBP* (the *P* standing for Persia).
- (II.) MSS. obtained from Cyprus as a result of the correspondence which, through the kindness of Captain Young, the Commissioner of Famagusta, I have been enabled to carry on since July, 1889, with Şubḥ-i-Ezel (see *T.N. ii*, pp. xviii.—xx.) All these MSS., with the exception of three or four which were brought to Şubḥ-i-Ezel from Persia in the summer of 1890, were transcribed by himself. I feel that it is only due to him to state that he undertook this laborious task solely from a desire to render the writings of his beloved Master accessible to the western world and out of sheer kindness to myself. I was unable to make him any return, save sundry little services utterly incommensurable with the value of his gifts, and quite undeserving of mention. All these MSS. (including one or two which he placed in my hands while I was in Cyprus in March–April, 1890) are denoted by the letters *BBF* (the *F* standing for Famagusta).
- (III.) MSS. obtained at Acre in April, 1888, or from Acre since that date. These were in all cases given or sent to me by Behá'u'lláh's eldest son, 'Abbás Efendí, his second son, Badí'u'lláh, or his third son, Ziyá'u'lláh.¹ When sent, they were accompanied by letters in which the title or nature of

¹ I believe that Behá has or had more than three sons, but these are all that I have seen or corresponded with.

the book was stated. These MSS. are denoted by the letters *BBA* (the *A* standing for Acre).

- (IV.) MSS. obtained from Sheykh A——, a learned Ezeli resident in Constantinople, who is in constant communication with Şubḥ-i-Ezel, and is implicitly trusted by him, and of whose learning and integrity alike I have had good proof. These MSS. are denoted by the letters *BBC* (the *C* standing for Constantinople).

The MSS. in each class are further specified by a number appended to the class-letters, which number denotes simply the order in which they came into my hands. Thus the first MS. obtained from Famagusta is denoted as *BBF. 1*, the second as *BBF. 2*, and so on. With this preliminary explanation of the plan of classification adopted (which, it will be observed, is empirical rather than rational, but which nevertheless appeared to me for several reasons the most satisfactory), I proceed to the detailed enumeration of the MSS., some of which, having been elsewhere sufficiently noticed, can be dismissed very shortly, while others will need a fuller description.

CLASS I. MSS. OBTAINED IN PERSIA.

BBP. 1.

ایقان

Ff. 82 (ff. 1^a, 81^b, 82^a, and 82^b blank), 22·25 × 11·25 centimetres, 22 lines to the page. Bought at Isfabán on March 1st, 1888, for 26 kráns (rather less than sixteen shillings). Unfortunately it has twice suffered serious damage, *firstly* by the bursting open of a portable ink-bottle with which it was packed, whereby the margins of the leaves were much stained; and, *secondly*, by the adhesion of a good many opposite leaves (either from undue pressure or unusual stickiness of the ink) in the process of

binding. In many parts it is consequently now almost illegible, though when I described it in 1888 it was in good condition.

For a general account of the work see Baron Rosen's description in *Coll. Sc. iii*, pp. 32-51; *B. ii*, pp. 944-9; and *Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 143-4.

The work was composed, as I have already shown (p. 305 *supra*), two years after Behá's return to Baghdad from the mountains of Kurdistán, *i.e.* in A.H. 1274 (A.D. 1858-9), while he still owned allegiance to Subh-i-Ezel. The passage which proves this has been already alluded to (*cf.* also *B. ii*, p. 946), but it is so important that, as it is not included in the extracts given by Baron Rosen, I here give it in full. It occurs on ff. 78^b-79^b of the present MS., and ff. 123^a-125^a of the Acre MS. which will be described presently. I follow the latter, which offers a better as well as a more legible text.

باری امید داریم که اهل بیان تربیت شوند و در هوای روح
 طیران نمایند و در فضای روح ساکن شوند حق را از غیر حق تمیز
 دهند و تلبیس باطل را بدیده بصیرت بشناسند (f. 123^b) اگرچه در
 این ایام راحه حسدی وزیده که قسم بمرگتی وجود از غیب
 و شهود که از اول بنای وجود عالم با اینکه آن را اولی نه تا حال
 چنین غلّ و حسد و بغضائی ظاهر نشده و نخواهد شد چنانچه
 جمعی که راحه انصاف را نشنیده اند رایات نفاق بر افراخته اند
 و بر مخالفت این عبد اتفاق نموده اند و از هر جهت رمعی آشکار
 و از هر سمت تیری طیار با اینکه باحدی در امری افتخار نمودم
 و بنفسی برتری مجستم مع هر نفسی مصاحبی بودم در نهایت
 مهربان و رفیقی بغایت بردبار و رایگان با فقرا مثل فقرا بودم و با
 علما و عظاما در کمال تسلیم و رضا مع ذلک فوالله الذی لا اله الا
 هو با آنهمه ابتلا و بأساء و ضرآء که از اعدآء و اولی الکتاب وارد شد

نزد آنچه از احتیاء وارد شد معدوم صرف است و مفقود بحت باری چه اظهار نمایم که امکان را اگر انصاف باشد طاقت این بیان نه و این (f. 124^a) عبد در اول ورود این ارض چون فی الجمله بر امورات محدثه بعد اطلاع یافتم از قبل مهاجرت اختیار نمودم و سر در بیابانهای فراق نهادم و دو سال و حده در صحراهای هجر بسر بردم و از عیونم عیون جاری بود و از قلمم بحوردم ظاهر چه لیالی که قوت دست نداد و چه ایام که جسد راحت نیافت و با این بلایای نازله و رزایای متواتره فوالذی نفسی بیده کمال سرور موجود بود و نهایت فرح مشهود زیرا که از ضرر و نفع و صحت و سقم نفسی اطلاع نبود بخود مشغول بودم و از ما سوی غافل و غافل از اینکه کمند قضای الهی اوسع از خیال است و تیر تقدیر او مقدس از تدبیر سرا از کمندش مجات نه و اراده اش را جز رضا چاره نه قسم بخدا که این مهاجرتم را خیال مراجعت نبود و مسافرت را امید مواصلت نه و مقصود جز این نبود که محل اختلاف احباب نشوم و مصدر انقلاب (f. 124^b) اصحاب نگردم و سبب عزّ احدی نشوم و علت حزن قلبی نگردم غیر از آنچه ذکر شد خیالی نبود و امری منظور نه اگرچه هر نفسی محملی بست و بهوای خود خیالی نمود باری تا آنکه از مصدر امر حکم رجوع صادر شد و لابد تسلیم نمودم و راجع شدم دیگر قلم عاجز است از ذکر آنچه بعد از رجوع ملاحظه شد حال دو سه میگذرد که اعداء در اهلاک این عبد فانی بنهایت سعی و اهتمام دارند چنانچه جمیع مطلع شده اند مع ذلک نفسی از احباب نصرت نموده و بهیچوجه اعانتی منظور نداشته بلکه از عوض نصر

حزنها که متوالی و متواتر قولاً و فعلاً مثل غیث هاطل وارد میشود و این عبد در کمال رضا جان بر کف حاضر م که شاید از عنایت الهی و فضل سبحانی این حرف مذکور مشهور در سبیل نقطه و کلمه علیا فدا شود و جان در باز و اگر این خیال نبود (f. 125^a) فوالذی نطق الروح بامرہ آنی در این بلد توقف نمینمودم و کفی باللہ شهیداً اختم القول بلا حول و لا قوۃ الا باللہ و انا لله و انا الیه راجعون *

BBP. 2.

A Commentary on the Tradition كُنْتُ كَنْزًا مَخْفِيًا composed by Behá's eldest son, 'Abbás Efendi, for 'Alí Shekhet Púshá.

Ff. 24 (ff. 1^a, 23^b, 24^a, and 24^b blank), 18·75 × 12 centimetres, 18 lines to the page. Written in a small neat *naskh* hand. Bought in Isfahán along with the MS. described above.

Begins :

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

الحمد لله الذى قد حرك الذرات بحركة جذب صمدانيته وقد
موج البحر الكينونات بما هبت و فاحت عليها من ارياح عز
فردانيته و قد طرز الواح الوجود بالنقطة التى اندرجت و اندمجت
فيها الحروفات و الكلمات

The Persian preface begins on f. 2^a, l. 7, as follows :

و بعد بر ناظر این کلمات و واقف این اشارات معلوم و مشهود
بوده نظر بخواش و طلب سالک مسالک هدایت و بنده حلقه
بگوش شاه ولایت و طالب اسرار غیبیه الهیه و واقف اشارات

خفیه رانیته محب خاندان و اهل بیت حضرت مصطفی دوست درویشان و منظور نظر ایشان متوسل بعروة الله الوثقی و السبب الاقوی علی شوکت پاشا ولد مرحوم آقا حسین پاشا و فقه الله لما یشاء این درویش اراده نموده که شرح مختصری و تفسیر موجز و مفیدی بحديث قدسی مشهور که کنت کنزاً مخفیاً فاحببت ان اعرف فخلقت الخلق لاعرف مرقوم دارد

Ends:

ای حبیب این بال و پر در هم شکسته گل آلوده را که از قدم عالم حکایت میکند بریز تا بپره‌های عزّ توحید در این فضای وسیع و سماء (f. 23^a) منیع پرواز نمائی بجان بکوش تا بمائده بدیعه که از سماء هوایه در نزولست منتعم گردی و بفواکه قدسیه از شجره لا شرقیه و لا غربیه مرزوق شوی این طیور آشیانه حیرت را شوری دیگر در سراسر و این آوارگان سبیل محبوبرا جذبی دیگر در دل باید چهار تکبیر بر ما کان و ما یکون زد و عزم کوی جانان کرد چشمرا از غیر دوست بر بست و بجمال مشهود کشود و سامعه را از کل اذکار پاک و مطهر ساخت تا از مزامیر آل داود الحان بدیع ملیک محمود استماع نمود *

So far as I have read this treatise I find no mention of the author's name, but Bábí tradition ascribes it to 'Abbás Efendí. Scattered through the commentary, which in the main reflects the ideas of the Šúfis, are hints of Bábí doctrine, including discussions on the meaning of the "Point" (نقطه) and the "Unity" (واحد), which latter is regarded as the "manifestation" of "the One" (احد).

BBP. 3.

کتاب اقدس

Ff. 67 (ff. 1^a, 67^a, and 67^b blank), 16×10·25 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a small neat *naskh* hand. Heading, as well as initial or final words in some parts, written in blue ink. Given to me by one of the Bábís of Shíráz on April 2nd, 1888.

See *B. i*, p. 495; *B. ii*, pp. 972–981 and 1007–8; *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 144. To this work I formerly gave the name *Lawḥ-i-Aqdas* which I had heard applied to it by the Bábís in Persia. I was informed at Acre that its proper title is *Kitáb-i-Aqdas*, and that the name *Lawḥ-i-Aqdas* properly denotes an Epistle addressed to the Christians. This detail is independently confirmed by M. Toumansky. (See *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 243, n. 1.)

BBP. 4.

کتاب اقدس

Ff. 104 (ff. 1^a–17^a and 90^b–104^b blank), 13×8 centimetres, 11 lines to the page, Invocation (بِسْمِ الْحَاكِمِ عَلَى مَا كَانَ وما يكون) in red. Written in a good bold *naskh* hand by Hájí Mírzá H—, the Bábí missionary whom I met at Shíráz (*B. i*, pp. 492, 495; *B. ii*, p. 972, and p. 312 *supra*), who received in return the sum of one *túmán* (six shillings).

The same work as that last described.

BBP. 5.

تاریخ جدید

Ff. 189 (ff. 1^a–2^a and 189^b blank), 21×13 centimetres, 19 lines to the page. Written in legible Persian *ta'liq* of an unpretentious character by a scribe who, from the mistakes in orthography of which he is not seldom guilty, was evidently a man of no great

education. Given to me by the Bábís of Shíráz in April, 1888. Concerning this important work see pp. 318-9 *supra*; *B. i*, p. 496; *B. ii*, pp. 1002-3; *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 244; and *T.N. ii*, pp. 192-7 and *passim*.

Recent researches have thrown no small light on the origin and authorship of this history. As the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have consented to publish an abridged translation of it which I have prepared, I prefer to reserve a full discussion of these points for the Introduction to that work, and will here confine myself to a brief statement of the more important facts.

I have previously had occasion to observe (p. 319 *supra*) that the *Tárikh-i-Jadid* was in great measure based on a contemporary history of the Bábí movement written by Hájí Mirzá Jání of Káshán, who suffered martyrdom at Teherán in 1852. Till quite recently all my attempts to discover some trace of the earlier work proved ineffectual. Last Easter, however, I at length found opportunity to examine the five Bábí MSS. belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris which were brought back from Persia by Count Gobineau. Of these five MSS. two were in Persian and three in Arabic. Of the former, one (Suppl. Pers. 1,070) contained part, and the other (Suppl. Pers. 1,071) the whole of a partly doctrinal, partly historical work which at once rivetted my attention, and which, as I hope to prove conclusively in the Introduction to my translation of the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*, appears to be nothing less than the hitherto lost work of Hájí Mirzá Jání. I was not able to subject this MS. to an exhaustive examination, the period of my stay in Paris not sufficing for this, but I found in it, reproduced almost word for word, the bulk of the more important narratives quoted from Hájí Mirzá Jání's work in the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*, these being told either as the writer's own experiences, or as accounts heard at first-hand from those concerned. If this Parisian MS. be indeed (as I for my part feel assured is the case) the history of Hájí Mirzá Jání, its value can scarcely be over-estimated.

Not less important are the results of inquiries instituted amongst the Bábís of 'Ishkábád by Lieutenant Toumansky (of whose previous researches some account will be found at pp. 318-322 *supra*). Of these results, for the communication of which I am indebted to the unfailing kindness of Baron Rosen, Lieutenant Toumansky has most courteously permitted me to make use for this article. As I cannot possibly express them more clearly or more concisely than Baron Rosen has done, I prefer to quote his words. He writes:—"M. Toumansky me donne en outre quelques informations sur le *Tarikh-i-Djadid*. c. à-dire sur l'histoire de la composition de ce livre. Il tient ces informations de Mirza Abou'l-Fazl, ابو الفضل گلپایگانی, domicilié à Samarcand, qui vient souvent à Ashkabad. Cet Abou'l-Fazl est cité dans le *Tarikh-i-Djadid*, comme m'écrivit M. Toumansky, sur une des pages 306-322¹ de *votre* manuscrit en ces mots:

جناب مستطاب شامخ الالقاب میرزا ابو الفضل مرقوم داشته
 هنگامی که اصفهان مطلع آفتاب طلعت آمحضرت بود مقرر شد
 که مجلسی برپا دارند و در حضور معتمد الدوله منوچهر خان الخ.

Abou'l-Fazl était jadis un des *oulémas* Shiites. Son frère est Moudjtéhid et fut un des membres de la conférence aux 'Kazimein' (*Traveller's Narrative* ii, 85-87). C'est Abou'l-Fazl auquel appartient le commencement du *Tarikh-i-Djadid* jusqu'aux mots: بنابر,
 این ایجاب نیز بر ذمه خود فرض دانست
 qui se trouvent sur le page 3 du manuscrit de M. Toumansky.² C'est cet Abou'l-Fazl qui a appris à M. Toumansky ce qui suit au sujet de la composition du *Tarikh-i-Djadid*. En 1297 Abou'l-Fazl fit à Téhéran connaissance avec *Manouktchi*. Ce dernier dans ce temps avait l'intention de publier deux ouvrages historiques. L'un d'eux, une

¹ The passage in question actually occurs on pp. 321-2 (ff. 162^b-163^a) of my MS.

² In my MS. these words occur on f. 3^b, l. 10.

histoire des rois iraniens avant l'islamisme fut composé sur l'ordre de Manouktchi par Ismaïl Khân Zend. La composition de l'autre, c. à-dire l'histoire du Bâb, fut confiée par Manouktchi à un babide nommé Mirza Hosein Hamadani (qui mourut à Resht en 1299). Manouktchi lui-même ne pouvait écrire, car il n'était pas habitué à écrire les lettres arabes, mais il désirait voir insérés dans le livre ses souvenirs et ses opinions. Mirza Hosein Hamadani s'adressa à Abou'l-Fazl, qui lui conseilla de prendre pour base la chronologie du *Nâsikh-ut-tevârikh*, et renfermer les souvenirs et récits de Manouktchi dans ce cadre chronologique. Abou'l-Fazl lui-même écrivit une espèce de préface, عنوان. Mirza Hosein Hamadani soumettait son brouillon à Hadji Seyid Djevâd (جواد) Kerbelâi, qui donnait à l'ouvrage la rédaction définitive. Ce *hadji* était un des savants shiïtes les plus connus. Il était de la famille du Seyid Mehdi surnommé بحر علوم [“the Ocean of Sciences”], avait fait ses premières études à Kerbéla sous la direction du Sheykh Ahmed Akhsâi [شيخ احمد احسائي]. Plus tard il avait profité des leçons de Kâzim Reshti, et enfin devint Bâby. Il avait connu le Bâb encore avant le اظهار. C'est lui qui avait converti au babisme Abou'l-Fazl. Djevâd mourut à Kirmân en 1299, ayant environ 100 ans.—M. Toumansky m'a autorisé à vous écrire ce qui précède. Tout cela repose naturellement sur l'autorité de Abou'l-Fazl. Vous trouverez peut-être encore des renseignements pour confirmer ou réfuter ces remarques sur la composition du *Tarikh-i-Djadid*.”

The only observation which I need at present make on the foregoing version of the compilation of the *Târikh-i-Jadid* is that it seems difficult to ascribe its final recension to Seyyid Jawâd of Kerbelâ, inasmuch as he was one of Subh-i-Ezel's most loyal supporters (See *T.N.* ii, p. 342, n. 2), while the *Târikh-i-Jadid*, in so far as it alludes at all to the later history of the Bâbî movement, manifests Behâ'î sympathies, and systematically ignores Subh-i-Ezel. Moreover, as will be set forth at the end of this article

when I come to describe the MSS. bearing the press-marks BBC. 1 and BBC. 2, Seyyid Jewád actually composed two large volumes (the *Hasht Bihisht*, vols. i and ii) on the Theory and Practice of the Bábí religion, which are strongly Ezelí in their proclivities. (See also *T.N. ii*, pp. 351-371, and pp. 296-7 *supra*.) It is not unlikely, however, that the two or three passages in the *Tárikh-i-Jadid* which refer to Behá may be interpolations of the copyist, and that, on the other hand, passages bearing reference to Şubḥ-i-Ezel may have been excised. In any case the information obtained by M. Toumansky is invaluable, as affording a definite basis for further investigation.

BBP. 6.

کتاب اقدس. الواح سلاطین. اشعار و الواح متفرقه.

Ff. 40 (ff. 1^a and 40^b blank), 17·5 × 10·5 centimetres. The number of lines to the page varies from 15 to 24, and the writing, a minute and rather illegible *shikasté*, becomes smaller as well as closer after the first few pages. The contents of this MS., as well as the circumstances under which I obtained it at Kirmán, on July 29th, 1888, are fully described at pp. 284-291 *supra*.

BBP. 7.

زیارت نامه. لوح نصیر. دلائل سبعه. اشعار و الواح متفرقه.

Ff. 220 (ff. 1^a-19^a, 45^b, 46^a, 52^a-53^a, 90-92^a, 161^a-164^a, 193^a-196^a, 213^b-220^b blank); 20·25 × 6·5 centimetres, 10 lines to the page throughout the prose portions. The poems, which are all at the end, are written in double oblique lines, between which, in some cases, two extra *beyts* are inscribed. Written for me by a Bábí telegraph-clerk at Kirmán in July-August, 1888.

Contents :

Ff. 1^a-19^a blank.

Ff. 19^b-45^b. The *Ziyarat-námé* (زیارت نامه) or "Book of Visitation" (Gobineau's "*Journal du Pèlerinage*") composed by the Báb at the beginning of his mission.

This work I discussed at pp. 896-902 of my second article in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889, and I there attempted to prove that it was identical with a Bábí work described by Mirza Kazem-Beg at pp. 498-502 of vol. viii (series vi) of the *Journal Asiatique*. In one of my earlier letters to Subh-i-Ezel I enquired as to the authenticity of this work, and he replied, in a letter dated Oct. 1st, 1889, as follows :

کتاب زیارت که اشاره فرموده اند از حضرت نقطه است و بعد
از ظهور است و عبارات آن شاهد است و زیارات بسیار نوشته اند
محدود بحدی نیست لیکن از حقیر هم کتاب زیارات هست و آن
بطرز دیگر است و در این بلد نیست مگر اندکی از آن *

"The *Book of Visitation* of which you spoke is by His Holiness the Point [*i.e.* the Báb], and was [written] *after* the Manifestation,¹ as is witnessed by [some of] the expressions occurring in it. He wrote many *Visitations*: they are not limited by any [definite] limitation. But there is also a *Book of Visitations* by myself. That is [written] in a different style, but there is in this land [*i.e.* Cyprus] but a little of it." Concerning this work see *B. ii*, pp. 896-902 and 1000.

Ff. 45^b-46^a blank.

Ff. 46^b-51^b. A short Epistle, of uncertain authorship, beginning with an Arabic exordium and continuing in Persian.

¹ I had in my letter expressed the same opinion which I advanced in *B. ii* (*loc. cit.*), viz. that the Báb wrote it *before* the Manifestation.

Begins :

هو الباقى الفرد الرفيع
سبحان الذى يسجد له كل من فى السموات و الارض و كل اليه
يرجعون سبح الله كل من فى الوجود من الغيب و الشهود و كل
اليه يقبلون بيده الامر و الخلق يخلق ما يشاء بامرہ لا اله الا هو
العزیز القيوم

The Persian part begins on f. 47^b, l. 1, as follows :

ان يا اخى شنیده ام که قبل از این حضرات بعوضات الشرك
در غیاب این عبد حرفها میگویند و اسنادها میدهند که نسبت
دون حق باشد قل یا بعوضات الشرك قد جائکم الفنا عن شطر الله
المهمین القيوم ان اختر الفرار على الفرار تالله المحق قد ظهر جمال
الموعود و استوى فى عرش قدس منیر

Ends :

از خداوند طلب نمائید که در ظل فنا راجع نشوید شاید در
ظل شجره بقا مستظل شوید که این است ثمره وجود انسانی که
در ظلال سدره ربانی مستقر شود نه اینکه تابع بریه هوا شود که
شان ایشان بجز فنا و ضلالت نبوده و نیست اللهم فافرق بیننا
و بینهم الی ایام بقائک * تم *

This Epistle appears from internal evidence to have been written by one of those who claimed to manifest God, but whether by the Báb or Behá I cannot confidently decide, though it seems more probable that the latter was its author. In this case the "brother" addressed is probably Şubḥ-i-Ezel.

Ff. 52^a-53^a blank.

Ff. 53^b-89^b. The *Laḥ-i-Naṣṭr* (لوح نصیر). See B. ii, pp. 949-953, and 1004. The Bábís of Kirmán

informed me that this document was composed by Behá at Adrianople, and that in it he first formulated his claim. It appears that my copy of this important epistle is not, as I formerly supposed, unique in Europe, for I have learned from Baron Rosen that another copy exists at St. Petersburg.

Ff. 90^a-92^a blank.

Ff. 92^b-160^b. The "Seven proofs" (دلائل سبعة). See *B. ii*, pp. 912-918 and pp. 1001-2.

About this work also I questioned Şubḥ-i-Ezel in the letter alluded to in connection with the *Ziyarat-námé*. His reply (contained in the letter of October 1st from which I have already quoted) ran as follows :

دلائل سبعة از حضرت نقطه است هرگاه مداخله در آن نباشد
و در ایجا نسخه آن نیست و چنانچه مرقوم فرموده اند در جبل
میم صادر شده است و بیشتر کتابها در چند سال حبس در ماکو
و جهریق نازل شده است ما بقی در شیراز و اصفهان غیر از آنچه
در سبیل حج و غیره صادر شده است *

"The *Seven Proofs* is by His Holiness the Point [*i.e.* the Báb], if it has not suffered interpolation.¹ There is no copy of it here. It was composed, as you say, in the Mountain of Mím [Mákú]. Most of the [Báb's] books were revealed during the few years of his imprisonment in Mákú and Chihrík. The rest were composed in Shíráz and Isfahán, save such as [he wrote] during the pilgrimage-journey, etc." I took with me to Cyprus a copy of the "Seven Proofs," and submitted it to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, who kept it by him for several days, transcribed it for himself, and returned my copy to me with a few corrections, declaring it to be the genuine work of the Báb. He

¹ *So.* at the hands of the followers of Behá. Şubḥ-i-Ezel often complained that the Behá'ís had tampered with the Báb's writings to give colour to their own doctrines and views, and was always careful to guard himself by this or some similar expression from giving an unqualified guarantee to any book which he had not himself seen.

added that it was written by the Báb for his amanuensis, Áká Seyyid Huseyn of Yezd.

Ff. 161^a-164^a blank.

Ff. 164^b-192^b. The *masnavi* poem attributed to *Kurratu'l-'Ayn*, briefly described in *B. ii*, p. 1002.

Ff. 193^a-196^a blank.

Ff. 196^b-213^a. Other Bábí poems, as follows :

Ff. 196^b-197^a. The *ghazal* attributed to *Kurratu'l-'Ayn* which I have published with a translation at pp. 314-316 of vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

Ff. 197^b-198^a. The poem of which Baron Rosen quotes the first *beyt* at the bottom of p. 251 of *Coll. Sc. vi*. The text here given (consisting of only 11 *beyts*), together with an English translation, will be found in the Appendix to *B. iii* (pp. 323-5 *supra*).

Ff. 198^a-199^b. Another poem of 18 couplets in the same rhyme and metre as the last, beginning :

هو المصوب

هله ای گروه عمائیان بکشید هلهله
که جمال دلبر هائیان شده فاش و ظاهر و بر ملا

and ending :

زغم توای مه مهربان ز فراق ت ای شه دلبران
شده روح و هیكل [و] جسم [و] جان متخفقا متاخلا

Ff. 200^a-213^a. A poem, or group of poems, of the nature of a *tarkib-band* and *tarji'-band* combined, the refrain being constant in some parts of the poem and varying in others. The words are very wild, and the phraseology and allusions very obscure. I subjoin a few typical verses taken from different parts of the piece.

هو المعبود

طیر قدم طیار شد نار صمد شرار¹ شد
سدر بقا نثار شد ماه هویت جار شد

¹ شهرار. MS.

از نقطهٔ ابداع با

از نقطهٔ ابداع با

بحر صفا هیاج شد طغح منا و لاج شد

موج لقا ارتاج شد رشح ضیا بلاج شد

از نفعهٔ صافور با

از نفعهٔ صافور با

* * * * *

شمسات حق شق آمده یعنی که چه یعنی که چه

طلعات عز صعق آمده یعنی که چه یعنی که چه

طیر معلق آمده یعنی که چه یعنی که چه

زلفی محلق آمده یعنی که چه یعنی که چه

از جانب درای با

از جانب درای با

ها فآنشقوا عطراتها مسکاتها اریاحها

اطیابها انفاخها فیما یهب انفاسها

محبوبهٔ مجذوب با

محبوبهٔ مجذوب با

* * * * *

خود آمد این خود آمد این این طفل ها این طفل ها

در قطب ها در قطب ها ها اهل ها ها اهل ها

ها اهل ها ها اهل ها

این جذبهٔ بستان (?) با این غنچهٔ بستان با

سر حلقهٔ مستان با این خیل هندستان با

* * * * *

BBP. 8.

بیان فارسی

Ff. 114 (ff. 1^a, 114^a, and 114^b blank), 21·5 × 11 centimetres, in oblong form, like a pocket-book. Written in bluish ink, in an unformed and ungraceful *nīm-shikasté* hand. The lines of writing, which run parallel to the back and shorter side of the book, are unevenly distributed, and vary from 21 to 30 per page. Headings of chapters are written in red. Given to me, after much urgent entreaty, in Rafsinján, near Kirmán, on August 22nd, 1888.

The Persian Beyán is a work of such capital importance that I have had occasion to allude to it and quote from it repeatedly both in *B. i* and *B. ii*, and in vol. ii of the *Traveller's Narrative*. The contents have been fully stated by Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc. iii*, pp. 1–32). See also *B. ii*, pp. 918–933 and 1001–1002, and p. 259, n. 1, *supra*. The present MS. ends with the following abominably ungrammatical colophon:—

ند تمت الكلام من لسان العبد ملك العلام على يد هذا الغلام
للجناب الملاذ النحوص و العوام عمدة الخوانين العظام زبدة المشاهير
الكرام ذى الشوكة والاحتشام ذى العظمة والاحترام *

On the blank leaf at the end of the MS. (f. 114^a) are sundry notes with dates, recording, as it would appear, the times when its owner's children were born. The first entry is dated Muḥarram 22nd A.H. 1282 (June 17th, A.D. 1865), so that we may fairly assume that the MS. was transcribed before that date. There are five entries in all, the last a most extraordinary one. They are as follows:

(1) تولد كربلائى اصغر ولد كربلائى محمد جعفر موتاب (؟) شب

شنبه ۲۲ شهر محرم الحرام چهار ساعت از سر شب

۱۲۸۲
گذشته سنه

- (2) تولد کوكبه طييه ساعت طلوع شمس ۱۳ شهر ربيع المولود سنه ۱۲۹۱
 (3) تولد فاطمه طاهره جمعه ۲۰ شهر ذالْحججه (sic) سنه ۱۲۹۱
 (4) تولد ربابه مطهره يكشنبه ۴ شهر ربيع المولود سنه ۱۳۰۰
 (5) بسم الله العزيز العدم (sic! perhaps العلام is meant) تولد
 نور چشم معظم وولى المكرم من يظهرة الله در زوال ظهر
 يوم السبت ۱۶ شهر ربيع الثانى سنه ۱۳۰۵

CLASS II. MSS. OBTAINED FROM ŞUBĤ-I-EZEL.

BBF. 1.

من آثار البيان (مناجات).

Ff. 238 (ff. 1^a-2^a and 237^a-238^b blank), 17.75 × 10.75 centimetres, 10 lines to the page. Written in a peculiar *ta'lik* much used by Şubĥ-i-Ezel for the transcription of the sacred books.

This MS. accompanied the first letter (despatched on July 29th and received on Aug. 15th, 1889) which I received from Şubĥ-i-Ezel. In the letter he wrote as follows :

کلماتیکه از آثار بیان خواسته بودند نظر بآنکه این منزوی را بعضی از مردمان غارت نموده بودند بیشتر از الواح و کتب را از میان روده بودند آنچه میسر شده بود کتابی مشتمل بر بیست جزو ایفاد محضر عالی نموده من بعد هم بعضی از کتب که مهیا شود سواد آن را خدمت ذی جود عالی خواهم فرستاد هرگاه این زمان زمانی بود که این منزوی در عراق عرب ساکن بود ارسال کتابهای بسیار میسر بود لیکن چه سود اکثری بدست جهال رفت و غارت نمودند درین بلد قلیلی باقی مانده بود آنهم بصعوبت

حمل شد نظر بکمی دوست بدین سبب بیشتر کتابهایی که فواید
آن بسیار بود بدست نماند جز اندکی از بسیار *

“As regards the words comprised in the writings of the Beyán for which you asked, inasmuch as certain persons did plunder this recluse, and steal away most of the Epistles and Books, all that is [at this moment] available, [namely] a book of twenty folios, I [herewith] forward to you. Hereafter I will send you copies of such books as are accessible. Were it now the time when this recluse dwelt in ‘Irāk-i-‘Arab [*i.e.* Baghdad], many books could have been sent; but what avails it [now]? Most of them have passed into the hands of ignorant men, and these have pillaged them. [Only] a few remain in this land, and even these were conveyed [hither] with difficulty, because of the fewness of [my] friends. For this reason most of those books, whereof the worth was great, are no longer in my hands, save only a small fraction.”

In answering this letter I enquired further as to the name and nature of this book, and in Şubḥ-i-Ezel’s second letter, despatched from Famagusta on Oct. 1st, 1889, received reply as follows :

کتابیکه ارسال نزد محضر عالی شده از آثار بیان و منسوب
حضرت نقطه و بیشتر آن مناجات با بر آورنده حاجات است
کرا قدرت بر این نوع کلام آنچه از قبل نازل شده هر یک با سمی
مذکور لیکن در اواخر ایام تمام را بیک نام و همدر بیان نامیده
اند و فراوان را در نوزده جلد امر فرموده اند چنانچه شرح آن در
بیان فارسی مندرج است لیکن در بیان شئون مختلفه مشهود است
شان اول چون کتب سابقه است و ثانی بر سبیل مناجات
و دعوات و ثالث شأن خطب که در آن فصاحت و بلاغت ملحوظ
داشته اند و رابع شئون علمیّه و تفاسیر و اجوبات سائلین و خامس
بلسان فارسی که نفس شئون مذکوره است *

“The book which was sent to you is [part] of the writings of the Beyán and belongs to His Holiness the Point [*i.e.* the Báb]. It consists for the most part of prayers to the Fulfiller of needs. Who [else] is able to produce such words? What was revealed at first was called each book by a different name, but during the later period [of the Báb's life] all received one title and was called ‘*Beyán.*’ And much [of this] he [*i.e.* the Báb] directed to be arranged in nineteen volumes, as is fully explained in the *Persian Beyán.*¹ But² in the Beyán different grades [or styles] are apparent. The *first grade* resembles previous [revealed] books³; the *second* is of the nature of supplications and prayers; the *third* is [in] the style of exhortations, wherein he [*i.e.* the Báb] had regard to clearness and eloquence; the *fourth* [consists of] scientific treatises, commentaries, and answers to enquirers; and the *fifth*, which is [substantially] identical with the preceding styles, is in the Persian language.” I have already pointed out in another place (*T.N.* ii, p. 346) how fully Subh-i-Ezel's account of the Báb's writings and the meaning of the term ‘*Beyán*’ accords with Gobineau's (*Rel. et Phil.*, p. 311).

This present work, then, contains a collection of Prayers belonging to the “second grade” of the Beyán, using this term in its wider signification as connoting all the Báb's later writings. Owing to the number of these prayers, and the limited space at my disposal, I can only give the opening words of each.

هو العطف الرحيم الرؤف الكريم طراز جوهر (No. 1, on f. 2^b)
 مجرد كافور سانج عال ازل الذي طرز من استطرز
 طرائر تطريز طرازات اطراز طراز الذي لاح واشرق
 ثم اضاءه و ابرق ثم افار ولمع و لئلا من طراز الذي
 بهج و لجلج ثم تقدس و تكرم الح

¹ See *Persian Beyán*, Vahid vi, ch. i, and *T.N.* vol. ii, pp. 344-346.

² Translated at pp. 343-4 of *T.N.* ii.

³ *i.e.* the *Kur'án*.

(No. 2, on f. 4^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم لك الحمد لا اله الا هو سامع الدعاء ودايم العطاء وواسع الآلا و مالك الاسماء الخ

(No. 3, on f. 5^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سبحانك اللهم و بحمدك اشهدك حينئذ بتوحيدي اياك و اقراري بازليتك و ايقاني بوحدانيتك بجوهر كافر ذاتيتي و مجرد ظهور كينونيتي الخ

(No. 4, on f. 21^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم سبحانك اللهم كيف اذكرك بذكرى اياك او لاسبحنك بتسبيحي اياك الخ

(No. 5, on f. 26^a) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولو العلم قائما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم الخ

(No. 6, on f. 27^b) دعاء لحرور بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك انت فاطر السموات و الارض و ما بينهما و مقدرهما و مصورها و مبدعها و منشئها لم تنزل كنت الها واحدا احدا فردا صمدا حيا قيوما الخ

(No. 7, on f. 57^a) سبحانك اللهم لاشهدنك و كلشقي على انك انت الله لا اله الا انت و حدك لا شريك لك لك الملك و لك الحمد يحيى و تميت ثم تميت و يحيى و انك انت حي لا تموت الخ

(No. 8, on f. 60^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى لم تنزل كنت منفردا فى ملك القدس الخ

- (No. 9, on f. 63^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
انك انت لم تزل كآتنا قبل كلشى آخ
- (No. 10, on f. 66^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم ابتدئ
بفآتك باسمك اللهم ربنا الرحمن آخ
- (No. 11, on f. 68^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك
انت فاطر السموات و الارض آخ
- (No. 12, on f. 71^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك
انت ممسك السموات و الارض آخ
- (No. 13, on f. 74^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم اشهدك
و كلشى على انك انت الله لا اله الا انت
و حكك لا شريك لك لك الخلق و لك الامر
محشى و نमित و انك انت حي لا تموت آخ
- (No. 14, on f. 76^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك
انت فاطر السموات و الارض عالم الغيب و
الشهادة آخ
- (No. 15, on f. 79^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك
انت خالق السموات و الارض و ما بينهما آخ
- (No. 16, on f. 81^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم قد تعالت
كبريتك من ان امسكتها باعلي طير الجهوريات
و تقدست ذاتيتك من ان احمدنها باعلي
شوايح العجريات آخ
- (No. 17, on f. 83^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بسم الله الامنع الاقدس
سبحانك اللهم يا الهى انك انت لم تزل كنت
الها واحدا فردا ممدا حيا قيوما آخ

(No. 18, on f. 86^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بسم الله الامنع الاقدس

سبحانك اللهم انك انت فاطر السموات و

الارض وما بينهما عالم الغيب والشهادة الخ

(No. 19, on f. 88^b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اللهم انى استلک

باسمک يا الله يا رحمن يا رحيم يا رب الخ

(No. 20, on f. 91^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انک

انت فاطر السموات والارض عالم الغيب والشهادة

لن يغرب من علمک من شى لافى السموات ولا

فى الارض ولا ما بينهما الخ

(No. 21, on f. 93^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانک اللهم لاشهدنک

بجوهر کينونيتى وساذج ذاتيتى ومجرد نفسانيتى

وکافور انيتى بانک انت الله لا اله الا انت

وحدک الخ

(No. 22, on f. 95^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانک اللهم انک

انت فاطر السموات والارض عالم الغيب و

الشهادة لن يغرب من علمک من شى الخ

(No. 23, on f. 97^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانک اللهم يا الهى

وربى ومحبوبى ومقصودى الخ

(No. 24, on f. 99^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانک اللهم يا الهى

انک انت فاطر السموات والارض الخ

(No. 25, on f. 101^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانک اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنک وكلشى على انک انت الله لا اله الا

انت وحدک الخ

(No.26, on f.102^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانه اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك وكلشى الخ

(No.27, on f.104^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس انما البهائم من الله الذى

لا اله الا هو على فوادك و فواد من فى فوادك

وعلى روحك وروح من فى روحك الخ

(No.28, on f.110^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانه اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك وكل شى فى هذه الليلة ليلة الجمعة

التي تنظر فيها الى داعيك فى البيان الخ

(No.29, on f.114^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس و اذا كنت ليلة الجمعة

او يومها بين يدي نقطة البيان او احد من مظاهر

الحى طيب نفسك عن كل ما يكرهه فوادك الخ

(No.30, on f.121^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم صل على ذات

حروف السبع ثم حروف الاولى بالملك و

الملكوت الخ

(No.31, on f.124^a) بسم الله الارضى الارضى سبحانه اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك وكل شى على انك انت الله الخ

(No.32, on f.129^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانه اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك وكل شى على انك انت لا اله الا

انت وحدك لا شريك لك الخ

(No.33, on f.132^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك

بابديتك التى انها هى مرتفعة فوق كل شى ان

توجدن شجرة الاثبات وما ينسب اليها الخ

(No.34, on f.136^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك

باخريتك التى انها هى مرتفعة فوق كل شى

ان مخذلن كل ذات الف ينسب الى شجرة
النفى الخ

(No.35, on f.140^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك
باوليتك التى انها هى ممتنعة فوق كل شى ان
تنصرون كل ذات الف ينسب الى شجرة
الاثبات الخ

(No.36, on f.144^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لا سئلك باوليتك التى انها هى مرتفعة فوق كل
شى ان تعد من شجرة النفى وما ينسب اليه الخ

(No.37, on f.148^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك وكل شى بما قد خلقت كلشى له الخ

(No.38, on f.152^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك وكل شى على ما استشهدتنى عليه
من شهادة ان لا اله الا انت وان حروف الواحد
اقرب اسمائك اليك فى كتابك الخ

(No.39, on f.156^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك يا لا
اله الا انت ببهاء لا اله الا انت ان لا اله الا انت
ان تصلين على حروف الباء بما انت عليه من
بها لا اله الا انت انك كنت ذا فضل عظيما الخ

(No.40, on f.158^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لم تنزل انك انت خالقت كل شى ورازقه و
مميته كلشى ومحبيه لم تنزل كنت انها واحدا
احدا صمدا الخ

(No.41, on f.162^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك و كل شى على انك انت لا اله الا

انت الواحد الاحد الصمد الفرد الهى الخ

(No.42, on f.166^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

هذه ليلة قد عظمتها و شرفتها و جللتها و جعلتها

و قدستها بما قد نسبتها الى نفسك و اطلعت

فيها آية التى تدل على انه ليلة بديعة من شهر

بديع الخ

(No.43, on f.171^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس يا من يقبل من يقبله

نقطة البيان الخ

(No.44, on f.174^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك ببياء

ضياء علاه رضاء ربوبيتك الخ

(No.45, on f.178^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك بك

لا شى عندك عدلك و لا كفوك الخ

(No.46, on f.180^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك و كلشى فى هذه الليلة الخ

(No.47, on f.185^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك

بازليتك التى انها هى مرتفعة فوق كلشى ان

تبدلن كينونية كل ذات الف ينسب الى شجرة

النار بالنور الخ

(No.48, on f.189^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك

بالوهيتك التى انها هى ممتنعة فوق كل شى

ان محفظن و تغنين كل ذات الف ينسب الى

شجرة الانباء الخ

(No.49, on f.194^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس فاذا اردت زيارة النقطة
او احد من حروف الهى فلتلطفن نفسك حق
التلطيف بحيث لو يحط علمك بان فى جسدك
شعرا زايدا لا ينبغي لك حينئذ و لتلبس اطهر
لباسك الخ

(No.50, on f.201^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك
باسمك يا آله يا رب يا رحمن يا منيع الخ

(No.51, on f.201^b) بسمك اللهم ربنا الرحمن اللهم صل على ذات
حروف السبع ثم حروف الحق من عندك وانزل
اللهم حينئذ ليلة الجمعة على شجرة وحدانيتك
كافور اصلها و سادج فرعها و جوهر اغصانها و مجرد
اوراقها الخ

In the middle of this prayer, at the bottom of f. 202^b, occurs a form of "Visitation" for believers presenting themselves before "the First who believed" or "the Letter Sin," by which terms Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh appears to be designated. It is entitled بالله آمن من آمنت اول من آمن بالله and begins :

وان كنت مثل تلك الليلة عند شجرة البهآء
فلتدخلن بين يدى شجرة السنين و قل ان من
ظهور الله اظهرة و من بطون الله ابطنه و من جلال
الله اجله الخ

(No.52, on f.203^b) من عنده انه هو المهيمن القيوم بسم الله الامنع
الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى لاشهدنك و كل
شى على انك انت الله الخ

In the course of this piece also occurs, on f. 209^a, a form of " Visitation," which begins :

وان كنت مثل ذلك اليوم عند شجرة السين
او احد من حروف الهى فلتلبس اعلى بها مما
قد اتاك الله ولتدخلن باذن الله على محال
امرء ثم لتقولن بين يدى الله ان استدركت او
بين يدى حروف الهى ان استدركت انما البها
الابهى والجلال الاجل الخ

(No.53,on f.213^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس لتصلين اللهم رب على

شجرة وحدانيتك و لتزلن اللهم عليها ما ينبغي
لعلو جودك ومليك عز صمدانيتك الخ

(No.54,on f.214^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم انك

انت لم تزل كنت الها واحدا احدا صمدا الخ

(No.55,on f.219^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم لاشهدك

وكل شئ على انك انت الله الخ

(No.56,on f.223^a) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

اسئلك من اسمائك باعظما الخ

(No.57,on f.225^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى

لسئلك من الوهيتك باعظما الخ

(No.58,on f.229^b) بسم الله الامنع الاقدس اللهم انى اسئلك من

ابديتك بتابها و كل ابديتك متابدة عندك

ثم فى ام الكتاب اللهم انى اسئلك بابديتك

كلها الخ

(No.59, on f.233^a) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ اَلْمُنْعِ اَلْقُدْسِ اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنِّىْ اَسْئَلُكَ مِنْ
 الوهيتك باعظمتها الخ

(Colophon, on f.236^b) يوم الثانى من شهر الاول من السنة ٣٠

BBF. 2.

شئون خمسة

Ff. 200 (ff. 1^a-2^a, 46^b, 199^a-200^b blank), 20.5 × 12.75 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's clear and legible *naskh* hand.

This MS. accompanied Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's second letter to me (despatched from Famagusta on October 1st, received on October 11th, 1889). It contains specimens of each of the "five grades" or "styles" into which the Bāb divided his writings, and is consequently partly in Persian. The nature of these "five grades" has been already explained at p. 453 *supra*. Concerning this MS. Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel wrote in the aforementioned letter as follows:

و آنچه در این نوبت ابلاغ محضر عالی شده از شئونات خمسة است که هر چند ورق بشأنی است و این کتاب از حضرت نقطه است مداخله بعضی در آن نیست مگر آنچه از قلم کتاب خارج شده باشد اگرچه حقیر نسخه سابق و این نسخه را خود نوشته ام لیکن شاید تصویری در وضع ترتیب آن شده زیرا که نسخه اصل موجود نیست ولی از خارجین مداخله ندارد چنانچه در بعضی موارد بعضی مداخله نموده و تغییرات حاصل است اما آنچه از این عبد مفتقر است انشاء الله تغییری در آن نبوده.

"What is sent to you this time is of the 'Five Grades,' whereof each few [successive] pages are in a different style. This book is by His Holiness the Point [i.e. the

Báb]. There has been no tampering with it on the part of certain persons, save in so far as may have resulted from slips of the pen. For though I myself copied out the previous manuscript and this one, still it may be that there has chanced some defect in the manner of its arrangement, the original copy not being available. But [at least] it has not been tampered with by outsiders, as certain persons have tampered with some passages, whereby textual corruptions have arisen. Please God there has been no interpolation in what this humble servant [of God] has written." To the first piece (on f. 2^b) is prefixed the title بيان.

The contents of the MS., stated as briefly as possible, are as follows :

(No. 1, on f. 2^b) بسم الله الاله اننى انا الله لا اله الا انا الاله

بسم الله الاله الاله باله الله الاله بسم الله المؤله
المؤله الخ

(No. 2, on f. 7^b) بسم الله الاله سبحانه اللهم يا الهى

لاشهدنك في تلك الساعة من هذه الليلة التى
قد شرفتها وعظمتها وجللتها وجملتها الخ

(No. 3, on f. 12^b) بسم الله الاله الاله بسم الله الرفع¹ الحمد

لله الذى قد تجلى على كل الممكنات بارتفاع
امتناع ازليته واسترفع فوق كل الموجودات
باستقلال استجلال عظمته الخ

(No. 4, on f. 17^b) بسم الله الاله اننى انا الله لا اله الا انا الاله

الاله وانما البهائم على من يظهره الله ثم اداته نفسه
لا يزال في عز الازل وبعد فاشهد ان الله سبحانه لم
يزل كان غيبا ممتنعا مرتفعا الخ

¹ MS. الرفع, which is doubtless a mere slip.

(No. 11, on f. 49^b) كتاب الفآء يا طاهر بسم الله الابهى الابهى بالله
البهى البهى الخ

(Part of this piece will be found on pp. 318-319 of T.N. ii. What is here the third clause is there placed over the line immediately under the title. Thus it is written; but a fresh examination of it convinces me that it is intended as an insertion, as here placed.)

(No. 12, on f. 54^b) بسم الله الابهى الابهى سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك و كل شى على انك انت الله لا اله
الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك الخ

(No. 13, on f. 59^b) بسم الله الابهى الابهى الحمد لله الذى قد اطرز
ذاتيات الحمديات باطرار طرز طراز طرازته
واشرق كينونيات الذاتيات باشرق شوارق شرق
شراقته الخ

(No. 14, on f. 65^a) بسم الله الابهى الابهى الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا
هو الابهى الابهى واما البهآء من الله على من
يظهره الله ثم ادلاء نفسه فى الاخرة و الاولى و يعد
فاشهد ان الله سبحانه لا يوصف بوصف خلقه
ولا ينعت بنعت عباده الخ

(No. 15, on f. 70^a) بسم الله الابهى الابهى حمد و سپاس بى قياس
ذات محبوب لم يزلى را سزا است كه لم يزل
باستقلال استجلال ذات مقدس خود بوده و لا
يزال باسترفاع امتناع ذات مقدس خود خواهد
بود نشناخته اورا هيچ شى حق شناختن الخ



(No. 16, on f. 75^b) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل بالله الله الجمل الجمل
بسم الله الجمل ذى الجمالين بسم الله الجمل
ذى الجملاء بسم الله المُجمل المُجمل الخ

(No. 17, on f. 81^a) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل سبحانه اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك وكل شى على انك انت الله لا اله
الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك لك الملك
والملكوت ولك العز والمجبروت ولك القدرة
واللاهوت ولك القوة والياقوت الخ

(No. 18, on f. 85^b) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل الحمد لله الذى قد
استعلى بعلوه فوق كل الممكنات واسترفع بارتفاعه
فوق كل الموجودات واستمنع بامتناعه فوق كل
الكائنات واستقهر باقتهاره فوق من فى ملكوت
الارض والسماوات الخ

(No. 19, on f. 90^a) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل الحمد لله الذى لا اله
الا هو الاجمل الاجمل وانما البهائم من الله على
الواحد الاول ومن يشابه ذلك الواحد حيث لا
يرى فيه الا الواحد الاول الخ

(No. 20, on f. 96^b) بسم الله الاجمل الاجمل تسبيح وتقديس ذات
محبوب لم يزلى را سزاوار بوده وهست كه لم يزل
باستجلال استقلال ذات مقدس خود بوده ولا
يزال باستمناع استرفاع كنه مقدس خود خواهد
بود نشناخته اورا هيچ شى حق شناختن الخ

(No. 21, on f. 102^b) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم بسم الله القوم القوم بالله
الله القوم القوم الله لا اله الا هو الاقوم الاقوم الله

لا اله الا هو القوم القوم الله لا اله الا هو المؤمنون
المتقون الخ

(No.22,on f.107^b) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
لاشهدنك وكل شى على انك انت الله لا اله
الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك لك الملك
و الملكوت ولك العز والجبروت ولك القدرة
واللاهوت ولك القوة والياقوت الخ

(No.23,on f.112^a) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم الحمد لله الذى قد اشرق
من صبح الازل على هياكل الموجودات بظهورات
عزفدانيتها و اضاء على كل الممكنات بشوارق
مجد صمدانيتها الخ

(No.24,on f.117^a) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا هو
الاقوم الاقوم وانما البهاء على من يظهره الله ثم
ادلانه لم يزل ولا يزال¹ وبعد فاشهد ان الله سبحانه
لم يزل كان غيبا ممتنعا مرتفعا مبهميا مجتملا
مجتملا موحدًا موحدًا مستمدا مفتردا ولا يزال
ليكونن مثل ما قد كان الخ

(No.25,on f.121^b) بسم الله الاقوم الاقوم ترفيع وتمنيح بساط قدس
حى قيوهمى را سزاوار بوده وهست كه لم يزل
بارتفاع امتناع ذات مقدس خود بوده ولا يزال
باستجلال استقلال كنه مقدس خود خواهد
بود الخ

¹ MS. يزل, but this appears to be a mistake.

(No.26, on f.126^a) بسم الله الأجد الأجد بالله الله الاحد الاحد الله
 لا اله الا هو الأجد الأجد الله لا اله الا هو الأجد
 الاحد الله لا اله الا هو المؤتحد المؤتحد الخ

(No.27, on f.131^a) بسم الله الأجد الأجد سبحانك اللهم يا الهى
 لاشهدنك وكل شئ على انك انت الله لا اله
 الا انت وحدك لا شريك لك لم تنزل كنت
 لها واحدا احدا صمدا فردا حيا قيوما سلطانا
 مهيمنا قدوسا دائما الخ

(No.28, on f.136^a) بسم الله الأجد الأجد شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو
 المنفرد في عز الازال والمتوحد في سلطان القدس
 والجلل والمتأحد في ملك العز والجمال الخ

(No.29, on f.141^a) بسم الله الأجد الأجد وانما البهائم من الله على
 من يظهره الله جل وعلا قدرة وارتفع وامتنع
 ذكرة من اول الاول الى اخر منتهى ظهور صبح الازل
 ثم على ادلائه في بهائم الجلل وضياء الجمال الخ

(No.30, on f.146^a) بسم الله الأجد الأجد تسبيح وتقديس بساط
 قدس حى قيومى را سزاوار بوده وهست كه لم
 يزل الخ

(No.31, on f.151^a) بسم الله الاجلل الاجلل بالله الله الجلل الجلل
 الله لا اله الا هو الاجلل الاجلل الله لا اله الا هو
 الجلل الجلل الله لا اله الا هو المجتلل المجتلل الخ

(No.32, on f.156^a) بسم الله الاجلل الاجلل سبحانك يا الهى لاشهدنك
 وكل شئ على انك انت الله لا اله الا انت
 وحدك الخ

(No.33,onf.161^b) بسم الله الاجل الاجل الحمد لله الذى قد تجلى
على كل الممكنات بظهورات عز لاهوتيته وتعزف
كل الموجودات كينونيته بايات عز جبروتيته الخ
(No.34,onf.166^a) بسم الله الاجل الاجل الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا
هو الاجل الاجل و انما اليه من الله على من
يظهره الله لم يزل ثم على ادلائه بالقدس الجلل
وبعد فاشهد الخ

(No.35,onf.170^b) بسم الله الاجل الاجل تسبيح وتقديس ذات
محبوب لم يزل را سزاوار بوده وهست الخ
(No.36,onf.175^a) بسم الله الانور بسم الله النور ذى النوارين
بسم الله النور ذى النوراء بسم الله النور ذى الانوار
بسم الله النور ذى النوار الخ

(No.37,onf.181^a) بسم الله الانور سبحانك اللهم لاشهدنك
وكلشئ بانك انت نور السموات والارض وما
بينهما ونوار من فى ملكوت الامر والخلق وما
دونهما الخ

(No.38,onf.184^b) بسم الله الانور الانور الحمد لله الذى قد استرفع
بسلطان قدس نواريته واسترفع به على كل
الممكنات الخ

(No.39,onf.189^a) بسم الله الانور الحمد لله الذى لا اله الا هو
الانور الانور و انما اليه على كل عرش ظهور حيث
لا اول لاوليته ولا آخر لآخريته الخ

(No.40,onf.194^a) بسم الله الانور الانور تسبيح وتقديس ذات
محبوب لم يزل را سزاوار بوده وهست الخ

(No.41, on f.198^a) شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو العزيز المحبوب هو هو
 الاكبر بسم الله المنع الاقدس شهد الله انه لا اله الا
 هو له الخلق و الامر يحيى ويميت ثم يميت
 ويحيى و انه هو حى لا يموت الخ

Excluding the last of these pieces, which appears to form a kind of appendix or peroration to the rest, it will be observed that the remaining forty fall into groups of five, each group beginning with the same formula. Thus the first five begin with the formula *بسم الله الاله الاله*, the second with *بسم الله الواحد الاوحد*, etc. We may fairly assume that within each group the first piece represents what the Báb calls the "first grade" or "style" of his writings, the second piece the second grade, and so on. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the last piece in each group of five is in Persian, and therefore corresponds to the Báb's "fifth grade" (see p. 453 *supra*). Of the majority of these pieces it must be frankly confessed that they are not only untranslatable, but almost unreadable, consisting merely of endless permutations (often etymologically and grammatically impossible) of the different "Names" of God.

BBF. 3.

من آثار البيان

Ff. 200 (ff. 1^a-2^a, 199^b-200^b blank), 20.5 x 13 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in Şubḥ-i-Ezel's clear and legible *nashḥ* hand.

This MS. accompanied Şubḥ-i-Ezel's third letter to me (despatched from Famagusta on Dec. 3rd, 1889, received on Dec. 18th, 1889). It contains selections from the Báb's writings of almost every variety; prayers; forms of visitation; letters to Şubḥ-i-Ezel and other believers; extracts from the Commentary on the *Súra-i-Yúsus*, etc. Concern-

ing this MS. Subḥ-i-Ezel wrote very briefly. Alluding to the visit which, as I informed him, I had paid to Sheykh Ṭabarsí, he said :

در طبرسی که وارد شده اند چنان است که همه جا رسیده اند
زیارتی که مخصوص از جهة آمجاست در این کتاب که این نوبت
میرسد مسطوراست ملاحظه فرمایند.

"If you have visited Ṭabarsí it is as though you had been at all [the holy] places. The form of visitation specially [appointed] for that place is contained in the book which will reach [you] this time: read it." In reply to further enquiries, Subḥ-i-Ezel said that this form of visitation was composed by the Báb himself. To this MS., as to the last, is prefixed the title بیان, evidently in that wide sense to which I have already adverted (p. 453 *supra*). As it contains a great number of pieces, I must, for the sake of brevity, confine myself to the briefest enumeration of all save the most interesting.

The first five pieces (extending from f. 2^b to f. 27^b) begin with the formula بسم الله الاقدم الاقدم, and appear to represent each of the "five grades" above described, the fifth of the group being, as usual, in Persian, and beginning in the same way as the Persian pieces already described. The first of these, containing endless permutations of the root قدم, is much the longest, extending to f. 23^b.

Next follows another similarly arranged group of five pieces (ff. 23^b-55^a), each beginning with the formula بسم الله الاقرب الاقرب. Of these again the first contains permutations of the root قرب, and the last is in Persian.

Next follows a third group of five pieces (ff. 55^a-76^a) beginning with the formula بسم الله الاحیى الاحیى, and arranged like the preceding.

The 16th piece (ff. 76^a-78^b) is preceded by the formula بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم, and begins :

الحمد لله الذى شهد لذاته بذاته بانه لا اله الا هو الحق فى ازل
الازال وانه هو كائن بمثل ما كان فيما يحدث من الازمان ولا له
تغير فى شان ولا انتقال الخ

The 17th piece (ff. 78^b-82^a) begins with the formula
بسم الله الممتنع المنيع, and proceeds:

وان هذا لكتاب من عند الله المهيمن القيوم الى من قد جعل
الله ذكر اسمه اسم نبيل قبل على ذكرا من عنده للعالمين ان يا
نبييل قبل على لم يكن لى من اول ولا اخر واننى انا كنت
ازلا قديما.

Since *Nabíl* is, as I have shewn (*B. ii*, p. 997), equivalent
to Muḥammad, it is clear that we have here an epistle
addressed to a Bábí named Muḥammad 'Alí, presumably
either to Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh (*Jenáb-i-
Kuddús*) or Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján, and probably
to the latter. For on f. 97^b we find the following words:

انا قد جعلناك من قبل فى الفرقان حجتنا على العالمين ثم قد
جعلناك فى البيان حجة من عند حجتنا فى مظاهر واحد الاول
على العالمين.

And from the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* we learn that Mullá
Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján enjoyed the title of *Jenáb-i-
Hujjat* ("the Proof" or "Authority").

The 18th piece (ff. 82^a-93^b) is another epistle addressed
by the Báb to one of his chief apostles, beginning thus:

بسم الله المقتدر المقتدر هذا كتاب من عند نقطة البيان عبدالله
وحجته للعالمين جميعا الى من قد جعل الله ذكر اسمه ذكر اسم
حجته وجعله من عند حجته حجة للعالمين جميعا قل اننى انا
اول ما قد خلقنى الله ربى وجعلنى من عنده بهيانا بهيا الخ

The following passage of this epistle (on f. 84^b), wherein the Báb asserts his identity with all previous and future prophets, is noteworthy :

وان من ظهور بديع الاول الى حينئذ قد اظهرنى الله فى كل
 ظهور باسم ما قد ظهر و كل اياى يتبعون كنت فى يوم نوح نوح
 وفى يوم ابراهيم ابراهيم وفى يوم موسى موسى وفى يوم عيسى عيسى
 وفى يوم محمد محمد وفى يوم على قبل نبيل على قبل نبيل
 ولاكون فى يوم من يظهره الله من يظهره الله وفى يوم من يظهره من
 بعد من يظهره الله من يظهره من بعد من يظهره الله وفى يوم من
 يظهر من بعد بعد من يظهره الله من يظهر من بعد بعد من يظهره الله
 وفى يوم من يظهر من بعد بعد بعد من يظهره الله من يظهر من بعد
 بعد بعد من يظهره الله وفى يوم من يظهر من بعد بعد بعد من
 يظهره الله من يظهر من بعد بعد بعد من يظهره الله الى آخر
 الذى لا آخر له مثل اول الذى لا اول له كنت فى كل ظهور حجة الله
 على العالمين هذا معنى قول حق انتم تذكرون *

The 19th piece (ff. 89^b-93^b) is entitled *وايا وصايا*, begins with the formula *بسم الله الاجود الاجود*, and consists in great part of permutations of the root *جود*. From the expression *ان يا اسم الجواد* occurring on f. 91^b it would appear to be addressed to a believer named *Jawád*, who is commanded in one passage to write to "Muḥammad in Calcutta," and to "forward this letter to him and to such as be on the sea beside him," and, in another passage at the end of the epistle, "to ascend by the way of Baṣra," if he desires "to meet God," and to "direct Muḥammad before Taḳí" [*i.e.* Muḥammad Taḳí] thither (presumably to Makú), as well as all others in whom he sees "aught of the light" [of faith].

The next piece in the collection which is of special interest is the 23rd (ff. 98^b-107^a). This is the form of prayer ordained by the Báb for the visitation of Sheykh Tabarsí and the commemoration of the martyrs who fell there, and is headed accordingly—*في زيارة الشهداء في الطبرسي*—It begins thus :

بسم الله الامنع الاقدس سبحانك اللهم يا الهى لم يكن لى قلب
اقدر ان اذكرك ولا فؤاد ان اسبحك ولا روح ان اقدسك ولا نفس
ان اوحذك وقد ذاب كلى بما قد قضيت وان لك الامر والخلق
فيما قضيت و تقضى الخ

A little further on the martyrs are thus described :

تلك افئدة ما سبحت دونك وتلك ارواح ما حمدت سواك
وتلك انفس ما وحدت غيرك وتلك اجساد ما عبدت دونك

“These were hearts which glorified none but Thee, spirits which praised none but Thee, souls which declared Thy Unity alone, bodies which did service to Thee only.”

A few lines lower curses are invoked on the persecutors as follows :

ان تعذب الذين قتلوا حججك واستكبروا على اوليائك وعبدوا
غيرك بكل عذابك ما انت مقتدر عليه في الانشاء وان تأخذهم
وما ملكت ايمانهم بما قد احاط به علمك من مقادير اخذك
ومواقع شدتك ان لا عز لمن خذلته ولا شى لمن اعدمته ولا حيات
لمن عذبتة ولا شى لمن قد عبد غيرك وغر بما اتيتة *

Two pages further on (f. 100^b) similar curses are repeated :

فالعن اللهم من قطع من شجرة محبتك ورقة او غصنا او فرعا
بكل لعن قد اخطت به علما انك انت جبار الذى لا يفوت
عن قبضتك من شى الخ

The instructions to the Bábí pilgrim who intends to visit the shrine begin on f. 102^a as follows :

و اذ اردت ان تدخل تلك الارض المقدسة فاطهر نفسك و طيب
 ما عندك على احسن ما كنت مقتدر عليه و اعلم ان هنالك اعلى
 افق العرش و منتهى ذروة الفردوس و ان الله لم يزل ناظرک و مظاهر
 نفسه مجليک الخ

The purifications to be performed and the prayers to be offered up, before setting out for the shrine, and on arriving there, are then specified in full. One of these prayers, which is to be recited on entering the inner shrine, appears to be addressed to Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who is described as "the Friend of God, whom he hath chosen unto Himself, and elected for this revelation." It is in many ways remarkable, but I must confine myself to quoting a few lines from it :

ان اعلى البهائم و ابهى الشنآء من مليک الانشآء و مقدر الاشياء
 عليك يا جوهر القران و طرز البيان و يا من قد خصك الله بما لا
 خص احد من عباده حيث قد تجلى لك بك بنفسك قبل كل
 شئ و عرفك نفسه و اشهدك على وحدانيته قبل كل شئ ثم قد
 خلق بك كل شئ و رزق بك كل شئ و امات بك كل شئ
 و احیی بك كل شئ و ابعث بك كل شئ اشهد انك
 و ان قتلت و لكنك حتى عند الله فقد انقطعت الى
 الله بكل ما عندك الى ذروة علو ما سبقك احد و لا يلحقك من
 شئ فتعالى ما قد درکت و طوبى لما قد شهدت عليه فاشهد انك
 و من قد سعد معك اولئك هم في افق الاعلى من العرش و ذروة
 الابهى من سماء الكرسي هنالك يسبحون الله بحمد ربهم ثم بذكره
 ليوحدون و ما اكبر من هذا عزا في البيان فاشهد انك

انت لم تنزل ولا تنزال كنت حيا بحياة ربك تسبحه و تحمده
 وتوحده و تكبره الى يوم ان يرجعك الله الى الحياة الاولى ان وعده
 كان مفعولا *

The 24th piece (ff. 107^a-126^a) is of considerable length, but a superficial examination of it reveals no points of special interest.

The 25th piece (ff. 126^a-126^b) appears to be addressed to Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, and is described as *از جمله وصايا*. It begins:

الله اكرم بسم الله الكرم ندى الكارمين بسم الله الكرم ندى الكرمآ
 قد تجتني ان يا اسمى فى المرأت الازلية حيث قد حكى عن الله
 ربه و دل على الله موجوده.

The remainder of the epistle, which is very short, is partly in Persian.

The 26th piece is short, and not specially noteworthy. The 27th is long (ff. 127^a-130^a), is written partly in Persian, and contains answers to sundry questions addressed in writing to the Báb.

Nos. 28-45 (ff. 130^a-141^a) are all short epistles addressed to believers who had written to the Báb. The names of these correspondents are mentioned in several cases, but their identification cannot be satisfactorily effected in a brief notice like this, and I therefore reserve them for future consideration.

The 46th piece is the document which I published and translated at pp. 996-7 of *B. ii*, wherein Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel is designated the Báb's successor.

The 52nd piece is the same as the first in *BBF. 1*, already described at p. 453 *supra*.

The 53rd piece (ff. 150^a-153^a) is the 57th chapter of *the Commentary on the Súra-i-Yûsuf* (see pp. 261-8 *supra*), containing the explanation or expansion of v. 56 of the *Súra*.

The 58th piece is an extract from the *Book of the names* (كتاب الاسما; see *T.N.* ii, pp. 202, 318, 338), to which are prefixed ordinances bearing on the arrangement of the Bábí calendar. The year is here explicitly described as consisting of 361 days (19×19), and no mention is made of the intercalary days used by the Behá'is, so that these would seem to have been introduced by Behá (cf. *T.N.* ii, pp. 419, 422-5). This preface concludes with a command that all letters shall be fully dated, according to the Bábí method, and, as a specimen, a date (seemingly that whereon this document was written) is given in full, as follows :

ولا تكتبن من كتاب الا وتكتبن فيه اسم اليوم واسم ما قضى من
عدد الشهر ثم اسم الشهر ثم اسم السنة مثل ان حينئذ يوم الاستقلال
من يوم العلم من شهر العلم من سنة الحجاب كذلك انتم في الرضوان
تسلكون *

The date thus given is "the day of *Istiklál* [Friday], the day of 'Ism [the 12th day] of the month 'Ism [the 12th month] of the year *Jáb*" [$ج+ا+ب=6$], so that the document must have been written during the last year of the Báb's life (October, 1849). For this reason, if for no other, it is interesting.

The 59th piece is a letter of instructions to Subh-i-Ezel, who therefore prefixes to it, as to some of the letters previously described, the words *از جمله و صايا باين عبد*—"Some of the behests given to this servant." It begins as follows :

بسم الله الازل الازل
هذا كتاب من عند الله المهيمن القيوم الى الله العزيز المحبوب
شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو له الخلق والامر من قبل ومن بعد يحيى
ويميت ثم يميت ويحيى وانه هو حي لا يموت في قبضته ملكوت

كل شئ يخلق ما يشاء بامرہ انه كان على كل شئ قديرا ان يا اسم
الازل فاشهد على انه لا اله الا انا العزيز المحبوب ثم اشهد على انه لا
اله الا انت المهيمن القيوم

The following passage (on f. 175^a) is important, as implying not only that the Báb regarded Şubḥ-i-Ezel as his sole vicegerent, but that he did not contemplate such a contingency as the appearance of "Him whom God shall manifest" in Şubḥ-i-Ezel's life-time :

وانكر بالحسنى الذينهم امنوا بى ثم بكلماتى لئلا يختلفون فى
امر الله و هم عن الصراط ليعبدون فان يظهر الله فى ايامك بمثلك
هذا ما يورثن الامر من عند الله الواحد الوحيد فان لم يظهر فايقن
بان الله ما اراد ان يعرف نفسه فلتفوض الامر الى الله ربكم و رب
العالمين جميعا

"Exhort to virtue those who believe in me and in my words, that they disagree not touching the Religion of God, [for then] shall they stray away from the Path. And if God cause one like unto thee to appear in thy days, then he it is to whom shall be bequeathed the authority on the part of God the Single, the One.¹ But if [such an one] appears not, know for a surety that God hath not willed to make Himself known, and render up the authority to God, your Lord, and the Lord of the words, all."

Almost immediately after this comes another passage, which is of considerable importance, as shewing that the Báb intentionally left the [Persian] Béyan incomplete, only publishing 11 of the 19 *Váhids*,² and, as stated by the Ezeli author of the *Hasht Bihišt* (see *T.N. ii*,

¹ Here, as elsewhere (*B. ii*, p. 997), *Wahid* probably stands as equivalent to *Yahyd* (i.e. Şubḥ-i-Ezel).

² This affords another instance of Count Gobineau's extraordinary accuracy in all that he states concerning the Bábí literature and doctrines. See *Religions et Philosophies*, p. 332.

p. 353), conferring on Şubḥ-i-Ezel the right of completing it if the time should be propitious. This passage is as follows :

وان ابواب البيان قد قدر على عدد كل شئ ولكننا ما اظهرناه الا
احدى وعشرواحدا لكل هيكل واحد من هياكل التسعة من قبل
العشر احدى عشر واحدا ذكر من عند الله العلى العظيم ذلك ذكر
جود والا كل لله وكل اليه ليرجعون وان اظهر الله عزا في
ايامك فاظهر منا هج الثمانية بانن الله بما كنت عليه من الاكرمين.

From a passage on f. 175^b it would appear that with this epistle were sent to Şubḥ-i-Ezel seven *Vāhids* of one of the sacred books. Of these he is instructed to keep one himself, and to distribute the other six to the "Lands of Fâ, 'Ayn, Khâ, Alif, Mîm, and Kâf" (i.e. Fârs, 'Irâk, Khurâsân, Azarbaijân, Mâzandarân, and (?) Kirmân). The particular believer in each of these provinces to whom the *vâhid* intended for that province is to be sent, is designated, but in a somewhat enigmatical manner, as follows :

وان واحد ارض الفآء يوصل الى اسم العلى وفي ارض
العين الى اسم النبيل الذى قد نصر الله بما ملكه يوم القيمة وكان
له عند الله شاننا عظيما وان فى ارض النجآء يوصل الى اسم
صداق صديق وان فى ارض الالف الى اسم عز رحيم وان فى ارض
الميم من كان هنالك من الموقنين وان فى ارض الكاف يوصل الى
اسم ربك الجواد الجاود الجويد لا يحل لاحد ان يملك الا واحدا
وكل به يفرحون وما كان من اشعار الله المهيمين التيوم مع الالواح
فاحفظها ولا تهب الا عباد الله المخلصين

In a letter written by Şubḥ-i-Ezel on March 13th, 1892, in answer to questions addressed to him by myself as to the identity of the persons to whom allusion is here made, the

following explanations (some of which refer to other documents described in this article) were given. By *Ismu'l-Anīs* (اسم الانيس, "the Name of the Intimate") Hájí Suleymán Khán, who accompanied the Báb on his pilgrimage-journey, and suffered martyrdom at Teherán in 1852, is meant. *Ismu'l-Jawád* (اسم الجواد, "the Name of the Generous") denotes Áká Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá, who died some eight years ago at Kirmán. (See *T.N.* ii, p. 342, n. 2, and pp. 443-4 *supra*.) The *Letter Sín* (حرف السين) sometimes means "*Jenáb-i-Báb*" (i.e. Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who inherited this title when his master declared himself to be the "Point"), and sometimes *Hazrat-i-Kuddús* (Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Bárfurúsh). *Ism-i-Muṣavvir* (اسم مصور, "the Name of the Limner") means the Báb himself. *Ism-i-Hujjat* (اسم حجت, "the Name of the Proof") means Mullá Muḥammad 'Alí of Zanján. (Cf. p. 472 *supra*.) *Ism-i-Šádīk* (اسم صادق, "the Name of the Faithful") means Mullá Muḥammad Šádīk, called *Muḥaddas-i-Khurásán*, "the Saint of Khurásán." *Ism-i-Raḥīm* (اسم رحيم, "the Name of the Merciful") was a Tabrizí, reports of whose death had been circulated. *Ism-i-Nabíl* (اسم نبيل, "the Name of the Noble") denotes a certain Hájí Sheykh Muḥammad of Qazvín, who died at Láhiján in Gílán during the Baghdad period. (The name *Nabíl* always stands for *Muḥammad*, with which it is numerically equivalent. Cf. *B.* ii, p. 997). By *Ismu'l-'Alí* (اسم العلى, "the Name of the High") in the Land of Fárs, Hájí Seyyid 'Alí, the Báb's maternal uncle and guardian, and one of the "Seven Martyrs," is no doubt meant.

The 60th piece (ff. 176^b-177^a) contains more "instructions" (وصايا) addressed to "the Name of the Merciful" (اسم الرحيم), who is very probably the same *Raḥīm* mentioned in the last piece. Şubḥ-i-Ezel's authority is again asserted and confirmed in the following words :

وان الامر ينتهى الى اسم الوحيد لان ظهوره بنفسه حجة و من بعده ان اظهر الله بمثله ذا حجة فينتهى اليه و الا الامر بيد الشهداء في البيان الذينهم عن حدود ما نزل في البيان لا يتجاوزون *

The 61st piece, containing the Báb's testamentary dispositions as to his burial, is translated in part in n. 1 on p. 46 of the second volume of my *Traveller's Narrative*. From the introduction of the words انيس, مونس, in the first line it would appear to be addressed to Hájí Suleymán Khán b. Yahyá Khán of Tabriz, to whom this title of *Ans* was given by the Báb. (See preceding page.) This piece, which is as short as it is interesting, I give in full.

(از جمله وصايا لاجل الدفن)

الله اكبر الله اكبر الله خير مونس و انيس تكبير بثمره ازليه
رسانيده و آنچه در هر حال سزاوار است بعون الله و قوته فرموده
باشند بقعه شاه عبد العظيم ارض نيكواست بواسطه قرب و حيد
در حفظ و الله خير الحانطين *

The 62nd piece (ff. 177^a-182^b) is a prayer for daily repetition written by the Báb, who here styles himself, according to Şubḥ-i-Ezel's explanation given on the preceding page, مظهر اسم المصور.

The 63rd piece (ff. 182^b-188^a) begins with a long doxology, which is followed by what would seem to be a form of visitation to be used by such as present themselves before (or before the grave of) "the First to believe," otherwise called "the Tree" (elsewhere "the Letter") "*Sin*," *i.e.* Mullá Ḥuseyn of Bushraweyh. This is implied in the opening words of the "visitation" (on f. 185^a), which run thus :

هذه صلوة و زيارة لاول من اجاب ربه و لمظاهر نفسه و المستشهدين

بين يديه ثم التفت الى شجرة السين وقل انما البياء الابهى والنآء
الاسنى من الله رب الاخرة والاولى عليك يا ايها الشجرة الطوبى الخ

From allusions to "afflictions" and "calamities" suffered by "the Tree" (or "Letter") "Sin" and his "branches" (*i.e.* followers, it seems probable that this is another form of visitation for Skeykh Ṭabarsí comparable to No. 23 *supra*).

The 64th piece consists for the most part of praise and prayer, but also contains a form of salutation to the Sun, similar to that whereof I gave a translation (from the *Persian Beyán*) at pp. 929-930 of *B. ii*. This form, interesting as illustrating the revival of Zoroastrian ideas by the Báb,¹ begins as follows:

ثم التفت الى الشمس وقل انما البياء الابهى والعلآء الاعلى من
ربك الله رب كل شى عليك يا ايها الشمس الطالعة والاية الازلية
والطلعة الاحدية والوجهة الالهية والقمص الوجدانية لاشهدنك وكل
شى على انه لاله الاهوربى وربك لم يزل كان الها واحدا احدا
فردا صمدا الخ

The 65th and last piece (again described by Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel as *از جمله احكام وصايا*) contains the Báb's instructions to those of his followers who shall visit the place of his martyrdom ("the place where this Tree shall be struck down"), together with the form of prayer to be used by them. I subjoin the text of the former only:

وان على محل الذى ضربت تلك الشجرة فرض على الذين هم
امنوا بالله و اياته كلهم اجمعون ان يصلوا هنالك ركعتين صلوة

¹ Gobineau says well (*Relig. et Philos.*, p. 316) in speaking of the Bábí conception of the Divine Nature:—"En un mot, soufys, guèbres sémitisés,—c'est à dire tous les guèbres depuis les Sassanides,—et avant eux l'Orient tout entier, ont confessé et chéri et cherché ce dieu-là depuis que la science a commencé dans ces contrées."

على ما قد فصلناه في الكتاب ثم يقولون و يكشفون رؤسهم و يقومون
على التراب من دون النعلين و يخرجون عن ابدانهم لباسهم حتى
لم يكن عندهم الا مثل ما هم به يكفيون و ان قبل ذلك عليهم ان
من الله ان يغتسلوا لله رب العالمين فاذا نزلوا تلك الارض و صلوا
تلك الصلوة في ذلك المقعد لم يحل عليهم ان يخرجوا من حول
تلك الارض تسعة عشر يوما يعتكفون هنالك و يسبحون الله و
يقدمونه ثم يستغفرون الله و يتوبون تلك من حدود الله قد فرضت
على الناس كلهم اجمعون و لقد كتب الله على الذينهم بعد التسعة
والعشرهم يريدون ان يخرجون ان يقولون سبحانك اللهم انك
انت فاطر السموات و الارض و ما بينهما الخ

This piece ends on f. 199^a as follows :

وان عند الله ام الكتاب به ينسخ الله ما يحكم ثم يثبت ما يريد
انه فعال لما يريد *

BBF. 4.

Writings of Jenáb-i-Kuddús. آثار قدوسيه

Writings of Şubh-i-Ezel. نغمات الروح لثالى و مجالى

Ff. *a*, *β*, and 208, (*a*¹, *a*², *β*¹, 1^a, 21^a-22^a, 102^a-106^a, 204^a-205^a, and 208^b blank), 20·5 × 12·75 centimetres, 14 lines to page in first and last parts, which are written in *naskh*, 17 in second and third parts (which are written in *nim-shikasté*, or what Şubh-i-Ezel calls *shikasté-i-hayawán*). The letter which accompanied this MS. bears the date *J(emádi-uth-)tháni* 13th [A.H. 1307=February 4th, A.D. 1890], and is bound up with the MS., of which it now forms (additional) ff. *a* and *β*. In it

Şubḥ-i-Ezel thus writes of the accompanying volume :

سه کتاب سابق که فرستاده شده بود از بیانست مداخلهٔ نفوسی در آن نیست لیکن در این نوبت نظر از آنکه از آثار بیان چیزی بدست نیامد چند جزوی از کلمات خود و دو جزو از آثار حضرت قدوس ابلاغ محضر عالی گردید تا آنکه همیشه ایام این منزوی را یاد آوری فرمایند *

"The three books previously sent are [a part] of the *Beyân*, nor have they been tampered with by any persons.¹ This time, however, since no [more] portions of the *Beyân* were at hand, a few folios of my own words and two folios of the writings of *Hazrat-i-Kuddûs*² are sent to you, that you may ever bear in mind this recluse."

The contents of the MS. are divisible into five parts :

- I. (ff. α - β , additional). Şubḥ-i-Ezel's letter, quoted above.
- II. (ff. 1^b-20^b). Writings of *Hazrat-i-Kuddûs* (six separate pieces).
- III. (ff. 22^b-101^b). *Naghamâtu'r-Rûḥ* ("Songs of the Spirit") by Şubḥ-i-Ezel, consisting of text (written in *naskh*) and commentary (in *nim-shikasté*), both in Arabic, and both composed by Şubḥ-i-Ezel. From the heading prefixed to the text (الجلد الثانی) (من نعمات الروح) it would appear that there is a first part of this work which I do not possess.
- IV. (ff. 106^b-203^b). *La'âlî u Majâlî* (لئالی و مجالی), an imitation and expansion of the well-known *Sententiae* of 'Alî ibn Abî Tâlib,³ by Şubḥ-i-Ezel.

¹ Cf. p. 447, n. 1 *supra*.

² *i.e.* Mullâ Muḥammâd 'Alî of Bârfurûsh, who suffered martyrdom at his native place in the summer of 1849 after the fall of Sheykh Ṭabarâsî. See Gobineau, *Rel. et Phil.*, pp. 230-2.

³ First published in Europe in the original Arabic, with a Persian translation, and Latin glossary and notes, by Professor Stîckel (Jena, 1834).

V. (ff. 205^b-208^b). A short piece in Arabic without title, apparently by Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, certainly not by the Báb, whose death is thus alluded to (f. 206^b):

يا اهل الكتاب اذكروا ربكم فقد جائكم ربكم و الملك حوله فقد
 حاججتم بالله من دون شئى و ادبرتم عن الحق و قتلتم نقطة الاولى
 من دون حق و تعديتم فى الامر و كنتم من الضالين و اطعتم نفس
 الطاغوت بينكم و قاتلتم الذين امنوا الى ان سفكت دماءهم على
 الارض و كنا شاهدين *

Of each of the last four parts I shall now give a brief description.

Writings of Hazrat-i-Ẓuddús (آثار قدوسيه).

(No. 1, on f. 1^b) بسمه العلى الكبير المتكبر الحمد لله الذى قد
 اقام العرش على الهوآء و اكفهر على الماء سر البقاء
 و قد رشح على النار سر الامضاء بانه لا اله الا هو و
 هو الذى لا اله الا هو و هو الشجرة القديم الحمد لله
 الذى قد احكم على السر الظهور بالظهور فى افق
 الطور بالسر المعجلل المستور بانه لا اله الا هو العلى
 لدى قديم الخ *

(No. 2, on f. 6^a) بسم الرب المتكبر العزيز القهار و انك يا الهى
 لتعلم انى لا ادعو عبادك الا للخضوع لدى باب
 رحمتك و الانابة لهم فى كل وجه لدى ظهور
 طلعتك و انك يا الهى لتعلم حكمك و تبين
 سرک و تظهر امرک فلا شك و لا ريب يا الهى ان
 الحججة لم تكن لاحد عليك و انما منك الهجة
 على الناس فلو انك قد اصطفيت اعلا من

عبادك و نزلت عليه حجة من عندك وان كان
من نذر القطمير نفيرًا الخ

(No. 3, on f. 10^b) بسم الرب الجبار المختار القهار الايا ايها الورقآء
المغنى في عمآء البهآء بديعا ان استمع الكل
نعت الاسجذاب بالسر الهوية في سطرانما لاهل
البقاء بالسر المرشح بانى انا الحق لاله الا هو في
سر الايات رفيعا فقل ان استمعوا ندائى بالسر السطر
من الشجرة الحمراء في ابجر الاحدية لاهل الوفاء
بالنار النور جميعا الخ

(No. 4, on f. 13^a) بسمه الذى لاله الا هو العلى العظيم الحمد لله
مطرز ديباجة الهويات بالاية البديعة و سكون
العماثيات بطراز النقطة المنيعة و مخترع
البهآثيات بترشح الانوار من طراز الالف الجوهريّة
و مبدع الاوراق الاشارات بظهور ورقآء السينآثية
بانه لاله الا هو العلى القديم الخ

(No. 5, on f. 17^a) بسم الرب المتعال المتكبر العزيز الفعال اللهم
يا الهى وربى و مولى و سيدى لك الحمد على
ما يجرى قضاآك بالبدآء و لك الحمد على ما
يعضى قضاآك بالورقة الحمراء و لك الحمد حمد
الهوية في ذروة الابداع و لك الحمد حمدا يفضل
على كلما في اللواح الاختراع و لك الحمد حمدا
ابدائيا و لك الحمد حمدا اختراعيا و لك الحمد
حمدا ازليا و لك الحمد حمدا هائيا و لك
الحمد في نذر العمآء الخ

(No. 6, on f. 19^a)¹ بسم الرب العزيز المتكبر القديم الحمد لله الذي
 قد خلق الكينونية الاحدية من رشح التجلى في
 الظهور وقد تلامح الكينونيات بالنور المتشعشة في
 الطور وقد اظهر الهوية الهائية في كل وجه من نقطة
 المغفور ثم الذين اشركوا بربهم يظهرهم الخ

These specimens of the style of *Hazrat-i-Kuddus*, few though they be, sufficiently show that his Arabic is even more open to the grammarian's criticism than is usually the case with Bábí writings in that language.

Naghamdtu'r-Rûh (نغمات الروح).

This, as I have already said, presents a continuous text, composed by Subh-i-Ezel, and interspersed with his own commentary, extending from f. 22^a to f. 101^b. I shall give the first few lines only of the exordium, the whole of the introductory preface, and a short specimen of the commentary and text commentated, the latter being here distinguished (for want of a separate fount of type) by overlining.

لا اله الا الله

الجلد الثانى من نغمات الروح

بسمه الباقي الملك الديموم المستعان

الحمد لله ممسك السماء بقدرته ومسكن الارض بمشيته ومرجع
 الجبال بعزته ومشهق الاكام بقوته ومجرى البحور بحكمته وخالق
 النفوس بديموميته ومطرز ديباج الذوات بهويته ومزين الواح العماء

¹ The handwriting of the MS. suddenly changes at the top of this page (i.e. for this piece and the last 7 lines of the preceding one) from *nash* to *nim-shikasté*.

بروبيته المادح نفسه بالبقآء والجلال والمقدس ذاته عما يقال
والدائم الكآئن بلا انتقال والصدد الباقي بلا زوال والكآئن الديموم
لم يزل ولا يزال الخ

أما بعد فيقول العبد الراجي الجاني الى الله القيوم والذره الاحقر
الفانى تلقآء الملك الديموم بانه لما جرى الامر المحتوم والقضاء
المبروم فسرت بعضا مما رشح من لدني في مواقع الذكر والتقرير و
شرحت ما انشدته في بعض المواقع والمواضع وقد كررت الشرح
ثانيا ولما وقع بعض الامور شاهدت في نفسي رجحا من الذل والحزن
اذا امسكت القلم عن الجريان وحينئذ لما ذكر ذكر ذلك اقرب
الاحبآء التي وافقه العلماء لدي و احب الودآء عندي و اثبت
الصدقآء في ذلك الامر اذا كررت ما شرحت و بينت ما بقى من
تبيانه في نصف الاخير و رجوت عن واداه العفو و عن مودته الصفيح
لئلا يقشع احد بعد ثبوته في الامر ولئلا تنزل اقدام بعد استقامتها
وثبتها ولا تهلك نفسا بعد ما استقرت على ملك السرآئرو البساط
والعزة المحقة ولا يزعزع من احد بعد ما استقام و ثبت في ذلك
الدين ولا تخمد نائرة شوقه ولا يكون الناس في حجاب *
فاقول و ابتدى في الشرح فبالله التكلان والاستعانة والتوفيق قوله فما
كاشف الضرآء الخ اى لا يكشف الضر الحقيقي الذى هو من سبب
الدين و ابعاد العبد عن ربه و الاحتاب عنه الا هو لما انه هو ينزل
ذلك البلاء و جميع البلايا و يدفعها و يأمن النفس عن جهات
النفسانية و يقربها اليه و هو الكاشف لكل الضرآء و انما الامور بيديه
وما لامره من مرد و هو يذهب الغم و ينفس الكرب و يكشف الضر
بظهور نفس المشية و حقيقة الباقية فاذا اسقيت نفسك من
ذلك الطمطمم التمquam و البئر الهيولى الجهنام اذا اشهد ما جلى الله

هناك في طور الامر وانظر ما ذا يجلى في الكلام و طير في جو ذلك
الهوام الخ

As will be apparent from the above extract, the commentary is very profuse, if not very clear.

Ends (on f. 101^b):

فانى كلما اجريت في تلك الكلمات من النصائح و المواعظ ما
قصدت بها نصحك بل اردت نصيحى للناس فلا تحزن في شأن و قل
الله ربي و انه لقوى حفيظ و قل هو الحق و انه لمعى يهدى و الحمد
لله رب العالمين *

٥٣٣١٦٨٥

٣١٢٥٣١١٣٧١

The cyphers at the end of the *Naghamātu'r-Rūh* are repeated at the end of the *La'ālī ū Majālī* (f. 203^a), and at the end of another MS. containing some of Şubḥ-i-Ezel's Persian writings which will be described presently. They indicate, as Şubḥ-i-Ezel informed me by word of mouth, that the writings to which they are appended are by him. Their significance, however, he was not willing to divulge to me. Probably they refer in some way to the *abjad* notation.

La'ālī ū Majālī. (لئالى و مجالى).

Of this piece also I shall give first of all the opening words of the exordium, then the short introductory preface, then a few specimens of the aphorisms or "Sententiæ," which, arranged in groups according to the position of the initial (or sometimes the final) letter in the alphabet, make up the remainder of the work.

الا الله

لا اله

لئالى و مجالى

بسم الله الكافى المنان

الحمد لله الاول حيث لا اول قبله و الاخر حيث لا اخر بعده

والظاهر حيث لا ظاهر فوقه والباطن حيث لا باطن دونه ولا شئ معه كان اولا ولا يذكر بالاولا اثل وكان اخرا ولا يعرف بالاولا آخر وكان ظاهرا ولا ينعت بالظواهر وكان باطنا ولا يوصف بالباطن الخ
 وبعد قد طلع ما ظهر وشرق و سطع من سائل مهتدى بالله و الشهير بمهتدى فقد سئل في كتابه نظيرا لما ظهر و تنظيرا لما طلع و اشتهر من امام الصدق العدل الغالب على ابن ابيطالب صلوات الله على مجليه و سلامه عليه و على الائمة من بعده ما دامت الشمس مشرقة و القمر الامر ساطع لامع فقد اجبته بما ظهر مني و يسر لي من سبل الامر ليكون ذكرا للذاكرين و شرفا للمهتدين البالغين و بالله التوفيق و الاستعانة و انه لا حول و لا قوة الا بالله *
 بسم ربي العدل المستعان استعينوا بالله تجدوا رضا الله
 استعينوا بالله تجدوا لقاء الله استعينوا بالصبر تجدوا هناك الاجر
 استعينوا بالصلوة تجدوا الخيرات

and so on for 23 similar sentences, the section ending with the words الاستعانة الاستعانة.

The second section (f. 107^b) contains thirty-one short aphorisms beginning with the word اخلصوا, as, for example:

اخلصوا العهود تجدوا العقود اخلصوا الوعد تجدوا الوجد اخلصوا
 الانوال تجدوا الانفصال الخ

The third section (ff. 107^b-109^a) consists, for the most part, of aphorisms beginning with the definite article, further arranged according to the letter in which they end, e.g.:

العلم تاج الجهل غسق ساج المعرفة سراج وهاج الرديّة ليل داج
 الايمان فلاح الايقان صلاح العرفان مجاح الخير نور
 الشر ظلام ديجور الخ

The whole work, excluding the preface, consists of 179 such sections, arranged in groups alphabetically according to the initial letter of the aphorisms. The number of sections belonging to each letter varies. Sections i-xix begin with ا; xx-xxvii with ب; xxviii-xxxiii with ت; xxxiv-xxxvii with ث; xxxviii-xli with ج; xlii-xlvi with ح; xlvii-liv with خ; liv-lv with د; lvi-lvii with ذ; lix-lxv with ر; lxvi-lxx with ز; lxxi-lxxv with س; lxxvi-lxxxii with ش; lxxxiii-lxxxvi with ص; lxxxvii-lxxxviii with ض; lxxxix-xcii with ط; xciii-xcv with ظ; xcvi-cv with ع; cvi-cviii with غ; cix-cxiii with ف; cxiv-cxvi with ق; cxvii-cxxix with ك; cxxx-cxlii and again clxviii-clxxi with ل; cxliii-cl with م; cli-clvii with ن; clviii-clxii with و; clxiii-clxvii with ه; clxxii-clxxix with ي. The work thus consists entirely of short, disconnected aphorisms, and the specimens which I have given, though few, will, I think, sufficiently indicate its general character.

The last piece contained in the MS. is separated by three blank pages (ff. 204^a-205^a) from the preceeding one, is written in *naskh*, occupies only six pages, and begins abruptly as follows:

قد ضلت الحكماء يومئذ وما عرفوا مقدار شئى ورجع الخلق
الى حده والممكن الى محدود فنائه افانتم حينئذ بايات الله لا
تذكرون واهت العرفاء يومئذ وما نعتوه وما عرفوا شيئا من
معارف ربك وما وحدوا الله حق توحيدده وهم اذا محتاجون الخ

Ends (on f. 208^a):

قد افترى على الله كذبا فكلما دعاه الى الله ربه موسى قد امتنع
عن عبادة الله واستكبر وكان من العالين وما قدر الله للذين كفروا
الا النار هي حسبهم يردونها وانهم كانوا فيها من المحضرين *

BBF. 5.

آثار ازلیه بزبان فارسی

Ff. 274 (1^a and 274^b blank), 17·75 × 10·75 centimetres,
11 lines to the page.

A collection of Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel's Persian writings, transcribed by himself in a clear, graceful, and somewhat peculiar *ta'lik* hand, and containing a number of sections or chapters of various lengths, to each of which is prefixed a doxology, but no title. The full examination and description of such a collection being necessarily a work of time, I confine myself here to giving the beginning and ending. Near the end of the MS. is a rather long and very important piece wherein Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel defines and defends his position, and enters a protest against the schism of the Behá'ís. This piece I hope to publish with a translation in a subsequent number of the *Journal*.

Begins :

الا لله

لا اله

الازلیة

آثار

هو المستعان

سپاس معری از ذکر ما کان و حمد مقدس از نعت ما یکون مر
خداوند قهار سبح متعالی را سزاست که لم یزل بحار جود و رحمت
او در النظام است و یموم عز و قدرت او در اضطرام در هر لحظه در
شئون نیست و در هر نفعه در غنون ابداع فرموده خلق هستی را و
وجود داد خلق لا وجود و نیستی را ما عرفه من شی و ما وصفه ما
خلق نشناخته او را هیچ چیز و وصف ننموده او را ما خلق زیراکه
عرفان ذات مقدس او با اقتران ممکن شود و چون اقتران در خلق
وجود لا یمکن از این سبب عرفان او بغیر از او نتوان نمود و وصف

او (f. 2^a) بجز از آیات او نتوان گفت زیرا که شناختنش بغیر ممکن نشود و عرفانش بما خلق مشهود نگردد الخ

Ends:

هرگاه واصل بآن منبع قدس شده ذات حقیقتِ او را یافته
و عارف گشته معنی کثر حقیقت و عرفان احدیت او را درک نموده
و الادرزمره هالکین مستهلک گردیده مسجوب شده نُبَحَّانُ الْاَلِه
وَتَعَالَى عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ وَ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

۵۳۲۱۶۸۵

۳۱۲۵۳۱۱۳۷۶

۱۳۲
سه

- * عشق آمد و باز نوحه بر خویش نمود *
- * خاکی تن ما ز هجر پریش نمود *
- * درسبزه جان بچشم حسرت نگریم *
- * آه از غم دل که نیش بر خویش نمود *

BBF. 6

تفسیر سورة البقرة

The Báb's Commentary on the Súratu'l-Bakara [Kur'án, II].

This and the three following MSS. (all containing works of the Báb) were not transcribed by Subh-i-Ezel, but were transmitted to me through him from Persia. The circumstances under which they were conveyed from Teherán to Cyprus and thence to me were somewhat peculiar. On July 9th, 1890, I received from Teherán a letter from an unknown correspondent belonging to the Ezeli sect of the Bábís which bore as its date "Tuesday, Shawwál 14th, A.H. 1307" (June 3rd, 1890). After a preliminary doxology, the writer proceeded to explain that, being at Famagusta

in Cyprus in the month of Zi'l-Ka'da, A.H. 1306 (July, 1889), he had been present when my first letter, asking for books and information, was handed to Şubḥ-i-Ezel, and had perused its contents; and that he had also been present when the "Governor" (*i.e.* the Commissioner of the district, Captain Young), called to see Şubḥ-i-Ezel and to converse with him through his interpreter. On leaving Cyprus to return to Persia he had been commanded by Şubḥ-i-Ezel to collect together such of the Báb's writings as he could (especially those concerning which I had more particularly enquired). On arriving at Teherán he had accordingly set to work on this task, and had succeeded in obtaining copies of (1) *The Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsuḥ*, or *Aḥsanu'l-Kiṣāṣ*; (2) *The Names of All Things* (اسماء كلشی); (3) *The Commentary on the Súratu'l-Baqara*; (4) *The Commentary on the Súratu'l-'Aşr*; (5) *The Doxology of our Lady Fátima* (تسبیح حضرت فاطمه). These books were to have been forwarded through a certain Ezelí, whose position would have enabled him to secure their safe conveyance,¹ but his sudden death had rendered this impossible. My correspondent therefore desired me to suggest some means of transmission, adding that desire to see Western lands and to learn their languages and arts, as well as anxiety to escape from the continual persecutions of the Mullás (who had lately, without cause or pretext, slain six of his co-religionists at Isfahán and burned their bodies),² rendered him very willing to bring the MSS. to England himself, if I approved of this plan, and if he could obtain money for the journey.

To this letter I replied in the manner directed. After thanking my correspondent for all the trouble he had taken, I explained to him the great expense and difficulty of the scheme he proposed, and suggested that the books

¹ My correspondent did not mention the name of this person, but I have no doubt in my own mind as to who is meant.

² The persecution of Si-dih is alluded to. See my *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii., pp. 406-410.

should, when opportunity offered, be conveyed to Cyprus and placed in the hands of Şubḥ-i-Ezel, who could afterwards, if he pleased, transmit the originals or copies of the originals to me through Captain Young. In any case it appeared to me right and proper that they should first be placed in his hands.

On September 19th, 1890, I received another letter in the same hand, bearing the Constantinople post-mark, but written, apparently, from Famagusta, whither my mysterious correspondent had again journeyed. In this letter he stated that he had, according to my advice, abandoned the idea of coming to England, and had safely brought the following six volumes with him to Cyprus and handed them over to Şubḥ-i-Ezel: (1) *The Names of All Things*, 2 vols.; (2) *The Commentary on the Sûratu'l-Bakara*, 1 vol.; (3) *The Commentary on the Sûratu'l-Kawthar*, 1 vol.; (4) *The Commentary on the Sûratu'l-'Aşr*, 1 vol.; (5) *The Commentary on the Sûra-i-Yûsuf* or *Aḥsanu'l-Kişâş*, 1 vol.

Having thus explained how this and the following volumes were conveyed to Cyprus, whence most of them have since been sent to me, I return to the present MS., the *Commentary on the Sûratu'l-Bakara*. That it was one of the Báb's earlier works appears from a passage in the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*, of which the substance will be found at pp. 902-903 of my second paper on the Bábis in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1889. This passage contains the account given by Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh of his conversion to Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Khurásán, who narrated it to Hájí Mírzá Jání of Káshán, from whose book it is copied by the author of the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*. It is too long to quote or translate *in extenso*, and I must therefore confine myself to citing that portion of it which bears directly on the *Commentary* in question.

پس از ساعتی در طاقچه چند جلد کتاب بنظرم رسید برداشتم
دیدم تفسیری است بر سوره مبارکه بقره. چون قدری خواندم

دیدم تفسیری است بی نظیر تعجب نمودم و پرسیدم این تفسیر را که نوشته فرمودند جوانی تازه کار نوشته و اظهار علم و بزرگی زیاد مینماید. گفتم کیست و کجاست فرمودند می بینی و باز هم من ملتفت معنی میبینی نشدم. صفحه دیگر را ملاحظه نمودم نوشته بود تفسیر باطن باطن بنظرم تفسیر باطن آمد و عرض کردم اینجا باید تفسیر باطن باشد و باطن باطن نوشته اند فرمودند من چگویم صاحب تفسیر زیاده بر اینها اظهار جلال و عظمت و دانش مینماید بدقت ملاحظه کنید من مجدداً اعاده در مرور نمودم دیدم تفسیر باطن باطن است و صحیح نوشته اند گفتم صحیح است و لیکن من خسته ام شما بخوانید من مستمع میشوم. ایشان قدری خواندند علی رسم سایر ناس عرض کردم کفایت میکند دیگر زحمت مکشید

“After a while” [says Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh] “I observed several volumes lying in a recess. I picked up one of them, and found it to be a Commentary on the *Súratu'l-Bakara*. After reading a little I perceived it to be a commentary of singular merit, and demanded in astonishment who the author might be. “A mere youthful beginner,” answered he, “who nevertheless lays claim to a high degree of knowledge and greatness.” I again asked who and where the writer was. “Thou seest him,” he replied; but I did not at the time apprehend his meaning, and continued to read on till I came to a passage where it was written, “*the explanation of the inmost of the inmost.*” This appeared to me to be an error, and I remarked, “Here it should be ‘the inmost,’ and they have written ‘the inmost of the inmost.’” “What can I say?” he answered, “the author of the Commentary lays claim to even more than this of greatness, glory, and knowledge. Consider the passage attentively.” I did so, and said, “It is quite correct. But I am wearied. Do you read and I will listen.” He

read for a time, and then, as men are wont, I said, "It is enough. Do not trouble yourself further."'"

It is this work, then, hitherto unknown in the West, that the present MS. represents. The MS. reached me, together with another (the *Commentary on the SŪratu'l-'Aṣr*) to be described immediately, on December 8th, 1890. With them came a letter from Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel, dated November 25th, wherein he wrote as follows :

مهاجر معهود هم در همان ایام وارد شده لوح مرقوم را رسانده از
خیال خود منصرف گشته بمحل خویش بازگشت نمود کتب که
اشاره شده بود شش جلد مهیا شده لیکن بعدم فرصت بتمامه سواد
نشده اکنون بتوسط سرکار حاکم حرسه الله تعالی دو جلد آن که یکی
شرح آیات سوره بقره و دیگری شرح و العصراست ابلاغ نزد محضر
عالی گشته بقیه آن یعنی سه جلد دیگر که شرح کوثر و دو کتاب
اسماء کل شی باشد بتدریج انشاء الله فرستاده میشود شرح سوره
یوسف هم حاضر است تا اقتضای ارسال آن چه وقت شود.

"The pilgrim of whom you wot also arrived about the same time" [as Captain Young, whose absence on leave from Cyprus had prevented Ṣubḥ-i-Ezel from writing for a considerable period]. "The letter which you wrote being conveyed to him, he abandoned his idea [of proceeding to England in person], and returned to his own place. The books which have been signified, six volumes, are ready, but owing to lack of opportunity they have not yet been completely copied. Now, by means of His Excellency the Governor [*i.e.* Captain Young] (may God Almighty guard him!), two volumes of them, one of which is the *Commentary on the verses of the Sūra-i-BaĀara*, and the other the *Commentary on 'Wa'l 'Aṣr,*' are forwarded to you. The remainder, namely three other volumes, the *Commentary on the Kawthar* and two volumes of the *Names of All Things*, will, if it please God, be forwarded by

degrees. The *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsus* is also ready, whenever the time to send it may come."

The description of this MS. is as follows: Ff. 110 (ff. 1^a-2^a, and 110^a-110^b blank), 19×11.5 centimetres, 19 lines to the page. Written in a legible *naskh* hand, without title or colophon. F. 2^a bears a seal-mark which reads—
عبدہ الراجی الحسینی محمد رحیم

The text begins with the *Súratu'l-Fátiha* and a short commentary on it, which I give *in extenso*—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين. الرحمن الرحيم. مالك يوم الدين.
اياك نعبد و اياك نستعين. اهدنا الصراط المستقيم. صراط الذين
انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين. هذه السورة
المباركة عند الله سبعة آيات محكمات الآية الاولى كتاب محمد ص
وقد جعل الله فيها احكام وجوده مما لا بداية لها ولا نهاية وهى
جنة الفردوس قد جبل الله ظلها لمن امن بنبوته و دخل عليها بها
والثانية كتاب على ع و قد جعل الله فيها احكام ولايته المطلقة مما
هو عليه وهى جنة الواحديّة قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بولايته
والثالثة كتاب فاطمة ع و قد جعل الله فيها كل ما لها وعليها وهى
جنة النعيم جعل الله ظلها لمن امن بها و احبها بعد ما عرفها بما
هى اهلها كما تجلت للعارف لها بها فمح (?) حلت تلك الجنة له
والرابعة كتاب الحسن ع و فيها مكتوب احكامه و احكام شيعته
ممن قد دخل لجة الاحدية بيت ظل محبته وهى جنة العدن
و قطب الجنان ولا خطيرة لها و قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بوصايته
(f. 3^a) لآباء ع م و الخامسة كتاب الحسين ع و اخذ روحى فداه
منها احكام نفسه حتى قرأ فيها اسم قاتله عليه اللعنة وهى جنة
المقام قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر بولاية الحسين ع و جاء بزيارته

و بكى لمصابه و السادسة كتاب جعفر بن محمد و فيها مكتوب مما
 شاه الله فيه و هى جنة الخلد و السابعة كتاب موسى بن جعفر و فيها
 مكتوب مما شاه الله فيه و هى جنة الماوى قد جعل الله ظلها لمن اقر
بولايته ع ¹ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى
 للمتقين هذه الاية لاهل الحقيقه معرفة الله سبحانه يعرفون حروفها
 حرفا واحدا و معانيها معنى واحدا مع تغاير حروفها و كثرة معانيها
 و هم قوم يعرفون الله بالله و يرون بارئهم و الفردوس راي العين و
 الفردوس نفسه لانهم لا ينظرون بغير الله كان الله و لم يكن معه شئ
 و الان كما كان و هم اهل جنة الاولى بقاؤهم بقاء الله و ليس لهم وصف
 دون انفسهم و ما سواهم معدومون عند مقامهم و لذا صار الجنان
 ثمانية و العجيم سبعة و السبعة ظل السبعة و الاولى لا ضد لها و لا ظل
 بل فى الحقيقة خلوة من الجنان و الجنان خلوة منها الخ

The Commentary ends on f. 109^b with v. 131 of the *Súratu't-Bakara* as follows:

قال الله تعالى تلك امة قد خلت لها ما كسبت و لكم ما كسبتم
 و لا تسئلون عما كانوا يعملون و لقد اشرت فيها اليها و الى هنا قد
 اخذت القلم عن الجريان بانن الرحمن *

The rest of the Commentary, therefore, would seem never to have been written. I have not been able to find the expression تفسير باطن باطن alluded to in the account of Mullá Huseyn's conversion given by the *Tárikh-i-Jadid*, which may perhaps be mistaken as to the identity of the work, since Şubh-i-Ezel told me that it was the perusal of the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsus* which convinced Mullá Huseyn of the Báb's divine mission.

¹ Here, without break or hiatus, begins the Commentary on the *Súratu't-Bakara*. The commentary on the first verse extends to f. 8^a, so I must needs content myself with giving the first few lines only.



ART. X.—*Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, and Turkish MSS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

This Catalogue has been compiled chiefly from the following ones which are still in the Library :—

- (1) A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Hindustani Languages, preserved in the Libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland. MS. By William H. Morley, 1838.
- (2) A Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Manuscripts in the Arabic and Persian Languages, preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. By W. H. Morley, Printed by order of the Council, 1854.
- (3) A Rough Additional Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts belonging to the R.A.S. (such as are not entered in Morley's work). By Guy Le Strange, 1881.

A fuller description of many of the MSS. will be found in some one of these Catalogues which are here indicated as (1) M. Ms. Cat. (2) M. P. Cat. and (3) Le S. Cat. respectively.

The order of arrangement, transliteration, titles of works and names, are in accordance with those used in the British Museum Catalogues. Arabic MSS. not included in the above mentioned Catalogues have been referred for description when necessary to Mr. H. C. Kay, and the Persian and Hindustani to Mr. E. G. Browne. Mr. E. J. W. Gibb has examined and described all the Turkish, and the Catalogue of them is made from his notes.

18th January, 1892.

OLIVER CODRINGTON,
Hon. Librarian.

ARABIC MSS.

[Table of Transliteration.

| | | | |
|----------------|------|-----|---------------|
| ث=th | خ=kh | ض=d | ع=' (a, i, u) |
| ج=j | د=d | ط=t | غ=gh |
| ح=h | ص=s | ظ=z | ق=k |
| ,='a, 'i, 'u.] | | | |

- 1 and 2. *Korān*. In two volumes. Arabic Texts very finely written in large Naskh, with interlinear Persian translation and copious marginal notes in Shikastah Amiz. Very finely illuminated first pages and title heads of *Surah*. Pages of text enclosed in gold and coloured frames. Verses marked with a gold leaf. *Ajsaa* noted in red. Vol. I. contains the first 18 and part of the 19th *Surah*. Fol. 316. Vol. II. contains the remainder of the Book. Fol. 356. 9 lines of text on a page. Size, 19½ by 12. (M. Ms. Cat. 1 and 2.)
3. *Korān* Well written in Naskh by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥafīẓ Allah Walad Shaikh Ibrahim. Illuminated first page. Headings of *Surah* in red. *Ajsaa* and quarter *Ajsaa* noted by illuminated marginal labels. Verses of *Surah* marked by gold pellets. Fol. 446. 11 lines on a page. Size, 12½ by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 3.)
4. *Korān*. Written in Naskh with interlinear translation in Malay. Headings of *Surah*, *Ajsaa*, and quarter *Ajsaa* in red. Verses divided by gold pellets. Fol. 352. 9 lines of text on a page. Some pages damaged and partly destroyed. Size, 13½ by 9½. (M. Ms. Cat. 4.)
5. Fragments of a fine folio *Korān*, written in Naskh. 13 lines on a page. 1st, 7th, and 13th lines in large letters on blue or pink ground. Verses marked by a gold rose. Size, 16 by 14.



6. *Korān*. Finely written in Naskh. First page illuminated in gold and colour, and the others lined and marked in gold. Headings of *Surah* in gold. *Ajzaa*, half *Ajzaa*, 60th parts of the book, and groups of five and of ten verses noted in gold in the margin. Fol. 349. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1098. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 7.)
7. Portions of the *Korān*. Parts of the 4th, 5th, 7th, and 9th, and the whole of the 8th *Surah*. Naskh. Fol. 69. 11 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 8.)
- 8, 9, and 10. *Korān*, in 3 vols. Finely written in Naskh. Illuminated in gold and colour. Each line enclosed in a gold border and an ornamental gold frame to each page. *Surah* headings in red. *Ajzaa* marked in red. Gold pellets between the verses. Vol. I. contains first 8 *Surah*. Fol. 256. Vol. II. contains 9th to the 28th *Surah*. Fol. 250. Vol. III. contains the remainder. Fol. 271. 7 lines on a page. Size, $5\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 9, 10, and 11.)
11. *Korān*. Written on a roll of paper 20 feet long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, mounted on rollers, in a wooden glazed case. Writing very small and arranged with gold dividing lines into variously shaped areas forming here and there patterns, words, or letters. The first two *Surah* in large characters and illuminated with colour. The remaining *Surah* not indicated, the writing continuous, and the *Ajzaa* marked by the first words being in red and by red numerals in the margin.
12. *Korān*. Fine Maghribī writing. Titles of *Surah*, divisions, and verses, marked in red, yellow, and green. Fol. 167. 22 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 8. (Le S. Cat. 52.)
13. *Extracts from the Korān, with Turkish Notes*. Naskh. Fol. 75. 11 lines on a page. Size, 5 by $3\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 53.)
14. *Extracts from the Korān*. Maghribī. Fol. 147. 9 lines

- on a page. Imperfect. Size, $4\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 55.)
15. *Prayers, Extracts from the Korān, etc.* Naskh. Fol. 79. 9 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 56.)
16. *Bāb fi faḍā'il Sūrat al-Kadar.* On the Excellencies of the 97th Surah of the Korān. Naskh. Fol. 64. 15 lines on a page. Size, $5\frac{1}{2}$ by 4. (M. Ms. Cat. 12.)
17. (1) *On the Reading of the Korān.* Naskh. Fol. 10. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1151.
 (2) *A Poetical Commentary on the Korān.* Naskh. Fol. 49. 13 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1150. Size, 8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 54.)
18. *Al-Rauḍat min al-Kāfi.* On Duties and Religious Ceremonies illustrated by Traditions. Nastalik. Fol. 465. 24 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{4}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 58.)
19. *Al-Istibṣār fi mā Ikhtalaf min al-Akhbār.* On Traditional Discrepancies. By Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan at-Tūsī. Naskh. Fol. 380. 27 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1093. Size, 13 by 8. (Le S. Cat. 67.)
20. *Kitāb as-Salat wa al-Jawābat i al-Imām ar-Rāzī.* Questions and Answers, Theological and Legal. By Imām ar-Rāzī. Naskh. Fol. 137. 24 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 61.)
21. *Ash-Sharā'a al-Ahkām* or *Sharā'i' al-Islām.* On Laws and Statutes of Islām. By Najm ad-Dīn Abūl-Kāsim Ja'far ibn Sa'id al-Hillī. Shiitic. Naskh. Fol. 260. 21 lines on a page, and marginal notes. Dated A.H. 1120. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 57.)
22. *Sharḥ al-Kāfi.* Vol. II. of a Commentary on the Kāfi. Shiitic. By Muḥammad Ṣālih at-Tabrizī. Comprising the Kitāb al-Hajjat and the Bāb at-Tukiyat. Naskh. Fol. 255. 29 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 59.)
23. *Commentary on the Mukhtaṣar of Khalīl.* By Muḥammad al-Kharshī. Magjhrībī. Fol. 169. 31 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (Le S. Cat. 60.)

24. *Abridgement of the Work of Shaikh Khaḥl ibn Ishaq al Maliki*. Naskh. Fol. 210. 13 lines on a page with marginal notes. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 65.)
25. *A History of the Prophets, Martyrs, etc.* Imperfect. Sals. Fol. 387. 17 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 66.)
26. *Jāmi' at-Tawārikh*. Part of the general history of the world from the earliest times. By Rashīd ad-Dīn ibn 'Imād ad-Daulah Abūl-Khair Ibn Muwāfik ad-Daulah. Comprising (1) Fragments of the history of Muḥammad and his early adherents. (2) The concluding portion of the history of Khitā. (3) The history of Hind and Sind. (4) A fragment of the history of the Jews, from the creation to the time of Jonah. Naskh. Fol. 59. 35 lines on a page. Illustrated by 100 drawings in colour executed in an unusually high style of art. Dated A.H. 714. Size, $17\frac{1}{2}$ by 12. This MS. is fully described in the Society's Journal, Vol. VI. 1841, by Mr. W. H. Morley and Professor Duncan Forbes, also in M. P. Cat. 1.
27. *Jāmi' at-Tawārikh*. A portion of Rashīd ad-Dīn's history, with an interlinear translation into Persian. Commencing with the 11th chapter of the *Tarikh i Hind wa as-Sind*, and containing the history of Shākmūnī. Text in Naskh. Translation in Nastalik. Fol. 33. 20 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1238. Size, 13 by $9\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 2.)
28. *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn*. History of the early Muḥammadans in Malabar and their struggles with the Portuguese. By Shaik Zaīn ad-Dīn al-Ma'bari. Naskh. Fol. 43. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1246. Size, 9 by 7. (M. P. Cat. 4.)
29. *History of the Expeditions of Idrīs, Sultan of Burnū, in the land of Kānin against the tribes of Bulala*. Naskh. Fol. 113. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1269. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 68.)
30. *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib*. A Cosmography. By Ḥafs 'Umar

- ibn al-Wardī. Maghribī. Fol. 97. 28 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1221. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 71.)
31. *Ḥayāt al-Kulūb*. An Encyclopædia. Naskh. Fol. 407. 26 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1093. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 69.)
32. *Al-Iktūl*. Vol. viii. of the Work on Yemen Geography. By Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, al-Hamaḍānī. Naskh. Fol. 71. 19 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 73.)
33. *Dāwī Aḳlīdas m'a Istibānāt*. Translation of Euclid. with the two additional books attributed to Hypsicius, with marginal notes in Persian. Nastalik. Fol. 531. 22 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 15.)
34. *Sharḥ al-Jaghminī*. A Commentary on the Astronomical Work al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī al-Hay't. By Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad al-Jaghminī. Fol. 65. 19 lines on a page, with marginal notes and diagrams. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 70.)
35. *Marginal Gloss by Ash-Sharīf Jurjānī, on the Tahrīr al-Kawād al-Mintakīyat fī Sharḥ ash-Shamsiyah of Kutb ad-Dīn Maḥmud ar-Rāzī*. Naskh. Fol. 61. 21 lines on a page, with marginal notes. Size, 10 by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 62.)
36. *Al-Kānūn fī al-Ṭibb*. Part of the Kānūn of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sīna, commonly called Avicenna; containing the concluding sections (14 to 22) of Book III., Book IV., and Book V. on Pharmaceutics. Moorish Arabic. Fol. 243. 35 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 627. Size, $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 22a.)
37. *Elementi della Lingua Araba, Spiegati Secondo i principi Latini in Italiano*. By Professor Guiseppe Grassi. Written by Miss Forbes in fine Arabic and Italian writing. Fol. 183. 23 lines on a page. Size $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 16.)
38. *Treatises on Arabic Grammar*. Naskh. (1) *Mī'at 'Āmil*, on the Government of Arabic Sentences. By Abū

- Bakr 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Jurjānī. Fol. 56. 15 lines on a page. (2) Paradigms of Arabic Grammar. Fol. 3. (3) *Al-Ajarrūmiyah*; on Arabic Syntax. By Abū 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Dāūd as-Sanhājī, called Ibn Ajarrūm. Size 10½ by 6¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 18.)
39. *Al-Kāfiyah*. A Treatise on Arabic Grammar. By Abū 'Amrū 'Uthman, commonly called Ibn Hājib. Nastalik. Fol. 89. 5 lines on a page, with interlinear and marginal notes. Dated A.H. 1082. Size 9½ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 17.)
40. A Note-book containing some Arabic Verses. Maghribi. Size, 8 by 3. (Le S. Cat. 74.)
41. *Muntakhab al-Lughāt*. A Dictionary of Arabic Words explained in Persian. By 'Abd ar-Rashīd at-Tattavī. Nastalik. Fol. 414. 21 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 6¼. (Le S. Cat. 72.)
42. *Diwān*. Poetical Works. By Sharaf ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar ibn 'Alī called Ibn al-Fāriḍ. With a Preface by his grandson 'Alī. Naskh. Fol. 65. 21 and 18 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 6¼. (Le S. Cat. 75.)
43. *Katīlah wa Dimnah Sha'r 'Arabī*. A Poetical Version of Kalilāh Dimnah. Naskh. Fol. 121. 15 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1238. Size, 12 by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 19.)
44. *Ālf Lailah wa Lailah*. A portion of the 1001 Nights. Naskh. Fol. 168. 17 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 6¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 20.)
45. *Sharḥ i Hikmat al-'Ayin*. Commentary on the Hikmat Al-'Ayin of Najm ad-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn 'Umar al-Kātībī al-Kazwīnī. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 138. 17 lines on a page. Size, 9½ by 5½. (M. Ms. Cat. 21.)
46. (1) *Rashīdiyyah Sharḥ Sharīfah 'ilm al-Manāzrat wa al-Adāb*. A Commentary upon an Arabic Work on the Science of Disputation with marginal and interlinear Persian notes. Naskh. Fol. 34. 19 lines on a page. (2) *Tract of Fol. 3, respecting the Sunni Doctrines of the Attributes of the Deity*. By Sayid al-Ḥakīm as-Samarkāndī. Size, 9 by 5½. (M. Ms. Cat. 22.)

47. (1) *A Theological Tract*. Naskh. Fol. 7. 21 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 6.
 (2) *Kāṣīdat*. A Poem. Ta'lik. 29 lines on one page in double column with marginal notes. Size, 16 by 10. (Le S. Cat. 63.)
48. *Two Imperfect Writings*. By Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf as-Sanūsi al-Ḥasani. Maghribī. Fol. 79. 23 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 6½. (Le S. Cat. 64.)

PERSIAN MSS.

Table of Transliteration.

| | | | | |
|------|------|------|--------------|-------------|
| ث=ṯ | ح=h | ش=sh | ط=t | غ=gh |
| ج=j | خ=kh | ص=s | ظ=z | ك=k |
| چ=ch | ذ=z | ض=z | ع='(a, i, u) | '=(a, i, u) |

1. *Tafsīr*. An explanation of the Koran. By Faḥḥ Ullah Na'ib Shaikh Bahā ad-Dīn. Vol. I. [Shikastah. Fol. 347. 29 lines on a page. Defective at the beginning. Size, 14 by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 23.)
2. *Tafsīr of Shaikh Bahā ad-Dīn*. Vol. V. Shikastah. Fol. 337. 27 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1107. Size, 14 by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 24.)
3. *An enumeration of the times which each letter of the Alphabet occurs in the first 30 Surahs of the Koran*. Nastalik and Shikastah. Fol. 32. Size, 9½ by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 28.)
4. (1) *A Collection of Prayers*. Talik. Fol. 114. 11 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1079.
 (2) *The properties of the Seven Verses of the Koran which the Prophet communicated to 'Alī ben Abī Tālib*. Shikastah and Naskh. Fol. 5. 7 and 9 lines on a page.



- (3) *The Prayer Tawakkulat 'Alā Allah and its thirty-one excellent qualities.* Shikastah and Naskh. Fol. 8. 7 and 9 lines on a page.
- (4) *On the Births and Deaths of the fourteen Innocents.* Shikastah. Fol. 3. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat 30.)
- 5 *Treatise on the Ceremonies and Religious Duties of Muhammadans.* By Naṣr Ullah ben Muḥammad ul-Kirmānī. Nastalik. Fol. 302. 15 lines on a page. Incomplete at the end. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 1.)
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7. *Hajjat ul-Hind.* A treatise of Musukman Controversy—The tale of the Parrot and the Sharāk. By Ibn 'Umar Miḥrābī. Nastalik. Fol. 152. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1195. Size, 9 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 262.)
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81. *Hadīkat ul-'Ālam*. History of the Kutb Shahis and Nizams of Haidarābād. Part I. Preface and Seven Books, to reign of Abūl Ḥasan. By Abūl Kāsim ben Razī ud-Dīn al-Mūsavī, called Mīr 'Ālam. Nastalik. Fol. 336. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1258. Size 12 by 7. (Le S. Cat. 8.)
82. *Mir'āt i Ahmadi*. A History of Guzerat, from the origin of the Kingdom to A.H. 1174. By 'Alī Muḥammad Khān. 1st portion up to A.H. 1131. Nastalik. Fol. 246. 15 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 70.)
83. *Mir'āt i Ahmadi*. 2nd portion. History from A.H. 1131 to 1174. Nastalik. Fol. 309. 15 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 71.)
84. *Mir'āt i Ahmadi*. The Khātimah or Appendix, giving an Account of the City and Sūbah of Ahmadābād. Nastalik. Fol. 43. 15 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 72.)
85. *Mir'āt i Ahmadi*. Detached portions of the work. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 92. 13 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 73.)
86. *Ahṡāl Rājahāi Maisūr u Nagar*. A concise history of the Rajahs of Mysore from Timmarāj to Haidar 'Alī. Nastalik. Fol. 21. 15 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 74.)

87. *Nishān i Haidarī u Khurūj u Nuzūl i Daulat i Tipū Sultān*. A history of the reigns of Haidar and Tipū Sultāns. By Mīr Husain 'Alī Khān Kirmānī. Nastalik. Fol. 396. 11 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 77.)
88. *A Register of Accounts of Military Expenditure of Tipū Sultān*. Irregularly written in Shikastah. Fol. 174. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 78.)
89. *Tārīkh i Mahārājāh Ranjīt Singh*. A history of the Sikhs from A.D. 1469 to 1831. By Munshī Sūhan La'l. Nastalik. Fol. 643. 17 lines on a page. Size, 11 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 87.)
90. *Mir'at i Daulat 'Abbāsi*. A history of the Dāwud Pūtras or family of the Nawābs of Bhāwalpūr, from their origin to A.H. 1224. By Lālah Daulat Rāī. Nastalik. Fol. 441. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1247. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 88.)
91. *'Imād us-Sa'adat*. A history of the Nawabs of Oude, from the origin of the family to A.H. 1216. By Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naḳavī. Nastalik. Fol. 239. 11 lines on a page. Size, 14 by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 89.)
92. *Intikhāb i Akhbār i Navāb Vazīr ul-Mamālik Bahādur u Intikhāb i Akhbār i Durbār Mu'alla u Aṭraf*. A journal of occurrences which took place in Oude and at the court of its Nawab A.H. 1208-1209. Nastalik. Fol. 293. 11 lines on a page. Imperfect at beginning and end. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 90.)
93. *Intikhāb i Akhbār i Durbār i Navāb Vazīr ul-Mamālik Āsaf ud-Daulah Bahādur*. A journal of events which took place at Oude and at the court of its Nawab, A.H. 1209-1210. Nastalik. Fol. 328. 11 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 91.)
- 93A. *Tārīkh i Manṣūrī*. History of the Nizāmat family of Murshidabād, By Navāb Nāzīr Sidī Dārāb 'Alī Khān. Nastalik. Fol. 284. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1270, Bengali Śaka 1261, and A.D. 1854. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 6.)

94. *Zafar Nāmah*. A circumstantial account of Timūr from his birth to his death. By Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī. Nastalik. Fol. 262. 29 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 891. Size, 10 by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 92.)
95. *Zafar Nāmah*. Nastalik. Fol. 302. 21 lines on a page. Imperfect at beginning and end. Size, 11 by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 93.)
96. *Malfūzāt i Timūri*. The Autobiographical Memoirs of Timūr. Translated into Persian by Abū Ṭālib ul-Husaini. Nastalik. Fol. 230. 17 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 6. (M. P. Cat. 94.)
97. *Tūzak i Timūri*. Institutes of Timūr. Talik. Fol. 26. 7 lines on a page. Size, 8 by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 49.)
98. *Tūzak i Timūri*. Nastalik. Fol. 126. 10 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1229. Size, 7 by 5. (Le S. Cat. 50.)
99. *Maṭla' us-Sādain u Majma' ul-Bahrain*. A History of Timūr and his Descendants to A.H. 875. By Kamāl ud-Dīn 'Abd ur-Razzāk ben Jalāl ud-Dīn Ishaq us-Samarqandī. Nastalik. Fol. 379. 23 lines on a page. Written by the author A.H. 875. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 95.)
100. *Tazkirat us-Salāṭin i Chaghatā*. A general History of the Chaghatai Sovereigns. By Muḥammad Hādī, surnamed Kāmvar Khān. Vol. I. From the Origin of the Mongols to the death of Jahāngir A.H. 1037. Nastalik. Fol. 421. 16 lines on a page. Size, 10 by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 96.)
101. *Tazkirat us Salāṭin i Chaghatā*. Vol. II. From Jahāngir to the seventh year of Muḥammad Shah, A.H. 1137. Fol. 478. 15 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 97.)
102. *Tārikh i Khāfi Khān, or Muntakhab ul Lubāb*. A History of the House of Timūr from their origin to A.H. 1145. By Mīr Muḥammad Hāshim, called Khāfi Khān. Vol. I. containing Introduction and History to A.H. 1067. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 240. 19 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 98.)

103. *Tārīkh i Khāfi Khān*. Vol. II., containing the History of Aurangzīb A.H. 1068 to 1118. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 200. 19 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 99.)
104. *Mā'āsir ul-Umarā*. Biographies of the most celebrated Amīrs and others who lived during the times of the Timurides. By Šamsām ud-Daulah Šāhnavāz Khān Khwāfī Aurangābādī, with additions by Ghulām 'Alī. First portion to the middle of the letter *Dāl*. Nastalik. Fol. 220. 21 lines on a page. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 101.)
105. *Mā'āsir ul-Umarā*. The continuation and remainder of the work. Fol. 233. Dated A.H. 1204. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 102.)
106. *Mā'āsir ul-Umarā*. First portion to letter *Fē*. Nastalik. Fol. 231. 21 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7. (Le S. Cat. 9.)
107. *Mā'āsir ul-Umarā*. From the letters *Kāf* to the end. Nastalik. Fol. 179. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1261. Size, 12 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 89A.)
108. *Mā'āsir ul-Umarā*. 2nd Edition. Edited with additions by 'Abd ul-Ḥayy Khān, called Šamsām ul-Mulk. Nastalik. Fol. 421. 25 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1242. Size, 17 by 11 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 103.)
109. *'Ibrat Nāmāh*. A history of the Empire of Dehli from the death of Aurangzīb to A.H. 1133. By Sayyid Muḥammad Kāsim Ḥusaini, called 'Ibrat. Shikastah. Fol. 108. 12 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1202 and A.D. 1788. Size, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 104.)
110. *Siyar ul-Muta'akhhirin*. A history of the Muḥammadan power in India, from A.H. 1118 to 1195. By Mir Ghulām Ḥusain Khān Ṭabāṭabā'ī. Nastalik. Fol. 481. 21 lines on a page. Size, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 105.)
111. *Siyar ul-Muta'akhhirin*. Nastalik. Fol. 362. 25 and 28 lines on a page. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 8 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 106.)

112. *Siyar ul-Muta'akhhirin*. Vol. I. History from the death of Aurangzīb to A.H. 1152. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 496. 15 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 107.)
113. *Siyar ul-Muta'akhhirin*. Vol. II. A.H. 1153 to 1195. With Appendix. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 184. 15 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 108.)
114. (1) *Akbar Nāmah*. A history of the Emperor Akbar. By Abūl Fazl ben Mubūrak, surnamed 'Allāmi. Shikastah. Fol. 232. 32 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1146. Size, 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 109.)
 (2) *Jahāngīr Nāmah*. Autobiographical Memoirs of the Emperor Jahāngīr. 1st Edition with *Pand Nāmah*. Nastalik. Fol. 35. 25 to 29 lines on a page. (M. P. Cat. 118.)
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117. *Akbar Nāmah*. Vol. I. Part 1. Nastalik. Fol. 146. 23 lines on a page. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 112.)
118. *Akbar Nāmah*. Vol. II. Part 2. Nastalik. Fol. 168. 23 lines on a page. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 113.)
119. *Akbar Nāmah*. Vol. I. Part 1. Nastalik. Fol. 288. 17 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 114.)
120. *Akbar Nāmah*. Vol. I. Part 2. Nastalik. Fol. 367. 17 lines on a page. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 115.)
121. *Akbar Nāmah*. Vol. III. or *Ā'in i Akbari*. A detailed description of Akbar's Empire. Nastalik. Fol. 324. 25 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1066. Size, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 10. (M. P. Cat. 116.)

122. *Tārīkh i Jahāngīr Nāmah Salīmī*. The Autobiographical Memoirs of Jahāngīr, from his Accession to A.H. 1029. Followed by a *Pand Nāmah* or collection of moral maxims and rules, and concluding with a number of letters, petitions, etc. Nastalik. Illuminated first two pages. Fol. 195. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1040. Size, 9 by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 117.)
123. *Jahāngīr Nāmah*. First Edition, with *Pand Nāmah*. Nastalik. Fol. 164. 13 and 17 lines on a page. Size, 11 by $6\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 119.)
124. *Tūsak i Jahāngīrī*. The Second Edition of the Autobiography, edited with an introduction and commentary by Muḥammad Hādī. Nastalik. Fol. 488. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1231. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 120.)
125. *Iḳbāl Nāmah Jahāngīrī*. A history of the reign of Jahāngīr (A.H. 1014 to 1037). By Muḥammad Sharif Mu'tamad Khān. Nastalik and Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 211. 12 and 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1145. Incomplete. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 121.)
126. *Pādshāh Nāmah*. A history of the first ten years of Shāh Jahān's reign. By Muḥammad Amīn ben Abūl Hasan Kazvīnī. Nastalik. Fol. 408. 20 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1173. Size, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 122.)
127. *Pādshāh Nāmah*. A history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. Vol. I. Containing preface and an account of his ancestors and of the first ten years of his reign. By 'Abd ul-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī. Nastalik. Fol. 509. 15 lines on a page. Illuminated. Size, 13 by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 123.)
128. *Pādshāh Nāmah*. Vol. I. Nastalik. Fol. 503. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1231. Size, $11\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 124.)
129. *Shāh Jahān Nāmah* or *Mulakhhkhaṣ*. A history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. By Muḥammad Ṭāhir,

- commonly called 'Ināyat Khān. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 87. 29 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, 16 by 10. (M. P. Cat. 125.)
130. *'Amal i Šāliḥ*. A history of Shāh Jāhan. By Muḥammad Šāliḥ Kanbū. Latter portion of the work beginning at the eleventh year of the reign. Nastalik. Fol. 306. 20 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 126.)
131. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. A History of 'Ālamgīr Aurangzīb from A.H. 1067 to the eleventh year of his reign. By Muḥammad Kāzīm ben Muḥammad Amīn Munshī. Partly Nastalik and partly Shikastah Amiz and Shikastah. Fol. 432. 15 and 22 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1150. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. P. Cat. 127.)
132. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. Nastalik. Fol. 508. 16 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1152. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 128.)
133. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. Shikastah. Fol. 425. 17 and 19 lines on a page. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 129.)
134. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. Shikastah. Fol. 410. 20 and 24 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1137. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 130.)
135. *'Ālamgīr Nāmāh*. Nastalik. Fol. 490. 18 to 24 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1225. Size, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 131.)
136. *Ma'āṣir i 'Ālamgīri*. A History of Aurangzīb from A.H. 1067 to 1118. By Muḥammad Sākī Musta'idd Khān. Nastalik. Fol. 274. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1230. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 132.)
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139. *Kitāb ul-Muġam fī Aṣār Mulūk ul-'Ajam*. A history of the early kings of Persia, from Kayūmars to the death of Nūshīrvan. By Faḏl Ullah ben 'Abd Allah ul-Kazvīnī. Nastalik. Fol. 152. 16 lines on a page, with numerous marginal scholia in Arabic and Persian. Dated A.H. 1090. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 137.)
140. *'Ālam Ārāi 'Abbāsi*. A history of the Ṣafavi dynasty of Persia from its origin to the death of Shāh 'Abbās I. A.H. 1037. By Iskandar Munshī. Vol. I. and first part of Vol. II. up to the seventh year of Shāh 'Abbās. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 279. 19 lines on a page. Size, 11 by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 139.)
141. *'Ālam Ārāi 'Abbāsi*. Vol. II. History from the Accession of Shāh 'Abbās to A.H. 1037. Nastalik. Fol. 287. 28 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1059. Size, $15\frac{1}{2}$ by 9. (M. P. Cat. 140.)
142. *'Ālam Ārāi 'Abbāsi*. Vol. II. Nastalik. Fol. 674. 17 lines on a page. Imperfect at the end. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 141.)
143. *'Ālam Ārāi 'Abbāsi*. Vol. II. First portion of the first part; from Accession of Shāh 'Abbas to the end of A.H. 1015. Nastalik. Fol. 422. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1082. Imperfect at the end. Size, 12 by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 142.)
144. *'Ālam Ārāi 'Abbāsi*. Vol. II. Latter portion of the first part, A.H. 1016 to 1025; and the second part, completing the work. Nastalik. Fol. 429. 17 lines on a page. Size, 13 by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 143.)
145. *'Ālam Ārāi 'Abbāsi*. Vol. I. Nastalik. Fol. 153. 23 lines on a page. Imperfect. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. P. Cat. 144.)
146. *Favā'id i Safaviyyah*. A history of the Ṣafavī Family from its origin to A.H. 1216. By Abūl-Ḥasan ben Ibrahīm Kazvīnī. Nastalik. Fol. 153. Size, 9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 145.)
147. *Tārīkh i Nādirī*. A history of Nādir Shāh. By Muḥammad Mahdī Astrābādī, called Mahdī Khān.

- Naskh. Fol. 245. 18 lines on a page. Illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 146.)
148. *Tārīkh i Nādīri*. Nastalik. Fol. 189. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1225. Size, 11 by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 147.)
149. *Aḥsan ut-Tavārikh*, or *Tārīkh i Muḥammadi*. A history of the Kājār Family, from its origin to the death of Āghā Muḥammad Khān. A.H. 1211. By Muḥammad Taḳī us-Sāru'ī. Nastalik. Fol. 259. 12 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1235. Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 149.)
150. *Aḥsan ut-Tavārikh*. Nastalik. Fol. 171. 16 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 150.)
151. *Ma'āṣir i Sulṭāniyah*. A history of the Kājārs from their origin to A.H. 1229. By 'Abd ur-Razzāk Najaf Kulī. 2nd Part. Nastalik. Fol. 104. 17 lines on a page. Imperfect. Size, 12 by 8. (M. P. Cat. 152.)
152. *Ma'āṣir i Sulṭāniyah*. The portion of the second part missing in the last MS. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 12. 16 lines on a page. Size, $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 8. (M. P. Cat. 153.)
153. *Tārīkh i Jahān Ārā*. A history of the Kājārs, from the origin of the family to the end of A.H. 1233. By Muḥammad Ṣādiq Marvazī. Vol. I. History to A.H. 1221. Nastalik. Fol. 165. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1234. Size, $11\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 154.)
154. *Tārīkh i Jahān Ārā*. Vol. II. A.H. 1222 to 1233. Nastalik. Fol. 224. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1233. Size $11\frac{3}{4}$ by 7. (M. P. Cat. 155.)
155. *Risālah i Tawābir i Shāh u Vazīr*. A short Account of Āghā Muḥammad Khān, King of Persia, and of his Vazīr Hājī Ibrāhīm Khān Shīrāzī. Nastalik. Fol. 137. 9 and 11 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 156.)
156. *Tārīkh i Hasht Bahist*. A History of the Ottoman

- Dynasty from 'Osmān Beg Ghāzī to Bāyizīd Khān II. By Maula Idrīs ben Ḥusām ud-Dīn Bidlīsī. Nastalik. Fol. 260. 21 lines on a page. Size, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 157.)
157. *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar dar Vaqā'a fath i Kastaṇṭīniyah.* A concise Account of the Conquest of Constantinople by Muḥammad II. and the early History of the City. Translated from the Turkish by Muḥammad Mahdī ush-Shīrvānī ul-Ansārī. Nastalik. Fol. 31. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1210. Size, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ (M. P. Cat. 158.)
158. *Sharaf Nāmah.* A history of the Kurds. By Sharaf ben Shams ud-Dīn. Nastalik and Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 287. 17 and 18 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. P. Cat. 159.)
159. (1) *Tavārīkh i Narshakhī.* A History and Description of Bukhārā from its Origin to the Extinction of the power of the Sāmānides. An abridged translation from the Arabic of Abū Bakr un-Narshakhī, by Muḥammad ben 'Umar. Nastalik. Fol. 105. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1246. (M. P. Cat. 160.)
 (2) An Account of the Holy and Learned Men of Bukhārā from A.H. 54 to 814. Nastalik. Fol. 46. Dated A.H. 1246. Size, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 71A.)
160. *Tazkirah i Mukīm Khānī.* A History of the Uzbek Khāns of Māvarā un-Nahr. By Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī ben Khājah Baḳā. Nastalik. Fol. 165. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1246. Size, 10 by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 161.)
161. *A Short History of the Sultāns of Māvarā un-Nahr.* Nastalik. Fol. 31. 13 and 18 lines on a page. Defective in places. Size, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 162.)
162. *Tārīkh Nāmah.* A Collection of Chronograms giving dates of births and deaths of Kings of Māvarā un-Nahr, and of Great and Holy Men who flourished A.H. 736-1055. Nastalik. Fol. 227. 17 lines on a page. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 163.)

163. *Tazkirat i Daulat Shāhi, or Tazkirat ush-Shu'arā.* Lives of Poets. By Daulat Shāh ben 'Alā ud-Daulah ul-Bakhtishāh ul-Ghāzī us-Samarḳandī. Nastalik. Fol. 124. 18 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{2}{3}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 176.)
164. *Tazkirat ush-Shu'arā.* Memoirs of Persian and Hindustani Poets. By Āzād Husaini Vāsītī Balgrāmi:— Ghulām 'Alī. Shikastah. Fol. 159. 19 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 186.)
165. *Tazkirat ush-Shu'arā.* By Ghulām 'Alī. Talik. Fol. 330. 17 lines on a page. Illuminated. Dated A.H. 1079. Size, 8 by $4\frac{2}{3}$. (Le S. Cat. 7.)
166. *Khizānah i 'Āmirah.* Lives of Persian Poets. By Āzād Balgrāmi, Ghulām 'Alī. Nastalik. Fol. 420. 20 lines on a page. Size, 8 by $4\frac{2}{3}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 187.)
167. *Hukm nāmah i Tīpū Sultān.* Orders and Regulations instituted by Tīpū Sultān. In Persian, Marathi, and Karnatā languages. Fol. 153. Size, 12 by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 94.)
168. *Regulations of the Treasury Department of Tīpū Sultān.* Shikastah. Fol. 39. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 110.)
169. *Risālah Muhtavi bar Rasūm i Kadkhadāi.* A treatise on the Regulations for Marriages under Tīpū Sultān's rule. Shikastah. Fol. 7. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 111.)
170. *Risālah Muhtavi bar Rasūm i Kadkhadāi.* Shikastah. Fol. 7. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 112.)
171. *A Description of the Seals, Flags, Standards, Inscriptions, etc., used by Tīpū Sultān.* Shikastah. Size, 9 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 113.)
172. *A Book of Military Accounts.* Shikastah. Fol. 94. Size, 9 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 261.)
173. *Copies of Persian Letters, Accounts, etc.* Fol. 88. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 17.)
174. *Inscriptions from Mosques and other buildings.* In Arabic, Persian, and English. Naskh and Nastalik. Fol. 52. Size, $9\frac{2}{3}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ (M. Ms. Cat. 138.)

175. *Description of the Tomb of Shāh Jahān, with Inscriptions, etc.* Nastalik. Fol. 107. 8 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 6. (Le S. Cat. 4.)
176. *Risālah i Mister Wilford.* Extracts and notes from Captain Wilford's Routes in Afghānistān, Bukhāra, etc. By Mughāl Beg. Fol. 46. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.D. 1806. Size, 9½ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 117.)
177. *Masīr i Tālibī.* The Travels of the Author in Europe, A.H. 1213-1218. By Abū Tālib ben Muḥammad Iṣfahānī. Nastalik. Fol. 306. 15 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 7½. (Le S. Cat. 2.)
178. *'Ajā'ib ul-Makhlūkāt.* Wonders of the Creation. Translation of Kazvīnī's Arabic Work. Talik. Fol. 438. 15 lines on a page. Illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Size, 10 by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 116.)
179. *'Ajā'ib ul-Ṭabaqāt.* The Wonders of the Universe. By Muḥammad Ṭāhir ben Abūl-Kāsim. Nastalik. Fol. 178. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1234. Size, 9½ by 5½. (Le S. Cat. 3.)
180. *Tārīkh i Iṣfahān.* A descriptive and historical account of Iṣfahān. Translated from the Arabic by Husain ben Muḥammad ul-'Alavī. Nastalik. Fol. 83. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 884. Size, 10 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 115.)
181. *A Description of the Public Buildings at Shāhjahānabād, with copies of the Inscriptions on them.* Nastalik. Fol. 64. 11 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 98.)
182. *Nuzhat ul-Kulūb.* Cosmography. By Hamd Ullah ul-Kazvīnī. Nastalik. Fol. 170. 27 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1219. Size, 12¼ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 31.)
183. *Nuzhat ul-Kulūb.* Geographical portion. Nastalik. Fol. 122. 20 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 32.)
184. *Majmal ul-Hikmat.* A Compendium of Philosophy. Translated from the Arabic. Nastalik. Fol. 334. 14 lines on a page. Imperfect. Size, 6¼ by 3¼. (M. Ms. Cat. 251.)

185. *Kitāb Intazām i Hiyat*. A paraphrase translation of Dodesley's (Economy of Human Life, in Persian, Arabic, and Hindustānī. By Major Pogoan. Nastalik and Naskh. Fol. 172. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.D. 1828 and A.H. 1244. Size, 12 by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 225.)
186. *Akhlāk i Muhsinī*. A work on Ethics. By Husain ul-Kūshifī. Nastalik. Fol. 194. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1247. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 46.)
187. *Akhlāk i Muhsinī*. Nastalik. Fol. 189. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1069. Size, 9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 47.)
188. *Akhlāk i Nāṣiri*. A treatise on Ethics. By Nāṣir ud-Dīn Muḥammad ut-Ṭūsī. Nastalik. Fol. 183. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1216. Size, 11 by $6\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 220.)
189. *Akhlāk i Nāṣiri*. Nastalik. Fol. 180. 16 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1053. Size, 9 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 234.)
190. *Akhlāk i Nāṣiri*. Talik. Fol. 158. 19 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 235.)
191. *Akhlāk i Nāṣiri*. Talik. Fol. 193. 15 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 236.)
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193. *Zarāt Nāmah*. A treatise on Agriculture. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 16. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1223. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 266.)
194. *Bij Ganit*. A treatise on Algebra. Translated from the Sanskrit by 'Aṭā Ullah Rashīdī ben Aḥmad Nādir. Talik. Fol. 106. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1213. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 152.)
195. *M'ualijāt dāra Shikūhi*. A work on Medicine. By Mīr Muḥammad 'Abd Ullah Hakīm. Vol. I. Nastalik. Fol. 252. 16 lines on a page. Size, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ by $8\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 142.)

196. *M'ud'ijāt dāra Shikūhi*. Vol. II. Fol. 636. 15 lines on a page. Size, 14 by 10. (M. Ms. Cat. 143.)
197. *M'ud'ijāt dāra Shikūhi*. Vol. III. Fol. 781. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1056. Size, 14 by 9½. (M. Ms. Cat. 144.)
198. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*, or *Ḳarabādīn*. A Dictionary of Materia Medica. By Ibn Sayyid us-Sind Muḥammad Hādī ul-Afilī ul-Halavī Muḥammad Husain. Vol. I. Preface and first five and part of the sixth chapter of the first part of the dictionary. Nastalik. Fol. 349. 21 lines on a page. Size, 15 by 10. (M. Ms. Cat. 145.)
199. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*. Vol. II. Continuation of the sixth chapter and to the twentieth chapter. Fol. 352. (M. Ms. Cat. 146.)
200. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*. Vol. III. From the twentieth to the twenty-eighth chapter. Fol. 339. (M. Ms. Cat. 147.)
201. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*. Vol. IV. Appendix to the first part, and first portion of the second part of the work. Fol. 454. (M. Ms. Cat. 148.)
202. *Makhsan ul-Adviyat*. Vol. V. The remainder of the work. Fol. 398. (M. Ms. Cat. 149.)
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204. *Tazkirah Aṣār i Sung Mazār*. A tract on Cholera. By 'Abd Ullah ben Ḥājī Muḥammad Mazāndarānī. Nastalik. Fol. 8. 16 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 8½. (Le S. Cat. 11.)
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206. *Ta'bīr Nāmāh*. An Interpretation of Dreams. By Abūl Faḏl Husain ut-Taftatī. Nastalik and Shikastah. Fol. 354. 17 and 18 lines on a page. Size, 9½ by 5½. (M. Ms. Cat. 265.)

207. *Tā'bir i Khavāb*. A Masnavi Poem on the Interpretation of Dreams, preceded by a short Treatise on Omens, Dreams, etc. Talik. Fol. 20. 12 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1238. Size, 9½ by 6.
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210. *Risālat 'Ilm Mūsikī*. Translation from the Sanskrit Pārjātaka. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 107. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1137. Size, 8¾ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 153).
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214. *Burhān i Kātib*. A Persian Dictionary. By Muḥammad Husain ben Khalaf ut-Tabrizi, called Burhān. Nastalik. Fol. 573. 21 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 154.)
215. *Burhān i Kātib*. Nastalik. Fol. 515. 23 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8¾. (M. Ms. Cat. 154A.)
216. *Farhang i Rashūlī*. A Persian Dictionary. By 'Abd ar-Rashīd ben 'Abd ul-Ghafūr Tatavī. Nastalik. Fol. 340. 21 lines on a page. Size, 11½ by 7½. (M. Ms. Cat. 155.)
217. *Farhang i Jahāngirī*. A Persian Dictionary, with Appendix. By Jamāl ud-Dīn Husain Injū. Nastalik. Fol. 420. 25 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1093. Size, 12 by 7. (Le S. Cat. 12.)

218. *Farhang*. A Dictionary of Arabic Words explained in Persian. Nastalik. Vol. I. From letter *Alif* to letter *Sin*. Fol. 321. 23 lines on a page. Size, 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 156.)
219. *Farhang*. Vol. II. Continuation to letter *Yi*. Last few pages wanting. Fol. 282. (M. Ms. Cat. 157.)
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247. *Khamsah Nizāmī*. Talik. Fol. 454. 14 lines on a page in double column, and marginal writing. Dated A.H. 1077. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 189.)
248. *Makhzan ul-Asrār*. A mystic Sufi Poem. By Nizāmī. Nastalik. Fol. 55. 20 lines on a page, in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 190.)

249. *Iskandar Nāmah*. A Poem. By Nizāmī. Nastalik. Fol. 262. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1036. Size, 8 by 4½. (Le S. Cat. 42.)
250. *Iskandar Nāmah*. Second Part. Talik. Fol. 124. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1212. Size. 8 by 5½. (M. Ms. Cat. 191.)
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253. *Būstān*. Talik. Fol. 104. 11 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1217. Size, 10 by 6½. (M. Ms. Cat. 172.)
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255. *Būstān*. Talik. Fol. 115. 17 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1014. Size, 9½ by 5½. (Le S. Cat. 30.)
256. *Būstān*. Nastalik. Fol. 147. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 2000. Size, 8¾ by 6½. (Le S. Cat. 31.)
257. *Būstān*. Parts of the Poem. Talik. Fol. 27. 9 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 976. Size, 9 by 6½. (Le S. Cat. 32.)
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259. *Gulistān*. Nastalik. Fol. 180. 9 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1187. Size 8½ by 5½. (M. Ms. Cat. 233.)
260. *Kulliyāt i Sa'di*. Complete Works of Sa'di, with Preface by 'Alī ben Aḥmad ben Abū Bakr. Talik. Fol. 375. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 895. Size, 7 by 4¾. (M. Ms. Cat. 213.)
261. *Kulliyāt i Sa'di*. Talik. Fol. 318. 17 lines in the centre of the page and part of the writing on the margins. Illuminated. Size, 11½ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 28.)

262. *Kulliyāt i Sa'dī*. Talik. Fol. 363. 19 lines on a page and writing on the margin. Dated A.H. 1013. Size, 10 by 6. (Le S. Cat. 29.)
263. *Risālat Shaikh Sa'dī*. Preface to the Works of Sa'dī. By 'Alī ben Aḥmad ben Abū Bakr. And first five and part of the sixth treatise of Sa'dī. Nastalik. Fol. 50. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 242.)
264. *Pand Nāmāh*. By Sa'dī. Talik. Fol. 12. 12 lines on a page in double column. And *Ghazals* by Maḥmūd written on the margins. Size, 10½ by 6½. (M. Ms. Cat. 198.)
265. *Divān i Hāfiẓ*. The Odes of Shams ud-Dīn Muḥammad Hāfiẓ Shirāzī. With Preface by Muḥammad Gulandām. Talik. Fol. 205. 15 lines on a page. Size, 14 by 8½. (M. Ms. Cat. 168.)
266. *Divān i Hāfiẓ*. With Preface by Gulandām. Talik. Fol. 193. 12 lines on a page in double column. Illuminated in gold and colour. Size, 10 by 6. (Le S. Cat. 21.)
267. *Divān i Hāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 378. 9 lines on a page in double column. Finely illuminated in gold and colour. Size, 12 by 7. (Le S. Cat. 20.)
268. *Divān i Hāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 175. 15 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1151. Size, 9 by 5. (Le S. Cat. 22.)
269. *Divān i Hāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 192. 14 lines on a page in double column. Illustrated. Size, 9½ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 23.)
270. *Divān i Hāfiẓ*. Naskh. Fol. 68. 19 lines on a page in double column. Size, 8½ by 6½. (Le S. Cat. 24.)
271. *Divān i Hāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 132. 17 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 872. Size, 8½ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 25.)
272. *Divān i Hāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 240. 12 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1046. Illuminated. Size, 4½ by 2½. (M. Ms. Cat. 218.)

273. *Divān i Ḥāfiẓ*. Talik. Fol. 198. 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $4\frac{1}{4}$ by 3. (M. Ms. Cat. 219.)
274. *Divān i Ḥāfiẓ*. With Preface by Gulandām. Talik. Fol. 183. 11 lines on a page in double column. Size, 8 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 197.)
275. *Divān i Ḥāfiẓ u Būstān i Sa'di*. Odes of Ḥāfiẓ and Preface, with the Būstān written on the margins. Nastalik. Fol. 163. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 184.)
276. *Haft Aurang i Jāmī*. The seven principle Poems of Mīr ud-Dīn 'Abd ur-Raḥmān Jāmī. Talik. Fol. 244. 25 lines on a page in four columns. Size, 12 by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 169.)
277. *Divān i Jāmī*. Odes of Jāmī. Talik. Fol. 406. 17 lines on a page in double column. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 195.)
278. *Sabḥat ul-Abrār*. A religious Poem by Jāmī. Talik. Fol. 137. 11 lines on a page in double column. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 196.)
279. *Sabḥat ul-Abrār*. Talik. Fol. 93. 14 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 196A.)
280. *Yūsuf u Zulaikhā*. Poem by Jāmī. Talik. Fol. 150. 15 lines on a page in double column. Imperfect. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 19)
281. *Khamsah i Amīr Khusrau*. Five Poems. By Khusrau Dilhavi. Nastalik. Fol. 211. 21 lines on a page in double column and on margins. Size, 9 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 193.)
282. *'Ashkhiyah i Amīr Khusrau*. Erotic Poems. By Khusrau. Talik. Fol. 135. 17 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 194.)
283. *Divān i 'Urfī*. Poetical Works. By 'Urfī Shīrāzī. Talik. Fol. 243. 21 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 5. (Le S. Cat. 35.)
284. *Ḳaṣā'id i 'Urfī*. Poema. By 'Urfī. Talik. Fol. 245.

- 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by 5.
(Le S. Cat. 34.)
285. *Divān i Sā'ib*. Poetical Works. By Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī, poetically named Sā'ib. Talik. Fol. 210. 16 lines on a page in double column. Size, 9 by 5. (Le S. Cat. 27.)
286. *Divān i Mirzā Faṣīhī*. Poetical Works. By Faṣīhī Haravī. Shikastah. Fol. 58. 10 lines on a page in double column. Size, $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 36.)
287. *Divān i Kalīm*. Poetical Works. By Abū Ṭalīb Hamadānī, poetically called Kalīm. Talik. Fol. 125. 17 lines on a page in double column and on margins. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 39.)
288. *Divān i Muẓaffar*. Poetical Works. By Muẓaffar. Nastalik. Fol. 72. 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 41.)
289. *Kaṣā'id i Fath 'Alī Khān*. Poems. By Fath 'Alī Khān Kāshī. Talik. Fol. 50. 11 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 38.)
290. *An Eulogy on 'Alā*. Written by 'Abd ur-Rashīd. Talik. Fol. 12. 8 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1061. Illuminated in gold and colours. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 6. (Le S. Cat. 33.)
291. *Maṣnavī i Jalāl ud-Dīn*. Masnavi. By Jalāl ud-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī. Talik. Fol. 411. 17 lines on a page and on margins. Dated A.H. 1094. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 202.)
292. *Maṣnavī i Jalāl ud-Dīn*. Nastalik. Fol. 535. 17 lines on a page in four columns. Dated A.H. 1120. Size, 10 by $8\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 181.)
293. (1) *Maṣnavī i Jalāl ud-Dīn Mūlvī Rūmī*. Naskh. Fol. 297. 25 lines on a page in four columns. Illuminated.
(2) *Nān u Halvā*. A Masnavi on the Ascetic Life. By Bahā'i;—Bahā ud-Dīn 'Amilī. Naskh. Fol. 5. 25 lines on a page. Size $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 180.)
294. *Intikhāb Maṣnavī i Mūlvī Mānavī Muḥammad Jalāl ud-Dīn*. Extracts from the Masnavi of Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī.

- Talik. Fol. 29. 13 lines in double column on a page. Dated A.H. 1255. Size $6\frac{1}{2}$ by 4.
295. *Tuḥfat ul-'Irāqain*. A Poetical Description of the two 'Irāqs. By Afzal ud-Dīn Khākānī. Talik. Fol. 102. 16 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 182.)
296. *Tuḥfat ul-'Irāqain*. Talik. Fol. 118. 13 lines on a page in double column, with marginal notes. Dated A.H. 1210. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 209.)
297. *Kulliyāt i Khākānī*. Poems. By Afzal ud-Dīn Khākānī. Comprising the Kaṣīdahs, the Muḳaṭṭa'āt, and the Divān. Talik. Fol. 416. 17 lines on a page. Finely illuminated. Size, 14 by 9. (M. Ms. Cat. 167.)
298. *Divān i Mir Rāzī ud-Dīn*. Odes. By Mīr Rāzī ud-Dīn. Talik. Fol. 64. 12 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1080. Size, $6\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 215.)
299. *Divān i Ni'mat Ullah*. Odes. By Amīr Nūr ud-Dīn Ni'mat Ullah. Talik. Fol. 611. 15 lines on a page and on margins. Illuminated. Incomplete. Size, 11 by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 211A.)
300. *Shāh Nāmāh i Shāh Ismā'il*. A Poetical History of Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafavī. By Mīrzā Kāsim, surnamed Kāsimī. Talik. Fol. 141. 15 lines on a page in double column. Imperfect at the beginning. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 204.)
301. *Humāi Humāyūn*. The Loves of Humāi and Humāyūn. By Khwājū Kirmānī. Talik. Fol. 153. 14 lines on a page in double column. Copied in Paris, A.D. 1830. Illustrated with paintings. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. 205.)
302. *Hamāi Humāyūn*. Nastalik. Fol. 147. 12 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (Le S. Cat. 26.)
303. *Mīhr u Mushtari*. A Masnavī. By Muḥammad 'Aṣṣar Tabrīzī. Talik. Fol. 187. 13 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 959. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 206.)

304. *Mihr u Mushtarī*. Talik. Fol. 219. 12 lines on a page in double column. Illustrated and illuminated. Size, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 40.)
305. *Timūr Nāmah u Ismā'il Nāmah*. Poetical history of Timūr and that of Ismā'il. By Hātifi. The latter written on the margins. Talik. Fol. 162. 15 lines in double column on a page. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 208.)
306. *Divān i Najib ud-Dīn*. Poems. By Najib ud-Dīn. Talik. Fol. 120. 14 lines on a page in double column. Imperfect. Size, 8 by $4\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 199.)
307. *Divān i Mirzā Aḥsan*. Poems. By Mirzā Aḥsan. Talik. Fol. 80. 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $8\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 200.)
308. *Divān i Mirzā Sayyid Muḥammad*. Poems. Talik. Fol. 174. 12 lines on a page in double column. Imperfect at the end. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 173.)
309. *Divān i Nāṣir 'Alī*. Poems. By Nāṣir 'Alī. Talik. Fol. 84. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1194. Size, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 201.)
310. *Kitāb Maḡnaviyāt i Zafar Khān*. Masnavi. By Zafar Khān ben Abūl Ḥasan. Talik. Autograph of the Author. Fol. 120. 15 lines on a page in double column. Illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Dated A.H. 1073. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 203.)
311. *Ḥamlah i Haidari*. A Poetical account of the Life of Muḥammad and the first Khalifs. By Mirzā Muḥammad Rafī', surnamed Bāzil. Nastalik. Fol. 406. 20 lines on a page in four columns. Finely illuminated and illustrated with paintings. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 179.)
312. *Ḥamlah i Haidari*. Nastalik. Fol. 338. 24 lines on a page in four columns. Size, $10\frac{3}{4}$ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 179A.)
313. *Nal Daman*. A Poem on Nala and Damayanti of

- the Mahābhārata. By Shaikh Abūl-Faiz, surnamed Faizī. Talik. Fol. 140. 15 lines on a page in double column. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 207.)
314. *Divān i Riyāzi*. Odes. By Riyāzi. Talik. Fol. 52. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 216.)
315. *Minu Khirad*. A Poem. By Marzabān Rāvanī. Nastalik. Fol. 121. 13 lines on a page in double column. Size, 10 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le G. Cat. 43.)
316. *MSS. of Persian and Arabic Poetry, including the Gul u Naurūz by Jalāl Ṭabīb*. Naskh. Fol. 143. 15 lines on a page. Size, 8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$. (Le G. Cat. 44.)
317. *Kitāb Mafatih ul-A'jās fi Sharḥ Gulshan i Rās*. A commentary on the Gulshan i Rās. Shikastah. Fol. 222. 19 lines on a page. Illuminated. Dated A.H. 1096. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 4. (Le G. Cat. 45.)
318. *Kitāb Marzabān Nāmāh*. A Book of Apologues. By Marzabān ben Shirvīn. Translated by S'ad ul-Varāmīnī. Nastalik. Fol. 153. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1086. Size, $11\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 224.)
319. *Kitāb i Vākī'at az barāi Imām Husain*. The Lamentations of the Shiahs. By Miskin and Makbil. Nastalik. Fol. 156. 8 lines on a page. Size $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 183.)
320. *Majmū'ah Sha'rā*. A collection of Poems by various authors. Shafia. Fol. 233. Illuminated. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 210.)
321. *A Miscellaneous Collection of Poetry*. Talik. Fol. 75. 20 lines on a page. Size, 9 by $7\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 185.)
322. *A Collection of Poems by Various Authors*. Nastalik and Shikastah. Fol. 178. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 211.)
323. *A Collection of Poems, Letters, etc., by Various Writers*. Shikastah and Shafia. Fol. 169. Size, 8 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 212.)
324. *Ḳaṣidah dar Marāḥ Navāb Governor General Bahādur*. A poem in honour of Lord Hastings. Talik.

- Fol. 7. Finely illuminated Size 10 by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 175.)
325. *A Common-place Book of Poetry*. Talik. Shikastah. Fol. 79. Size, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 3 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 217.)
326. *Anvār i Suhailī*. Persian version of Kalilah and Dimnah. By Ḥusain ben 'Alī ul Va'iz Kāshifi. Latter portion of the work. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 158. 15 lines on a page. Imperfect at the beginning. Size, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 231.)
327. *Anvār i Suhailī*. Nastalik. Fol. 408. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 926. Size, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. (Le G. Cat. 48.)
328. *Anvār i Suhailī*. Nastalik. Fol. 369. 17 lines on a page. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 222.)
329. *Kalilah u Dimnah*. Translated from the Arabic. By Abūl Ma'ālī Naṣr Ullah. Nastalik. Fol. 135. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1237. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 221.)
330. *'Iyār i Dānīsh*. A Version of Kalilah and Dimnah. By Abūl-Faḥl ben Mubārak, called 'Allāmi. Nastalik. Fol. 223. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1209. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 223.)
331. *'Iyār i Dānīsh*. Nastalik. Fol. 416. 15 lines on a page. Dated 1203. Size, 11 by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 223A.)
332. *Abcāb ul Jinān*. A Collection of Moral Tales and Maxims. Nastalik. Fol. 256. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1079. Size, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 240.)
333. *Tārīkh i Iskandar zu Kārīn*. Story of Alexander the Great. Nastalik. Fol. 386. 20 lines on a page. Size, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 253.)
334. *Jāmi' ul-Hikāyat*. A Collection of Tales. Shikastah Amiz. 23 lines on a page. Vol. I. Fol. 137. (M. Ms. Cat. 255.)
335. *Jāmi' ul Hikāyat*. Vol. II. Fol. 246. (M. Ms. Cat. 256.)
336. *Jāmi' ul Hikāyat*. Vol. III. Fol. 217. (M. Ms. Cat. 257.)

337. *Jāmi' ul Hikāyat*. Vol. IV. Fol. 195. Size, 11 by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 258.)
338. *Hasār u yak Shab*. A Portion of the One Thousand and One Nights. Translated from the Arabic. Nastalik. Fol. 119. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1217. Size, 9 by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 259.)
339. *Mufarriḥ ul-Kulūb*. A Persian translation of the Hitopadesa. Nastalik. Fol. 96. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1217. Size, 9 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 259.)
340. *Kiṣṣah Dilrābā*. A Tale. By Mukhtar Khānī. Nastalik. Fol. 80. 13 lines on a page. Illustrated with paintings. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 263.)
341. *Jāmi' ul-Hikāyat*. A Collection of Tales. Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 140. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1221. Size, 7 by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 269.)
342. *A Collection of Stories, etc.* Turki. Shikastah. Fol. 84. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$. (Le G. Cat. 51.)
343. *A Common-place Book*. Historical fragments, Tales, Poetry, Sayings, and Letters. Shafia and Shikastah. Fol. 340. Size, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 270.)
344. *Bayāz*. A Common-place Book. Extracts in Prose and Verse. Shikastah. Fol. 198. Size, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 9. (M. Ms. Cat. 271.)
345. (1) *A Concise History of Hindustān, from the birth of Aurangzib to the time of Muḥammad Shāh*. Shikastah. Fol. 20. 15 lines on a page. Size 10 by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. P. Cat. 100.)
- (2) *An Arizdasht to the Emperor Aurangzib*. Fol. 5. 13 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1121. (M. Ms. Cat. 131.)
- (3) *Dibāchah Shāh Nāmah i Firdausi*. Preface to the Shāh Nāmah. Fol. 27. 14 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1210. Size, 10 by 5 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 131.)
346. *Riḳ'āat i Jāmi*. Epistles of Jāmi. Fol. 54. 17 lines on a page. Size, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 5. (M. Ms. Cat. 244.)
347. *Laṭīfah i Faiḏi*. Letters of Faiḏi. Nastalik. Fol. 134. 18 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1099. Imperfect at the beginning and end. Size, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 226.)

348. (1) *Risāl Vaṣūl*. A Tract on the Muḥammadan Faith. Shikastah. Fol. 7. 16 lines on a page.
 (2) *Inshā i Harkarn*. Fol. 37. 16 lines on a page.
 (3) *Tuhfat i Sultāniyah*. Formulæ of Letters, etc. By Hasan ben Gūl Muḥammad. Nastalik. Fol. 35. 15 lines on a page. Size, 9 by 5½. (M. Ms. Cat. 250.)
349. *Tracts*. (1) *A Collection of Medical Recipes*. Shikastah. Fol. 13. 17 lines on a page.
 (2) *De Coitu*. Shikastah. Fol. 18. 20 lines on a page.
 (3) *An Arabic and Persian Vocabulary in Verse*. Talik. Fol. 10. 11 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1095.
 (4) *A Collection of Distiches*. Talik. Fol. 3.
 (5) *The Counsels of Nushirvān the Just*. Shikastah. Fol. 3. 15 lines on a page.
 (6) *A Vocabulary of Arabic and Persian Words*. Shikastah. Fol. 4. Size, 8½ by 4½. (M. Ms. Cat. 268.)
350. (1) *Kitāb Munājāt Ḥaṣrat Khwājah 'Abd Ullah Anṣari*. A Collection of Prayers. Talik. Fol. 16. 9 lines on a page. Illuminated. Dated. A.H. 966.
 (2) *Dirān i Khusrau*. Talik. Fol. 28. Size, 9½ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 264.)
351. (1) *A concise Account of the coming of Nādir Shāh to Shāhjahānābād*. Nastalik. Fol. 13. 13 lines on a page. Size, 12½ by 7½.
 (2) *An Account of the Inscriptions, etc. on the Mosques and other buildings at Shāhjahānābād*. By Sangīn Beg, son of 'Alī Akbar Beg. Nastalik and Naskh. Fol. 73. 11 lines on a page. Size, 12½ by 7½.
 (3) *Inscriptions on Mosques, etc.* Naskh, with inter-linear notes in Nastalik. Fol. 7. Size, 13 by 9½.
 (4) *Another copy of the last Pamphlet*. Fol. 7. Size, 13 by 9½. (Le G. Cat. 5.)

HINDUSTANI.

1. (1) *An Account of the Religion of the Sād sect.* By Bhawānī Das. Shikastah. Fol. 52. 13 lines on a page.
- (2) *The Pothi of the Sāds in the Brij Bhaka or Thenth Hindi dialect.* Fol. 128. 11 and 13 lines on a page. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $7\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 277.)
2. *Shigurf Nāmah i Vilāyat.* Travels of Mirza 'Itisam ud-Dīn in Europe. Naskh. Fol. 150. 17 and 16 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1226 and A.D. 1811. Size, $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (Le S. Cat. 77.)
3. *Risālah Kā'nāt.* A treatise on Natural History and Geography. By Khalil 'Alī Khān Ashk. Nastalik. Fol. 33. 9 lines on a page. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 278.)
4. *Rauzat ush-Shuhadā.* Paraphrase of Kāshifis work of the same name. Nastalik. Fol. 187. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1186. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 280.)
5. *A Poetical Account of the Wars between Tipū Sultān and the Mahrattas.* Shikastah Amiz. Fol. 68. 11 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1225. Size, 9 by 6. (M. Ms. Cat. 282.)
6. *Ganj i Khūbi.* Translation of the Persian Akhlāk i Muḥsinī. By Mīr Amman. Nastalik. Fol. 175. 15 lines on a page. In the author's handwriting. Size, 11 by $8\frac{1}{4}$. (Le S. Cat. 79.)
7. *Kulliyāt i Sauda.* Poetical Works. By Muḥammad Rafī called Sauda. Nastalik. Fol. 485. 15 lines on a page. Size, $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (Le S. Cat. 78.)
8. *Gulshan i 'Ishk.* A Deccani Poem. By Naṣratī. Nastalik. Fol. 279. 11 lines on a page in double column. Dated A.H. 1164. Size, $9\frac{1}{4}$ by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 281.)

9. *Majma' ul-Intikhāb*. Selections of Hindustani poetry. With preface and epilogue in Persian, and an Index of Poets and of their poetical names. Written by Shaikh Karam 'Ali. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. Size,
10. *Gulshan i Hind*. A Chrestomathy of Urdu Poetry. Arranged alphabetically. By Mirza 'Ali Luṭf. Talik. Fol. 195. 17 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1255. Size, 12 by 7.
11. *Chahār Darwīsh*. Tale of the Four Darwishes. Nastalik. Fol. 157. 13 lines on a page. Size, 10 by 6½. (M. Ms. Cat. 283.)
12. *Chahār Darwīsh*. Nastalik. Fol. 156. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1241 and A.D. 1826. Imperfect at the beginning. Size, 9½ by 6½. (M. Ms. Cat. 284.)
13. *Gulzār Chīn*. The Story of Rizvān, Prince of China. Nastalik. Fol. 123. 9 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 5¾. (M. Ms. Cat. 285.)

TURKISH.

1. (1) *Vaṣīyyet*. An Exposition of the Sunni Creed and of Religious and Moral Obligations. By Muhammed ben Pīr 'Alī, Birgili. Neskh. Fol. 43. 13 lines on a page.
- (2) *A Tract on Religious Faith, Doctrine, etc.* By Rūmī Efendī. Fol. 3. 13 lines on a page.
- (3) *A Tract on Religious Purity and Faith*. By Kāzī Zādeh Efendī. Fol. 3. 13 lines on a page. Size, 8½ by 6½.
2. *Vaṣīyyet i Birgili*. Neskh. Fol. 93. 9 lines on a page. Size, 4¾ by 3½.
3. *Fetāvā i 'Alī Efendī*. Legal Responsions, with Arabic marginal notes. By 'Alī Efendī. Talik. Fol. 247. 23 lines on a page. Illuminated. Dated A.H. 1104. Size, 8½ by 5½.

4. *Kitāb i 'Ilm i Nāfi'*. A Christian Treatise. Neskh. Fol. 13. 13 lines on a page. Size, 8 by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$.
5. *Tārīkh i Nishānjī Efendī*. A Compendium of General History. By Muḥammed Nishānjī. Neskh. Fol. 107. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 984. Size, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6.
6. *Sa'adet Nāmeḥ*. Stories of Muḥammed and his family. A Translation of the Persian Rauzat ush-Shuhadā of Kāshifī. Talik. Fol. 216. 18 lines on a page. Size, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. *Terjumeḥ i Futūḥ ush-Shām*. Vāḳidī's History of the early Muslim Conquests. Translated by Muḥammed ben Yūsuf Cherkesi. Neskh. Fol. 363. 21 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1106. Size, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$.
8. *Tārīkh i Rāshid*. History of the Ottoman Empire. By Muḥammed Rāshid Efendī. Vol. I. Rika. Fol. 446. 29 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 7.
9. *Tārīkh i Rāshid*. Vols. II. and III. Neskh. Fol. 375. 33 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$.
10. (1) *Tārīkh i Subḥī*. History of the Ottoman Empire. By Subḥī Muḥammed. In two Vols. with Prefaces and Index. Neskh. Fol. 329. 21 lines on a page.
- (2) *Tārīkh i 'Izzī*. Neskh. Fol. 203. 31 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1166. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{4}$.
11. *Tārīkh i 'Izzī*. History of the Turkish Empire. By Suleiman 'Izzī. Talik. Fol. 427. 19 lines on a page. Size, 12 by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$.
12. *Tārīkh i Na'imā*. Annals of the Ottoman Empire. By Na'imā. Neskh. Fol. 360. 33 lines on a page. Size, 11 by 7.
13. *History of the Reigns of the first twelve Ottoman Sultans*. By Şolak Zādeḥ Muḥammed Hemdemī. Neskh. Fol. 506. 19 lines on a page. Size, 13 by 8 $\frac{1}{2}$.
14. *Tāj ut-Tevārīkh*. Part of the History, containing the Lives of the first Seven Sultans. By Sa'd ud-Din ben Ḥasan Jān, commonly called Khojah Efendī. Neskh. Fol. 264. 23 lines on a page. Size, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{1}{4}$.

15. *Tāj ut-Tevārikh*. Nastalik. Fol. 503. 29 lines on a page. Illuminated. Size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$. (M. Ms. Cat. 272.)
16. *Tevārikh i Sultān Suleimān Khān*. History of Sultan Suleiman from A.H. 966 to 974. Divani Neskh. Fol. 45. 10 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1144. Size, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by 7. (M. Ms. Cat. 274.)
17. *Tārikh i Miṣr i Faṭḥ Sultān Selīm Khān*. History of Sultan Selīm's Conquest of Egypt and of that Country to A.H. 1030. By Suheyli. Translated from the Arabic of Sheyk Ahmed ben Zenbel er-Remmāl. Divani Neskh. Fol. 99. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1068. Size, $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$.
18. *Account of a Fight between the Ottomans and Venetians Rika*. Fol. 60. 7 lines on a page. Size, 9 by 6.
19. *Es-Seba' us-Seyyār*. A History of the Seven Khāns of the Crimea. By Seyyed Muḥammed Rizā. Divani Neskh. Fol. 114. 27 lines on a page. Size, $12\frac{1}{4}$ by 8. (M. Ms. Cat. 273.)
20. *Tezkeret ush-Shu'arā*. Memoirs of Turkish Poets. By 'Abd ul-Laṭif, surnamed Laṭifi. Neskh. Fol. 164. 15 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 964. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$.
21. *Tezkeret ush-Shu'arā*. Memoirs of Turkish Poets. By Kinali Zādeh. Kirma. Fol. 100. 19 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1051. Size, 8 by 6.
22. *Seyāhat Nāmeḥ i Evliyā Chelebi*. Travels of Evliyā Chelebi. Vol. I. Neskh. Fol. 450. 33 lines on a page.
23. *Seyāhat Nāmeḥ i Evliyā Chelebi*. Vol. II. Fol. 472. 33 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1066. Size, $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $8\frac{3}{4}$.
24. *Sefāret Nāmeḥ i Resmī Efendī*. Travels in Germany, Poland, etc. By Hāji Ahmed Resmī. Neskh. Fol. 34. 23 lines on a page. Dated A.H. 1178. Size, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$.
25. *Munshē'at i Nābi Efendī*. Letters of Nābi Efendī. Neskh. Fol. 152. 19 lines on a page. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 6.



26. *A Book of Charms, etc.* Turkish and Arabic. With part of the Koran at the beginning. Neskh. Fol. 145. 6 lines on a page. Size 4 by 3.
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LIST OF
THE TIBETAN MSS. AND PRINTED BOOKS
IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
BY
H. WENZEL, Ph.D.

MANUSCRIPTS.

- (I.) Damamūsho (*sic!*) ཇམས་པུན་མཚན་གྱི་བཞུགས་པའི་མཛོད་མཛོད་ [Mdo xxviii. 1, Feer, p. 283], fol. 300, line 7. Miniatures of Çākya-rāja, Maitreya, Çuddhodana, Māyā (?), and, on last leaf, *Guru señ-ge · sgra · sgrogs* and *Gcug · gtor rnam · par rgyal ma*. 22 by 7½. (Presented by Hodgson, 1833.)
- (II.) 26 by 8½. Fol. 315 (desunt 68–126 incl.), line 8. Begins: Arya daça dig andhakara bhiddhansananama mahayāna sutra¹ (*sic!*), 'in Tibetan.' The 'venerable treatise of the great vehicle called the entire chacing of the darkness of the ten regions.' (See Mdo xxii. 3, Feer, p. 272.) Vol. marked ར་ (ra, *i.e.* 25). Fol. 9. Arya meitraya prasthānan nama mahayana sutra (*sic.*), Tib. : the entry (?) of Maitreya.
- (III.) 26 by 8½. Lines 8.
- (1) Sign འ (ña=?), fol. 2–6, begin and end incomplete, no title.
 - (2) Sign ང (ña=4), fol. 81–150, begin and end incomplete, no title. On fol. 100^b begins a 'sixth book.' Fol. 185–204 (on 204, 11 book).
 - (3) Sign ཅ (cha=6), fol. 33–166 (fol. 37^b, book 4; 40, 'fourth chapter, the showing of examples').
 - (4) Sign ཇ (r=25), fol. 68–126.

¹ The Sanscrit titles are given exactly as found in the Tibetan transliteration.

(IV.) 22½ by 8½. Lines 8. Silk labels with embroidered 'Book 1,' etc. (Hodgson). Çatasahasrika prajñāpāramitā, title in gold on blue under silk.

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Vol. 1. (ྐ) fol. 283. | Vol. 10. (ཨ) fol. 327. |
| „ 2. (ྑ) „ 320. | „ 11. (ཨ) „ 296. |
| „ 3. (ྒ) „ 276. | „ 12. (ཨ) „ 334. |
| „ 4. (ྒྷ) „ 324. | „ 13. (ཨ) „ 303. |
| „ 5. (ྔ) „ 300. | „ 14. (ཨ) deest. |
| „ 6. (ྕ) } desunt. | „ 15. (ཨ) „ 340. |
| „ 7. (ྖ) } | „ 16. (ཨ) „ 316. |
| „ 8. (ྗ) „ 250. | „ 17. (ཨ) „ 317. |
| „ 9. (྘) deest. | |

(V.) Line 5. Fragments, negligently written on coarse paper.

- (1) Sign ྐ (2). Fol. 25, 30–33, 41.
- (2) Sign ྑ (14). Fol. 3, 20 (?), 23–30, 32, 34.
- (3) Sign ྒ (17). Fol. 6–12. Firm writing.
- (4) Subhabusmatamgha, *Gser od dam · pai sha rgai gruñs*. Fol. 14, lines 6 (desunt 4, 11), signed W (24), and, from fol. 7 on, I. (25).
- (5) Çatasahasrikā prajñā pāramita. Fol. 2.
- (6) Fol. 1. End leaf, number 10, lines 2.
- (7) Vajracchedikā. Fol. 1.
- (8) Vajracchedikā. Title white in black. 1 fol., and 16 stray leaves from different works.

(VI.) 15¾ by 4. 5 lines (3 black and 2 red, interchanging). Fol. 3–7, 9–11, 13–15, 17, 18, 20, 22–28, 30–47 (end). Vajracchidikā—ink in places very much faded.

(VII.) Ārya bhadracarya pranidhānarūja · phags · pa bzai · po spyod · pa smou · lam · gyi rgyal · po [Phalchen 45, Feer, p. 212]. Fol. 9, lines 6. 15½ by 4½.

- (VIII.) Sarvadurgati pariṣodhani tejo rāja ya (*sic!*) tathāgata arabate samyag-sambuddhasya kalpa namo [Rgyud ix, 1, 2, Feer, p. 306]. 8½ by 3½. Lines 5 (3 silver, two gold, alternately) on blue. Fol. 1-4, 6-10, 12-26, 28-33, 36-88, 91, 92, 95-128, 130-152, 155-185 (end).
- (IX.) Ārya vajracchedikā prajñāparamita ghuna dhora sutra (*sic!*). *Rdo rje gcod · pai phan yon bṣad · pai · mdo* (*i.e.* 'Sūtra explaining the usefulness of the Vajracchedikā'). Fol. 12. 20½ by 7¾. Lines 8.
- (X.) *Sdig · pa thams · chad bṣags · pai · mdo* ('Sūtra of the confession of sins'). 20½ by 7. Fol. 5, line 8.
- (XI.) Ārya pradha jñāna nama mahāyana sutra (*sic!*). *phags pa nda · ga ye · ces zhes · bya · va theg · pa chen · poi mdo* ('Sūtra on the knowledge of death'). Fol. 3. 19½ by 6. Lines 5. Signed *Ga* (iii).
- (XII.) Ārya mañjuṣrī nama saṅgiti. Fol. 20. 17 by 6. Line 6 (*phags pa · jam · dpal · gyi mḥan yan · dag · par brjod · pa*).
- (XIII.) *Byaṅ · chub ltuṅ · va bṣags · pa* ('The Bodhi (satvas) confession of their faults.') This on front and at end, on fol. 5. On fol 1^b. Trikanta sutri (*sic!*). *Puṅ · po gsum · pai mdo (sic!)* (Sūtra of the three Skandhas.) Fol. 5. 19½ by 6. Lines 6.
- (XIV.) *Gḥug · tor nag · mo* ('The black turban' or rather 'She with the bl. t.'). On fol. 1^b. Dema hebhi maheçara (*sic!*). *Lha · mo · rol · par byed · pa* ('The play of the goddess?') Signed *Cha* (vi.) Fol. 3 (incomplete). 19 by 5¾. Lines 5.
- (XV.) Bhagavati ushṇisha vijaya nama dharani. Fol. 3 (incomplete). Sign *Ja* (=vii.) 19½ by 6. Lines 5.
- (XVI.) 19 by 7½. Lines 7. Fol. 83-91, 94, 100 (p200), 117, 123-132 (the same fol. numbered 132 and 133), 169, 186-194, 201, 202, 208-211, 213-234 (incomplete). Signed *Ka* (i.) On fol. 89^a. *Klu · bum dkar · po* of which a German translation by Schiefner was published in the St. Petersburg Academy ('Das weisse Nāga Hunderttausend.') It is preceded here apparently by another work on the *Bon* religion.

- (XVIb.) Four stray leaves, whereof two belong together. 17½ by 3.
- (XVII.) *Rje bla · mai gsol · debs dga · ldan lha rgya · ma* ('The Rev. Lama's prayer, (called?) Steelyard of the Tushita gods.') Fol. 3. 13 by 3½.
- (XVIII.) *Mkha_gro bcu skor · gyi mo dpe snañ gsal ñi · mai dkyil khor* ('Circle of the sun, illustrating the ten divisions of Dākini's'). 9¾ by 2¾. Fol. 32 (stitched at small side, and written straight on like European book). Lines 6.

Cursive.

All the following MSS. are written in Cursive; mostly of the 'stiff' kind :

- (XIX.) 16½ by 4½. Fol. 30. In dark green cloth cover.
- (1) *Lha · bsans bar chad kun sel gser skyem dan bcas · pa* ('That with the gold drink, dissolving all impediments withstanding (?) the gods'). Lines 7. On Fol. 15, 16. Magical diagrams (a hand, circle, square, human body, scales, scene of adoration, etc.), with explanation (in running hand). Fol. 17, 18, 19a. Badly written flying cursive.
- (2) Fol. 29, 30a. Coarsely written cursive.
- (XX.) 18 by 3. Lines 7 and 8. *Bde mchog mkha groi sñam rdud las . . lhancig skyes · mai . . .* Sign in margin *Ya* (xxvi.). Fol. 11 (incomplete).
- (XXI.) Running hand. 17½ by 3½. Fol. 4. Lines 7. *di na Nāro poi upade çao.* ('Herein is (contained) Nāro's counsel.') See Print xiv.
- (XXII.) 17¾ by 3. Lines 8. Title (in Dbucan): *Ti lo gzhuñ chuñgi grel · pa mkhas · pa dga byed mthoñ · va don grub zhes bya · va.*
- Two miniature portraits. Margin signed *Om*. Fol. 1, 2, 4-12 (incomplete).
- (XXIII.) 18½ by 3. Lines 7. *Sñan · rgyud — rkañ · gi sa bead ma rig mun sel zhib . mo bkod pa zhes · bya · va.* Fol. 5 (incomplete).

- (XXIV.) $18\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$. Lines 7. Begins: *Rta nag rcan dgod*, etc. Fol. 3 (incomplete).
- (XXV.) $17\frac{3}{4}$ by 3 (and little smaller).
- (1) *Bla · ma dgoñs · pa dus pa las* — — — *thus sgrubs gsal byod thugs · kyī nor · bui bsgrub · pa dañ las sbyor*. Fol. 1 (incomplete).
 - (2) *Rdo · rje rnam · par jom · pa zhes bya · ca*. Fol. 1 (incomplete).
 - (3) Incomplete; without title. Lines 7. Fol. 10, 11, 13–24.
 - (4) *Opal ze-ces · kyī mgon · po phyag bzhi pai chog sgrigs*. Fol. 13 (incomplete).
 - (5) Incomplete. Fol. 9–13 (end). Lines 7.
 - (6) Incomplete. Fol. 2–5. Sign, *Ja* (=vii). Coarse writing.
 - (7) *Gzhad · pa*. Fol. 2 (incomplete).
 - (8) Incomplete. Fol. 3–4 (end). Lines 8.
 - (9) Incomplete. Fol. 22–24 (end). Lines 7.
 - (10) *Bla · ma mchod · pai lhan thabs dvañ mchog*. Fol. 3 (incomplete). Lines 5.
 - (11) Title pasted over (!). Margin signed *Chos dvañ*. Fol. 4–27 (incomplete). Lines 6.
 - (12) Two leaves, coarse writing. Signed, *Cha* (v.) 2, 3 (incomplete).
 - (13) 26 stray leaves from different works.
 - (14) $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$. *Bzlog · pha lam gyis shal gdams*. Fol. 3.
 - (15) Two leaves apparently of same work. Lines 9. 13 by $2\frac{3}{4}$.
 - (16) Fol. 1, 3–5. $12\frac{1}{4}$ by 3. Lines 7.
jam · dpal nog · poi - r.
 - (17) Two leaves. $7\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$.
khor · gyi phag · yon, etc.
- (XXVI.) *Lhan geig skyes sbyor · gyi khrid · yig* ('Instruction (how to) conform with the (divinity) born together (with oneself)')?. $19\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$. Fol. 1–14. Line 7.
- (XXVII.) Running cursive. Beginning wanting. Fol. 7–14 (end). $15\frac{1}{2}$ by 3. Lines 7.

- (XXVIII). Fol. 6 and end leaf of some work. 19 by 3.
Lines 7.
- (XXIX). Fol. 2-6 of some work. Incomplete. 7½ by 2½.

PRINTS.

- (I.) (1) Vajracchedikā [Çerphyin xxi. 5, Feer, p. 201].
Fol. 35. Lines 6. Coloured likeness of Çākya-muni,
Dipankara, Maitreya and the arhat Subhūti. 16 copies.
(2) Same. Another copy. Likenesses not coloured.
(3)=(2). (4) same. (5) s. (6) s. (7) s. (8) s. (9) s.
(10) s. (11) s. (12) s. (13) s. (14) s. (15) s.
(16) s.
- (Ib.) Same. 14 copies.
- (II.) Vajracchedikā. Fol. 33. Lines 6. Likenesses of
Çāriputra, Çākya-muni, Maudgalyāyana. 17 copies
and some stray leaves of same edition (2, 23-28).
[No. 6.]
- (III.) Id. 11 copies and stray leaves. [No. 5.]
- (IV.) Id. 2 copies. 16½ by 5½. Fol. 35. Lines 6.
desunt, in copy 1: 26, 29, 32: in copy 2: 12.
Duplicates fol. 6 (twice) 8, 11.
- (V.) Id. 16½ by 5½. Fol. 35. Line 6. Likenesses
as i. 2.
- (VI.) Legendary biography of Padmasambhava of Udyāna
(*U-rgyan ghu-ru (sic!)*). *Padma byuñ gnas · kyi*
skyes · rabs nram · par · thar · pa rgyas · par bkod · pa
padma bkai thau · yig). 20 by 4. Fol. 252. Lines 6.
Of this work there is an incomplete manuscript in
the British Museum (15,522).
- (VII.) 'Coherent exposition of perpetual offering' (P)
(*Rgyun · gtor khrigs · su bkod · pa*). A ritual. 19½
by 3½. Fol. 17 (dust 16). Lines 7.
- (VIII.) *Ārya · aparimita-āyurjūāna · nāma mahāyana sūtra*
(*Kanjur, Rgyud xiv. 30; Feer, p. 329*). 13½ by 4½.
Fol. 25. Lines 5. Extremely well printed on stout
European paper (watermark).

- (IX.) A great number (about 600) copies of leaf 53 of some work. Lines 7. 18 by $4\frac{1}{2}$, and two end leaves of different works with roughly coloured likenesses.
- (IXb.) Great number of leaf 22 of Vajracchidikā and some more of the leaf 53 of ix.
- (X.) Fragments of different works, disorderly put together, beginning of many leaves cut off, so that signs and numbers have disappeared. But the following may be recognised as being each the parts of one work, all about $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 4. Lines 6. Mostly ritual.
- (1) *Chos spyod* (i.e. Dharma-caritā?) in margin. Fol. 9, 10, 12, 14, 16-20, 24-29, 31-37, 39-42, 44-53, 80-86.
 - (2) Same title in margin, but *ka* (=1) before. Fol. 16, 27, 31, 32, 35, 36, 40, 46, 50, 51 (twice), 59 (twice), 65, 75, 79, 84, 98 (twice), 99.
 - (3) Same title as 1; but apparently different (edition?). Fol. 16, 17.
 - (4) *Gsañ dkyil* ('Circle of mystery'; perhaps Guhya-maṇḍala) on margin; two different (editions?). Fol. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, and 3, 6-10.
 - (5) *Ka* (=i), *Gzhuñ lam* ('The main road?'). Fol. 8, 12, 17, 18, 23, 26-32, 43, 45, 63, 102, 108, 109 (end).
 - (6) *Bya · rgyud don · gsal*. Fol. 11, 12, 13, 20, 21, 192, 194, 197, 213, 215, 217, 218, 280, 307, 310 (twice), 311, 314, 315 (twice), 316, 317 (twice), 318, 320 (twice), 321, 340 (P), 370 (P).
 - (7) *Ca* (=iv.) *Ecam*. Fol. 4, 26, 43, 120-124, 168-170, 172, 212-215.
 - (8) *Gsañ rnam* ('Classes of mystery?'). Fol. 3, 5, 12-39 (38 twice), 41, 42, 43.
 - (9) *Lam gcò* ('The excellent way'). Fol. 17, 21, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 33, 34, 37, 42, 47, 48, 52, 54, 55.
 - (10) *Gsañ mñon* ('The evident secret'). Fol. 9, 13, 14, 17, 19.
 - (11) *Gzhi gsum* ('The three fundamental causes'). Fol. 13, 24, 26, 27, 28, 37.
 - (12) *Gzhi gsum gsal byed* ('Explanation of the three fundamental causes'). Fol. 10, 12, 13.

- (13) *Bde mñon* ('Evident happiness'). Fol. 5, 6, 8, 9 (?), 12, 13, 18, 19, 20-24.
- (14) *Skyabs gro* ('Çaraṇagamanam'). Fol. 3, 5, 7, 11-18.
- (15) *Las chog* ('Rite of work'). Fol. 21, 22, 30, 32, 34.
- (16) *Kha* (=II.) *Gsañ bskyed* ('Birth of mystery'). Fol. 4, 5, 50, 51, 52.
- (17) *Bde dkyil* ('Circle of happiness'). Fol. 28, 33-36, and one with number cut off.
- (18) *Brgya bzhi* ('Hundred and four'). Fol. 3, 4, 5, 7.
- (19) *jigs · byed bskyed rim* ('Method of producing the fearful' viz. 'divinities'). Fol. 27, 30.
- (20) *Ka* (=I.). Fol. 10, 12, 28, 38 (twice).
- (21) *Thor · bu* ('Separate' (sc. work)). Fol. 45, 46.
- (22) *dul · va* ('Vinaya'). Fol. 3 (twice).
- (23) *Ka* (=I.) *Gcod dkar gyed*. Fol. 13, 14, 15, 16.
- (24) Single leaves of the following: *Rnam thar* ('Legend') *Ka* (I.), fol. 48; *Lam rim gsol debs* ('Prayer for the way of perfection'), fol. 3; *Çita*, fol. 3.; *Ka* (I.), *Bla khrid* ('Guidance above), fol. 3; *Ma* (=XVI.) *Sman · bla* ('The supreme physician,' i.e. god of medicine), fol. 4; *Ca* (V.) *Sgrub thabs* ('Method of coercion' i.e. Sādhana), fol. 20; *Thig · le bcu drug* ('The sixteen spots'), fol. 16; *Bde lam* ('Way of happiness') fol. 5; *Gser zhun* ('Gold Melting'), fol. 6.; *jigs · dkyil* ('Circle of fear'), fol. 5; *Grañs cel*, fol. 38; *Sna dhogs* ('Various') *Ja* (=VII.), fol. 22; *Tha* (=XIV.) *Lam* ('Path'), fol. 8; *Ca* (V.) *Oñi*, fol. 2; *Dpal khor · lo sdom · pai zhi · vai sbyin · sreg gi cho · gai rim pa gsal var bkod pa* ('Ritual of the burnt offering of the glorious wheel'), fol. 1; *Bla · mai bka · drin dran · pai gsol debs* ('Prayer remembering the Guru's kindness'), fol. 1, 3, (end); *Sñags khañ bla brgyud*, fol. 3 (end).
- (25) 30 leaves whose beginnings are cut off, so that it was not to be seen to what work they belonged.
- (26) Unknown! fol. 6-13, 16, 17, 36-70, 88-98, 107, 108, 109, 118. Lines 7. Prayers and dhāraṇis.

- (XI.) Vajracchedikā. 13½ by 4. Lines 6. Fol. 4-44, 46-49 (end).
- (XII.) *Bla · mai gsol, debz sbyin rlabs myur jug* ('The Guru's prayer: Quick entrance to blessing'). 14½ by 3½. Fol. 6 (complete). Lines 4.
- (XIII.) Dohakočanāma mahā mantra upadeṣa, first leaf¹ and first leaf of another work, printing blurred and unrecognisable; together with four leaves of mystical diagrams (of human figures) and calculations. Also two large sheets (20 by 19 and 15 by 19) with magic circles. Diagrams and the rest manuscript.
- (XIV.) About 300 leaves of various works, among which are apparently 110 belonging to the same volume. Among them are also the following leaves belonging to works enumerated in x. *Ca Ecam* (see x. 7), fol. 206-209, 218; *Gsañ mñon* (x. 10), fol. 12, 15, 16; *Bya rgyud don gsal* (x. 6), fol. 21, 303, 308, 309, 310, 312; *Bde lam* (x. 24), fol. 6, 7, 10-15; *Ka Gzhuñ lam* (x. 5), fol. 106; *Ka chos spyod* (x. 2), fol. 35; *Lam · gèò* (x. 9), fol. 15, 18; *Las chog* (x. 15), fol. 26, 27; *Kha Gsañ bskyed* (x. 16), fol. 10; *Bde mñon* (x. 15), fol. 15; *Dpal gsañ va · dus · pai dkyil khor gyi cho · ga ñag · don gyi rim par bsgrigs · pa* (being the full title of x. 4), fol. 1, 2; *Gsañ rnam* (x. 8), fol. 2; *Skyabs gro* (x. 14), fol. 10. Further, *Beom ldan das · ma phags · ma gdugs dkar cān gyi sgrub thabs mchog · tu grub pai sñiñ · po* ('Method to coerce the Bhagavāni, the Noble Holder of the white umbrella, called Essence of Excellent Coercion'), fol. 1 (incomplete); *Ta* (=ix.) *Dkar chag* ('Index,') fol. 1 (complete), end leaf of a work (24), blurred printing; *Nāro lugs · kyī bde · mchog bcu · gsum gyi khor · loi · dsiñ* (? *khriā*) ('The bringing of the thirteen Çambaras in Nāro's (a celebrated Blama) manner,') fol. 9 (incomplete); *Maitri · pai phyag ·*

¹ This being apparently the first leaf of the Vol. mentioned last in xiv, I have reunited them.

rgya chen · po tshig bsdus · pa, on end leaf ('The great Mudrā (mystical gesture) of Maitreya, condensed,') fol. 2-13 (end). On fol. 12*b* the Skr. title; Mahāmutra sañcamitha (!); fol. 11*a*, *Adhi sidhisama*, Tib. *Lta · ra mdor bsdus · pa* ('The views (opinions of Nāro) collected'); fol. 9*a*, Mahā mutra (*sic!*) upadeṣa, etc.

- (XV.) 18 by 3½. Lines 6. Fol. 371. 1. *Chos skyoñ vai rgyal · po bsoñ · btsan · rgam · poi bkah · bum · las smad · kyi cha zhal gdams · kyi bskor*. Fol. 1-319. 'From the collected works of the Defender of the Faith, King Srongtsangampo': The Circle of Instructions?'¹ Fol. 320 begins: 2. *Chos skyoñ vai rgyal po bsoñ btsan rgam poi zhal · gdams · phags · pa nam · mkhai rgyal · poi mñon · rlogs sogs phran · ga*.
- (XVI.) 1. *Rdo rje rgyal · mtshan · gyi yoñs · su bsoñ · va* (*i.e.* Vajradhvaja-pariṇāma). [Phal chen 30, Feer p. 211.] 20¾ by 8¼. Fol. 3. Line 7.
2. *Ārya vipule praveṣa mahā sūtrana* (*sic!*). *phags · pa yañs · pai groñ · khyer · du jug · pa* [Rgyud xi, 4; Feer p. 311.] Fol. 9.
- (XVII.) 1. *Āryaḍaḍigandhakāra vidhvansana* (see MS. ii.) 20 by 6½. Line 7. Fol. 1, 5-9, 12, 13 (incomplete).
- (XVIII.) One leaf. 12½ by 3. In margin *Ka* (i.) Line 6. Prayer (10 strophes).

¹ Being short speeches of advice from the king to his subjects on different occasions, beginning with his two queens (the Nepalese and the Chinese princesses); preceded by a short explanation, which Avalokiteṣvara gives to the king, of the meaning and power of the *Om mañi padme hum*, which latter is repeated in each section. (The six syllables are said to belong each to one of the six divisions of animated beings (*gati*)).



ART. XI.—*Life and Labours of Mr. Edward Rehatsek.* By
F. F. ARBUTHNOT, M.R.A.S.

A SHORT notice of this most industrious and intelligent Orientalist has already appeared in the obituary notices of the *Journal* of January, 1892. But as my deceased friend had devoted the whole of his life to the cultivation and propagation of Oriental knowledge and Oriental literature, it was considered desirable to place on record a more detailed account of his varied labours in this particular field of thought and culture.

Of Mr. Rehatsek's early life very little is known. It is said that his father was a Forest Inspector on the estate of Princess Odescalchi, in Hungary, and that he was born on one of the estates at Illack on the 3rd July, 1819. He was educated at Buda-Pesth, studied at the University there, and took the degree of Master of Civil Engineering. Leaving Hungary at the end of 1842, he spent a few months in Paris, then four years in the United States of America, and in 1847 sailed to India from New Orleans *via* Liverpool and the Cape of Good Hope. Arriving in Bombay on the 5th of December, 1847, he settled down in India, and remained in that country for the rest of his life, dying in Bombay on Friday, the 11th of December, 1891, aged 72.

I have some idea that on Mr. Rehatsek's first arrival he was employed in the Public Works Department, in which, however, he did not remain long. He then continued his studies of Oriental languages and literature, and sometimes accompanied Dr. Bhau Daji, the well-known Bombay scholar and antiquary, in his travels of research over various parts of India. Later on, being a competent mathematician and a distinguished Latin scholar, he was

employed as Professor of Mathematics and of Latin in the Wilson College, Bombay, which office he held till 1871.

Being acquainted with some twelve languages, he also taught private pupils, and gave lessons in Latin, Persian, Arabic, and French. He further translated a number of Persian and Arabic works, read many papers before learned Societies, and wrote many articles for Indian Reviews and Journals generally, the details of which will be given presently.

For twelve years up to 1881 Mr. Rehatsek was Examiner at the Bombay University in Latin, Persian, and Arabic, and for one year in French also, but such was his independence that he gave up these duties as soon as the application system was introduced. In 1873 he was made a Fellow of the said University and was twice the Wilson Philological Lecturer there on the Hebrew and Semitic languages. In 1874 he was elected an honorary member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in recognition of his Oriental learning, and also became an honorary member of some learned European and American Societies interested in Oriental research. All these honours were unsought for, and as a general rule, it may be said, that he never asked for anything during his whole career.

Mr. Rehatsek was unmarried, and a man of regular habits, living the life of an ascetic and recluse. He was his own master and his own servant, for servant he kept none, thereby showing the truth of the Sanskrit saying, "Ascetics are their own servants." He abstained from wine and spirits altogether, and tried also to do without animal food, but he found, as he told me himself, that this weakened him so much that he was obliged to revert to it, though he took it very sparingly. His usual food consisted of bread, milk, tea, coffee, rice, and plantains. At the door of his house there was a box into which the baker put a loaf of bread every morning, and the milkman filled with milk a jug that was placed there. His other necessities he purchased himself in the bazaar, and he prepared all his own food, using a spirit lamp to boil the water for

his tea and coffee, as he told me that it was more economical than a fire. Doing without servants, he said, was a great source of peace, comfort, and repose, and he certainly adopted Schopenhauer's ideas that the two great principles in life were to live, if possible, without pain and without ennui.

The only real property that Mr. Rehatsek possessed was a small house situated in Khetwady, Bombay, and which he had purchased. His furniture was of the poorest kind, and so very scanty that one wondered how it was sufficient for his wants. His library consisted of Arabic, Persian, English, German, Latin, and French works, and with these he worked all day, going out every morning and evening for a walk, and latterly I believe on a tricycle, to the sea-side. His manuscripts and translations were all written in a very small, but very legible, hand, and he had several cases full of them.

Most of the above has been taken from an obituary notice of Mr. Rehatsek which appeared [13th December, 1891] in "Native Opinion," an anglo-vernacular bi-weekly journal published in Bombay, and to which the deceased had been a constant contributor since 1871. So devoted was he to his work that on Wednesday, the 9th of December, while on his death-bed, he had prepared his usual article. When the editor of the paper called upon him, the poor old man, too feeble to speak, pointed to his desk, where lay, just completed, the last contribution that came from his pen.

From his latest letters to me it was evident that his health was failing, and that he had not been well for some time. In his last illness he was attended by Dr. Kunte, Dr. Deshmookh, and Dr. John de Cunha. It culminated in cystitis, and he died on Friday morning, the 11th of December, 1891, at about 6.30 a.m. attended upon by his friends, all of whom were either natives of India or Portuguese. Having expressed an earnest desire to be cremated according to the Hindu fashion, the ceremony was performed the same evening. His body, covered with

garlands of flowers, and accompanied by his friends, was carried to the sea-shore, and placed there on the usual pile of wood, was soon converted into ashes. It is said that this was the first European ever cremated in Bombay, or perhaps, indeed, in India.

Though Mr. Rehatsek had reduced the necessaries of life to a minimum, it was from his habits and tastes that he did so, and not from actual necessity. The Duke of Wellington used to say that habit was not only second nature, but ten times nature; well, Mr. Rehatsek was so accustomed to his style of living that he preferred it to any other, and it grew upon him, like every so-called virtue, or so-called vice, grows upon other people. Anyhow he seems to have saved some thirty thousand rupees, which he left for the education of the poor boys in the primary schools of Bombay, without any distinction of caste, colour, or creed. The interest of this sum [the principal being invested in Government securities] is to be awarded in money prizes to the most deserving pupils of these schools. His house is either to be sold and the proceeds added to the above fund, or to be lent for scholastic purposes free of charge, as his executors may decide. His books, manuscripts, and translations he bequeathed to the Native General Library, Bombay.

It now remains to place on record the literary work of Mr. Rehatsek during the many years he spent in India. As this is somewhat scattered, I have collected, as far as I have been able to do so, the names of the works that he translated, and of the articles that he wrote, and the subjoined list, though long, is not devoid of interest.

- (1) His contributions to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* between 1874 and 1882 are as follows, twenty-six in all:

Vol. X.

Twelve Sabæan Inscriptions.

Explanations and Facsimiles of eight Arabic Talismanic Medicine cups.

Facsimiles of Muhammadan coins.

The Evil Eye, Amulets, Recipes, Exorcisation, etc.

Vol. XI.

The subjugation of Persia by the Moslems and the extinction of the Sasanian dynasty.

The labours of the Arab astronomers and their instruments, with the description of an astrolabe in the Mulla Firuz Library, Bombay.

Vol. XII.

Some beliefs and usages among the Pre-islamitic Arabs, with notes on their Polytheism, Judaism, and Christianity, and the Mythic period of their history.

Contact of the Jews with the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, from the division of the Hebrew Monarchy into two kingdoms till the entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem, and a view of Jewish Civilization.

The Báw and Gaobarah Sephabuds along the Southern Caspian Shores.

Vol. XIII.

Christianity in the Persian dominions from its beginning till the fall of the Sasanian dynasty.

Christianity among the Mongols till their expulsion from China in 1368, comprising the Eastern Grand Khāns or Emperors with the Western or Persian Khāns.

Brief notice of two Arabic MSS. on the history of Yemen.

Vol. XIV.

A Punja of yellow brass in the Museum of the B.B.R.A.S. drawn and described.

Early Moslem accounts of the Hindu religions.

A few analogies in the Thousand and One Nights and in Latin authors.

Some parallel proverbs in English, Arabic, and Persian.

The use of wine among the ancient Arabs.

On the Arabic alphabet and early writings [with a table of alphabets].

Magic.

Notes on some old arms and instruments of war chiefly among the Arabs.

The history of the Wahhabis in Arabia and in India.

The doctrines of Metempsychosis and Incarnation among nine heretic Muhammadan sects.

Vol. XV.

Picture and description of Borak.

The Alexander myth of the Persians.

Specimens of Pre-Islamitic Arabic poetry selected and translated from the Hamasah.

Emporia, chiefly ports of Arab and Indian international commerce before the Christian era.

(2) His contributions to *The Calcutta Review* between 1879 and 1891 consisted of twenty-one articles as follows :

Vol. 68.

Oriental humour illustrated by Anecdotes.

Vol. 70.

Gastronomical anecdotes of the earlier Khalifs.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part I.

Vol. 71.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part II.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part III.

Vol. 72.

Oriental Folk Lore. Part IV.

The Holy Inquisition at Goa.

Vol. 73.

The life of Jesus according to the Korān and Moslem tradition.

Historical sketch of Portuguese India, with a list of the Viceroy's till 1881.

Vol. 74.

How the Portuguese obtained a footing in the island of Diu.

Vol. 75.

Mandelslo and Thevenot, their travels in India.
The Monastic and Secular Clergy of Portuguese India.

Vol. 76.

Carvalho, Count of Oyeiras, better known as Marquis of Pombal.

Adamole's notes on a journey from Perm to Tashkend.
Part I.

Vol. 77.

Adamole's notes on a journey from Perm to Tashkend.
Part II.

Capello and Ivens, their exploration in Africa, 1877-1880.

Vol. 78.

The vicissitudes of the city of Baghdad from its foundation till our times.

"La nuova Italia ed i Vecchi Zelanti" of the Ex-Jesuit Curci.

Vol. 79.

Contacts of China with foreign nations from the earliest till the present times.

Vol. 81.

The pre-historic man of caves and lake dwellings.

Vol. 82.

Missionaries at the Moghul Courts; in Southern and in Portuguese India during the reign of the Emperor Akbar and after it.

Vol. 85.

The Relations of Islam to Christianity, and of Christianity to Civilization.

Vol. 87.

Military career of the Prophet Muhammad, which began A.H. 2, and ended with his death A.H. 11.

Vols. 91 and 92.

The beginnings of Dutch Commerce in India. Parts I. and II.

Vol. 93.

Journey of Padre Manuel Godinho, S.J., from India to Portugal in the year 1663 by way of Mesopotamia.

- (3) Between the years 1872 and 1886 Mr. Rehatsek supplied the following articles to *The Indian Antiquary*, not including short letters and explanations addressed to the same journal:—

1872.

Facsimile of a Persian Map of the World with an English translation.

1873.

An embassy to Khatā or China, A.D. 1419, translated from the Persian.

Also twelve other minor contributions in the shape of reviews and translations of small pieces from the Persian.

1874.

The Establishment of the Royal City of Hirat and its dependencies, translated from the Persian.

Also nine other minor contributions and translations.

1875.

Biography of Jellal-ud din Rūmi, the great Persian poet and mystic.

Also six minor contributions.

1876.

The Twelve Imams.

1877.

A notice of Garcin de Tassy's "La langage et la litterature Hindoustanies" en 1876, and a translation of the first part of Professor A. Weber's paper on the Krishnajanmāshtamī or Krishna's birth festival.

1878.

A notice of Garcin de Tassy's Work mentioned above for 1887.

1881.

Notes and Queries.

1882.

Three Inscriptions from Raichor.

1883.

An Aden Epitaph in Arabic translated.

1884.

Did the Arabs really burn the Alexandrian Library?

1885.

Sabæan Inscriptions on an Incense-burner.
Russian Icons.

1886.

The Last Years of Shah Shuja'a, with an Appendix on the Affairs of Hirat. Translated from the Tārikh Sultāni of Sultān Muhammad Khan Barukzai. This is a very interesting article, and describes events from an Afghan standpoint, but with considerable impartiality.

1887 and 1888.

A letter of the Emperor Akbar asking for the Christian Scriptures.

The Reign of Ahmed Shah Durani. Translated from the Tārikh Sultāni quoted above.

A Notice of the Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh, or Book of the Conquests of Ranjit Singh, by Kanhayya Lāl Sahib, Executive Engineer, Lahore.

1890 and 1891.

A Notice of the Gulābnama, or Biography of Gulāb Singh, Mahārājah of Kashmir, A.D. 1875, by Kirpārām, Diwān of Mahārājah Ranbir Singh.

- (4) The papers sent to *The Bombay Anthropological Society* were as follows :

On Religious Injunctions and Personal Vows with respect to Sexual Abstinence.

Veneration for the Dead in China.

Statistics of Suicides in the City of Bombay since 1886.

A Descriptive Alphabetical List of Twenty Occult Sciences of the Moslems.

On Hindu Civilization in the far East as represented by Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions, with a Map.

Superstitions of the Goa People from Portuguese sources.

- (5) Between 1880 and 1882 Mr. Rehatsek sent the following interesting papers to *The Journal of the National Indian Association* :—

Bombay One Hundred and Fifteen Years Ago. This account of Bombay and of Surat in 1764, by the father of the historian Niebuhr, was translated and printed in the above Journal of 1880 in five parts.

The Begums of Bhopāl, also in five parts, in the Journal of 1881.

The Diamond Fields of India, embracing five groups, viz., Cuddapah, Nandial, Ellore, Sambhulpur, and Pama, translated from Ritter's *Erdkunde von Asien*, and published in the Journal of 1882.

- (6) An article by Mr. Rehatsek on the subject of Oriental Armour, with a plate illustrating it; his original design, having been very faithfully reproduced in chromo-lithography, was published in *The Journal of the German Oriental Society* in 1882.

- (7) Mr. Rehatsek's translations from the Arabic of the Book of the King's Son and the Ascetic, with a short preface by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, was published in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* in January, 1890. About this translation Mr. Rehatsek wrote to me on the 4th June, 1889, as follows :—

“The text which I have translated from the Arabic is *unique*, there being [as far as is known] no other MS. of it in existence, except the one given by Dr. Blau to the German Oriental Society, and printed by Dr. Hommel. The original source being undoubtedly Sanskrit or Pāli, I thought I was doing a service to those who might, by their knowledge of these two languages and their literature, be able to trace the true source and determine the real age of the composition of the Book of the King's Son and the Ascetic.

“It requires an extensive knowledge of Sanskrit and Pāli literature to enter into this subject properly, and I, not possessing it, have been able to make only very small foot-notes, although even these may be of some use. By making a full translation of this precious Arabic text, which it would be a great pity to mutilate or abridge in any way [as cutting off the opportunity of comparison with Sanskrit or Pāli works], I have drawn the attention of, and given the best text to, Sanskrit and Pāli scholars for investigating this subject here in India, and for pointing out many more relations between Buddhism and Christianity than I was able to do myself.”

- (8) Mr. Rehatsek sent the following papers to His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, at the time of the eighth Oriental Congress held at Stockholm in 1889.
1. Indian Fables in Moslem Literature.
 2. The Women of the Shahnamah.
 3. Seven interesting episodes from the conquest of Syria, the events narrated beginning A.D. 634–35. Translated from the Arabic of the Futuh-ush-shūm by Al-Wakidi.

4. The Indian Mahdi and his successors. Translated from a unique but reliable and faultless Persian MS.

5. Processional cross taken at Magdala from the cathedral by the British Troops in 1868; this is a drawing with translations of the inscriptions.

6. A photograph taken from a large silver dish representing the adventures of the whole life of the God Rama [a deified hero] in compartments in concentric circles.

(9) On the 28th of August, 1891, Mr. Rehatsek wrote "Having been asked for a paper to be read in Dr. Leitner's Congress of Orientalists in the beginning of September, I sent a MS., "The Pre-Islamic History of Yemen and Hirah till the time of Muhammad." It does not appear to have been read at the Congress.

(10) For the Kama Shashtra Society Mr. Rehatsek prepared unexpurgated translations of Jāmi's Behāristān or Abode of Spring, and of Sa'di's Gulistān or Rose Garden. These were printed for private subscribers only in 1887 and 1888 respectively.

(11) For the Oriental Translation Fund New Series he translated the following works :—

The Negaristān or Picture Gallery by Muin-uddin Jawini, A.D. 1334.

Biography of our Lord Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah, according to the tradition of Ibn Hishām, obtained from Ibn Isrāk.

The whole of the first two Parts of Mirkhond's "Rauzat-us-safa."

Of these the first Part of Mirkhond's General History has been printed and published in two volumes in 1891 and 1892. The second part will fill three volumes, which will, it is hoped, be brought out in 1893 and 1894.

(12) For the use of the Hakluyt Society Mr. Rehatsek translated from the Italian from the voyages of Pietro

della Valle his letters from India, the first of which is dated Surat, 23rd March, 1623. These are, I believe, still with the above Society, and will probably form part of a volume containing the whole of the journeys of that versatile and talented traveller.

- (13) The following translations were also made by Mr. Rehatsek at various times. Those marked by an asterisk have been printed.

From the Persian.

*Amusing Stories.

*Fortune and Misfortune.

Both of these are extracts from the Shamsah-va-Quhquhah, a Persian story book of 557 large quarto pages, written by Mirza Berkhordār Turkmān. They were printed in Bombay in 1870 and 1871.

Hospitality, or Etiquette of Eating and Drinking.

A Tract on the Observances of Women and the Harem.

A short Manuscript on "Physiognomies," described in the Catalogue raisonné of the Mulla Firuz Library, p. 199, No. 48.

The Tutināmah, or Parrot Book, by Kadiri.

From the Arabic.

Twenty-four Anecdotes, Stories, and Fables picked out and translated from the Naphut ul Yaman [breeze or breath of Yemen].

Thirty-five Stories from the Merzuban-namah.

Six Stories from the celebrated Arabic work Al-Mustatraf, or the Gleaner or Collector.

Some Stories from the Sih-r-ul-oyoon, or Magic of the Eyes.

Some Extracts from the Siraj-ul-mulūk, or Lamp of Kings, a well-known work composed A.D. 1126.

A Translation of a portion of the Arabic work "Tuhfat-ikhvan ussafa," under the title of "The discussion between Man and Animal before the King of the Jinns." This

celebrated work, written in the eighth century of our era by the society called "The Brethren of Purity" of Bosrah, is well known, and a curious notice of it was given in Vol. XVII. of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society by A. Sprenger. No English translation of the "Tuhfat" has yet been produced, but the original Arabic text of the discussion between man and animal was printed at Leipzig in 1879.

A Treatise on Falconry with an Appendix on other Birds, Poultry, and Bees.

*Some Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Mosques, Tombs, and Ancient Buildings for the Archæological Survey of Western India.

From the Italian.

A Mission to the Grand Moghul.

From the French.

The Indian Travels of M. de Thevenot in 1665.

Voyage of Mandelslo from Persia to India in 1638-39.

The Amours of Camoens and of Catherine D'Ataide, by Madame Gautier, 1827.

(14) The following productions of Mr. Rehatsek may be classed under the head of "Miscellaneous." Those marked with an asterisk have been printed.

*An Essay on the Reciprocal Influence of European and Muhammedan Civilization. This gained the prize, given by Sir Charles Trevelyan when Finance Minister in India, for the best essay on the above subject, in 1865. Printed in 1877.

*Catalogue raisonné of the Arabic, Hindustani, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts in the Mulla Firuz Library at Bombay, with full descriptions of them, 1873. This is both useful and interesting, and is known to European Orientalists as a valuable book of reference. It contains also a list of Pehlevi and Zend works added to it by

another hand. I have presented an extra copy of this work to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Anthology, containing notice of two hundred and fifty Persian poets, with specimens of their composition and English translation of the same. Also the titles of the principal historical and epistolographical works written in Persian.

The Invasion of India by Timur 1398-99, and by Nadir Shah 1738-39, traced on a map with six written folios.

The Canals of the Euphrates and the Tigris, being a description of ancient canals, vestiges of which are still to be traced, with map.

Export of Girls for Marriage to Portuguese India during the end of the sixteenth century.

Early Portuguese travellers to the East from Portuguese sources.

The Present Constitution of the Government of Portuguese India.

The Beginnings of Indo-Portuguese Journalism.

Cosmogony according to the Korān and Moslem Tradition.

Could Muhammed read and write.

Horses and Camels among the Arabs.

The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Islam.

- (15) At the time of his death Mr. Rehatsek was engaged in preparing for the *Indian Antiquary* a notice on a work containing Ranjit Singh's Diary kept for nearly forty years by one of his Pundits in Persian, and in translating for the Oriental Translation Fund New Series the third Part of Mirkhond's "Rauzat-us-safa," so that the old man may be said to have truly died in harness.

2nd May, 1892.



CORRESPONDENCE.

[The following is the letter referred to on pages 1 and 36 of our Journal for 1892]:—

Dec. 12, 1891.

DEAR PROFESSOR DAVIDS,—As regards the occurrence of Buddhist sects in inscriptions, I would call your attention to the following documents and names, in addition to those mentioned in your article : (1) *Mahāsaghiyas* Karle, No. 20, Arch. Rep. W.I. iv. 112, *Savasaka* i.e. Sauvarshikā,¹ *op. cit.* p. 113, Karle No. 21, *Bhadāyaniya* Kaṅheri, No. 4 (Arch. Rep. W.I. vol. v. p. 75) and *ibidem*, p. 85, Kaṅheri, No. 27 ; *Chetikas*, Arch. Rep. South I. vol. i. p. 100 (see also p. 85), *Chetiavadaka* *ibid.* p. 102, No. 13 ; *Āchāryāṇām Sarvāstivādīnam* (parigrahe) in a Kādambavana or Kāmari inscr. to be published in Ep. Indica, vol. ii. Mathurā Inscrs. third series, No. 42 ; *āchāryāṇām Mahīsāsākānam*, Ep. Indica, vol. i. p. 240–41. Possibly the term Mahāvanasāliya, which occurs repeatedly in the Amrāvati inscra. as an epithet of teachers, may refer to a Buddhist school. There are also Buddhist schools mentioned on the *Vardak* vase (see Dowson's article) and on Dr. Bhagvānlāl's Lion-Pillar, at least, according to my readings, but you will have perhaps Bh.'s article on the latter. In the inscra. of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C., i.e. in those at Sanchi and Barhut, about 400 Nos., no schools are mentioned, whence I infer that the schools had no great importance. I send you my article on the Sanchi inscra., which will appear in the

¹ These are either the same as, or closely allied to, the *Kassapikā*.—R.H. D.

Ep. Indica, vol. ii. Kindly return these proofs. With respect to Barhut, see Hultzsch, vol. xl. of the *Zeitschrift dr D. Morg. Ges.* With best regards and the compliments of the season,—Yours sincerely,

G. BÜHLER.

KIMBUM (LUSAR),
1st March, 1892.

MY DEAR RHYS DAVIDS,—Having been detained in this part of Kan-mu for a few weeks, waiting to complete my preparations for my journey westward, I availed myself of the opportunity to visit the Salar, a Turkish people living on the Yellow River, S.E. of here some eighty miles.

Robert Shaw published some years ago in the J.R.A.S. some interesting notes about this people (he had met a couple of Salar in Kashgar, if I remember rightly). Prjevalsky mentions them, but confounds them with the Tibetans. Potanin passed through their villages, but I do not know what he learnt, as nothing of his work has been published (as far as I am aware).

The Salar traditions (their Ahars say they have no written records) state that in the third year Ming Hung-wu, three or four men, driven from Samarkand, (*sic*) arrived at the Yellow River, and founded the present Salar head village of Kätzu-kun. They had been driven from their country by internal discords. They were rapidly followed by others of their countrymen, and soon the eight *kun* (or thousands, for the Chinese *chim* has that meaning) were founded, and these Turkish settlements were henceforth known in this part of China as Salar pa-kun. The villages the people now occupy are probably 75 to 100 in number, and the population is estimated at 8,000 families at the lowest.

In the forty-sixth year Ch'ien-lung they rebelled under a Ahar called Ma Ming-ching. A narrative of this rebellion is found in Wei Yuan's *Sheng wu chi*.

For the last month I have been in daily intercourse with Salars, as a number of them had come to this place. I send you a short vocabulary, and have a much longer one, but have not now time to copy it. I have read it over to any number of the people, men, women, and children, and believe the phonetic transcription represents fairly well their pronunciation.

The Salar have in their language a number of words borrowed from Chinese, Mangol, and Tibetan. Some of these borrowed words are worth noting. It seems strange that they have no name for a mare, a stallion, or a gelding, but use the Chinese terms. The word for "language" they have borrowed from Tibetan; thus they say *Mohul Kā-chá*, "the Chinese language." So likewise their term for "flint and steel," *cháh-mah* is Tibetan. From the Mongols they have borrowed the word *aihd*, "wooden bowl," *shinaha*, "spoon," and from the Chinese a large number of terms of various classes.

I have taken a number of photographs of the Salar, both men and women, but as I have not developed them, I cannot send them to you now.

In my transcription of Salar words the accents only mark the emphasized syllables, those on which stress was laid.

I was rather surprised to find among the Tibetans (Fan-Tzü) living in the mountains along the Yellow River a large number of Bönbo. They have on the very summit of a mountain some forty miles west of Hsün hua T'ing, a lamasery (*Sachung gamba*), with some 100 or 200 lamas, and many more live with their wives and families in the little mountain villages. I stopped over-night in the house of one at *Ssü-ké*. He was very communicative, showed me his books, etc., but could tell me little about his creed. The Bönbo wear red gowns, and all their hair, but plait into it a huge tress of yek hair which is afterwards wound round the head. At the *Shachung gamba* they print books, and it would be well if some one visited the place, as they might have books of interest, although the two I have read of

theirs were a jumble of lamaist works and of undoubtedly recent date.

Trusting that I may be able to see you when I get out of this part of the world (probably sometime in the autumn of this year).—I remain, ever sincerely yours,

W. W. ROCKHILL.

| | SALAR. | | SALAR. |
|------------|-------------------|---------------|------------------|
| One | <i>Pir</i> | 1st month | <i>Pir-indye</i> |
| Two | <i>Iské</i> | 2nd month | <i>Isk-indyé</i> |
| Three | <i>Usk</i> | 3rd month | <i>Ush-indyé</i> |
| Four | <i>Tüe</i> | 4th month | <i>Tüétindyé</i> |
| Five | <i>Pesh</i> | To-day | <i>Pugun</i> |
| Six | <i>Alché</i> | To-morrow | <i>Été</i> |
| Seven | <i>Yété</i> | Day after to- | |
| Eight | <i>Sekése</i> | morrow | <i>Pasagon</i> |
| Nine | <i>Tokos</i> | Spring | <i>Loyé</i> |
| Ten | <i>Un</i> | Summer | <i>Yé</i> |
| Eleven | <i>Un-pir</i> | Autumn | Nobody knew a |
| Twelve | <i>Un-iské</i> | | name for this |
| Thirteen | <i>Un-ush</i> | | season. They |
| Twenty | <i>Igérmi</i> | | called it 7th, |
| Thirty | <i>Utush</i> | Winter | 8th, 9th months. |
| Forty | <i>Kéren</i> | Wind | <i>K'ish</i> |
| Fifty | <i>Ellé</i> | Rain | <i>Yel</i> |
| Sixty | <i>Hamish</i> | Snow | <i>Yarmur</i> |
| Seventy | <i>Yémush</i> | Mountain | <i>K'ar</i> |
| Eighty | <i>Siksän</i> | River | <i>T'ar</i> |
| Ninety | <i>Toksan</i> | Stone | <i>Uzen</i> |
| Hundred | <i>Pirens</i> | Sky | <i>Tash</i> |
| Thousand | <i>Pir-ming</i> | Earth | <i>Asman</i> |
| Myriad | <i>Pir-sanza</i> | Sun | <i>Yir</i> |
| Ten myriad | <i>Un sanza</i> | Moon | <i>Kun</i> |
| | | Star | <i>Ai</i> |
| Year | <i>Il</i> | Star | <i>Yuldus</i> |
| This year | <i>Pilé</i> | North | <i>Ashar</i> |
| Next year | <i>Eché sagon</i> | South | <i>Uriss</i> |
| | | East | <i>Ch'vyi</i> |

| | SALAR. | | SALAR. |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| West | <i>Isht'yi</i> | Beard | <i>Sahal</i> |
| Ground | <i>Ir</i> | Foot | <i>Enjé</i> |
| Water | <i>Su</i> (also <i>Ossu</i>) | Hat | <i>Sorok</i> |
| Man | <i>Erkish</i> | Furlined gown | <i>Iamak</i> |
| Woman | <i>Kadim</i> | Belt | <i>Bulh'a</i> |
| Boy | <i>Ao</i> | Trowsers | <i>Ishtan</i> |
| Little boy | <i>Balaksh</i> | Socks | <i>Ling-wa</i> (<i>Ch</i>) |
| Little girl | <i>Anna</i> | Boots | <i>E'tu</i> |
| Father | <i>A-pa</i> (families) | Sandals | <i>H'ai</i> (<i>Ch</i>) |
| Mother | { <i>A-ma</i> " " | Sash | <i>Quene</i> |
| | { <i>Ichia</i> " " | Button | <i>T'ügma</i> (<i>Tib</i> ?) |
| Brothers | <i>Aréné</i> | Gold | <i>Altum</i> |
| (elder brother ?) | | Silver | <i>Kumush</i> |
| (younger | | Iron | <i>Témur</i> |
| brother) | <i>Éni</i> | Copper | <i>Tuguma</i> |
| Sisters | <i>Éhé sanyé</i> | Salt (white) | <i>T'uss</i> |
| Friend | <i>Nuhur seda</i> | Coarse salt | <i>Kuh t'uss</i> |
| Face | <i>Jambau</i> | Black | <i>Karás</i> |
| Head | <i>Pash</i> | White | <i>Ah'asen</i> |
| Nose | <i>Purni</i> | Blue | <i>Kuh</i> |
| Lips | <i>Akse</i> | Yellow (or red) | <i>Kenzil</i> |
| Eye | <i>Kuso</i> | Green | <i>Yashil</i> |
| Eyebrows | <i>Kulu</i> | Good | <i>Iskur</i> |
| Eyelashes | <i>Su-kulu</i> | Bad | <i>Ishimas</i> |
| Teeth | <i>T'ich</i> | Rich | <i>Parkish</i> |
| Ear | <i>Golak</i> | Poor | <i>Yarkish</i> |
| Hand | <i>Elle</i> | Good boy | <i>Balatsh iskur</i> |
| Finger | <i>Pirma</i> | I | <i>Men</i> |
| Thumb | <i>Pash-pirma</i> | Thee | <i>Sen</i> |
| Forefinger | <i>Irmum</i> | He | <i>Ush</i> |
| Second finger | <i>Otta</i> | To write | <i>Pitégän</i> |
| Third finger | <i>Mazum</i> | To drink | <i>Ish</i> |
| Little finger | <i>Séje</i> | To eat | <i>Ash</i> |
| Finger-nail | <i>Terna</i> | To ride | <i>Min</i> |
| Tongue | <i>Tili</i> | | |

This man is good

Kishi irshider.

That man is bad

Ukshi irshi émestér.

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|
| I beat him | <i>Men antugur.</i> |
| How old are you ? | <i>Sen myéché āseapar.</i> |
| Those three men | <i>Ush ishio</i> |
| Is the food ready ? | <i>Ashua mé yurter.</i> |
| Have you eaten ? | <i>Pugin ash.</i> |
| I understand | <i>Pilé.</i> |
| I do not understand | <i>Pilmés.</i> |

3. BIMBOHANA.

DEAR SIR,—Childers offers no etymology for Pāli *bimbohana* 'pillow' or 'bolster.' Hemacandra (Deçī. vi. 98), cites *bimbovanaya*=*ucchīrçaka*. The Jaina-prākṛit equivalent is *bibboyaṇa* 'gaṇḍuka' (Spec der *Nāyādhammakahā*, f. 22.)

The former part of the compound '*bimb*' = Skt. *bimba*, offers no difficulty; but it is not, at first sight, easy to see what is the corresponding Sanskrit term to *ohana*. Bearing in mind such Prākṛit forms as *parihāna* = Skt. *paridhāna* (see H. D. vi. 4), we can have no objection to identify *ohana* with **odhāna* = Skt. *upadhāna* (Cf. Skt. *upasakta* with Pkt. *osatta* for change of *upa* to *o* through *ua*, *ua*).

So Pāli *bimbohana* = **bimbodhana* = *bimbopadhāna*; while Prākṛit *bibboyaṇa* = *bimbovaṇa* = **bimbovaḥana* = **bimboradhana* = *bimbopadhāna*.—Yours faithfully,

RICHARD MORRIS.

4. A NEW VARIETY OF THE SOUTHERN MAURYA ALPHABET.

Vienna, May 1, 1892.

SIR,—Prof. Bühler addressed the following letter to the Academy of the 28th May, 1892:—

During some excavations which Mr. Rea, Archaeological Surveyor to the Madras Government, lately undertook in the already despoiled Stūpa of Bhattiprolu in the Kistna District, he has had the good fortune to discover some relic

caskets,¹ which bear nine votive inscriptions. Impressions of the latter were sent to me by Dr. Burgess; and, after a prolonged study, I have succeeded in making out their contents, and have arrived at the conclusion that these documents are written in a new variety of the Southern Maurya or Lât alphabet, the characteristics of which may be briefly stated as follows.

(1) Twenty-three letters of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions—viz., the initial vowels, *a, â, u, o*, and the consonants *k, kh, chh, ñ, t, th, n, ð, dh, n, p, ph, b, y, r, v, s* and *h*—agree exactly with those ordinarily used in the Edicts of Aśoka. The letter *g* has both the ordinary angular Maurya and the rare one with the rounded top, which occurs a few times in Aśoka inscriptions—*e.g.* in *agesu* (Pillar Edict vii. 2, 2)—but is used invariably in the later inscriptions. The unaspirated palatal tenuis *ch* has a tail, the vertical stroke being continued beneath the semicircle. The unaspirated lingual media, *d*, shows strokes slanting somewhat more strongly than in the abnormal *da* in *ambâvadikâ* (Queen's Edict, Allahâbâd, 1. 3. The corresponding dental *d* exactly resembles the Maurya letter, but is turned round; the opening of the curve facing towards the right, as in the Devanâgarî *da*.

(2) Five letters are entirely abnormal: (a) *Gh* is expressed by the sign for *g*, with a small curve attached to the right side, which denotes the aspiration, the letter being formed according to the same principle as the Maurya *chha* from *cha*, *dha* from *da*, and *pha* from *pa*. It occurs only in personal names—*e.g.* *Satugho*, i.e. *Satrughna*, *Vaghavâ*, i.e. *Vyâghrapâd*. (b) *J* has the angular form, which occasionally—*e.g.* Girnâr Rock Edicts ix. 1, in the word *râjâ*—is used by Aśoka's scribes, and regularly in all later inscriptions, without the central horizontal bar. It therefore consists of a vertical stroke, with horizontal bars at the upper and lower ends. It occurs repeatedly in the words *majûsa* or *majusam*, in Sanskrit *mañjûshâ*, a box or casket. (c) *M* is

¹ Described by Dr. J. Burgess in the *Academy* of last week (p. 497).

turned topsy-turvy, the circle standing above, and the two strokes, forming an open angle, below. It occurs in the last-mentioned word, and in well-known names like *Mâha*, i.e. *Mâgha*, *Samano*, i.e. *Sramana*. (d) *L* differs from the Maurya sign by the omission of the small horizontal bar to the left of the curve, and by the addition of a long slanting line, attached at an acute angle to the right of the vertical stroke. It thus somewhat resembles the Greek *Lambda* of the ancient Papyri. It occurs only in names—e.g. *Odalo*, *Kelo*, i.e. *Kaila*, *Pigalo*, i.e. *Pingala*. (e) The lingual sibilant *sh* is a development of the form in the Kâlâ version of Aśoka's Rock Edicts. The whole letter has been turned round, and the upper curve has been converted into a cross-bar. It thus looks exactly like the *kra* of the later inscriptions. It occurs in *tesham*, the Pali genitive of the pronoun *tad*, in the termination of the genitive singular of vowel-stems—e.g. in *Kurasha*, from *Kuro*, *Sivasha* from *Sivo*—in the word *shamugo*, i.e. *samudga*, a small box, and in names like *Samanadâsho*, i.e. *Sramanadâsa*.

3. There is further the lingual *l*, which does not occur in Aśoka's inscriptions. Its form resembles a Maurya *pa*, with a horizontal bar attached in the middle to the right of the vertical stroke; and it may be compared to the *sha* of the later inscriptions. It occurs in the word *phâl-ignashamugam*, i.e. *sphâtikasamudga*, a casket made of crystal. The initial vowels, *i*, *l*, *ú*, *e*, and the consonants *jh*, *dh*, and *ś* do not occur. *Bh* may occur in two doubtful names, where I have noticed a sign resembling the Maurya *bha*, but turned the other way.

4. The notation of the medial and final vowels presents two remarkable peculiarities: (a) The short *a* is invariably marked by the horizontal stroke, which denotes long *â* in the Maurya alphabet, except when an Anusvâra follows; and the position of this stroke is much the same as that of the *â* stroke in the Maurya alphabet, i.e., it is usually attached to the top of the consonant, but to the middle of the vertical *n* and of *j*. Hence the *ja* of the Bhattiprolu alphabet is exactly like the angular form of the letter in

Aśoka's Edicts. The omission of the stroke before an Anusvāra is probably due to the fact that the native lists of *mātrikās*, or radical letters, invariably note the Anusvāra by *am*. Hence the Anusvāra came to be considered as equivalent to this syllable. (b) The long *ā* is marked by a horizontal stroke and a short vertical one hanging down from its end. In other respects, the notation of the medial and final vowels agrees mainly with that used in Aśoka's inscriptions. The *o* is, however, more commonly expressed by a bar, projecting to the right and to the left of the top of the consonants than by two separate strokes. The former notation occurs in Aśoka's inscriptions, sometimes, *e.g.* in *niḡohāni* (Pillar Edict vii. 2. 2), but rarely. In the syllables *ni* and *ni*, the vowel is attached to the middle of the vertical stroke, *e.g.* in *Kānttho*.

To judge from the general appearance of the letters, the Bhattīprolu inscriptions are probably only a few decades later than Aśoka's Edicts. If one places the Edicts on one side, and the Nānāghāt, Hathigumphā, and Bharhut Torana inscriptions, which all belong to the middle of the second century B.C., on the other side of the Bhattīprolu inscriptions, one can only come to the conclusion that the latter hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the documents of the third century B.C. than to those of the second. On this evidence, which, as every epigraphist knows, *may* mislead under certain conditions, but which, though not absolutely safe, is for the present alone available, the Bhattīprolu inscriptions cannot be placed later than 200 B.C., and may even be a little older. If this estimate is correct, their characters prove (what, indeed, is also made probable by facts connected with Aśoka's Edicts) that during the third century B.C. several well-marked varieties of the Southern Maurya alphabet existed. For they contain a perfectly worked out system, which cannot have sprung up in a short time, but must have had a long history.

The importance of this result lies herein, that it removes one of the favourite arguments of those scholars who believe

the introduction of writing into India to have taken place during the rule of the Maurya dynasty, or shortly before its beginning. It has been stated repeatedly that one of the facts, proving the Aśoka Edicts to belong to the first attempts of the Hindus in the art of writing, is the absence of local varieties among the letters of versions incised at places between which lie distances of more than a thousand miles. This argument is based, as I have pointed out more than once, on imperfect observation; and it may be met also by the obvious objection, that Aśoka's Edicts were all issued from the same office, and that the importance naturally attributed to the writing of the royal clerks at Pātaliputra might be expected to influence the copyists in the provinces, and to induce them to imitate as closely as possible the shape of the letters used at headquarters. Nevertheless, if the Bhattiprolu inscriptions now show a system of writing which in some respects is radically different, and which may be reasonably supposed to be coeval with that in Aśoka's Edicts, they furnish a very great help to those who, like myself, believe the art of writing to have been practised in India for centuries before the accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Pātaliputra.

This is, so far as I can judge at present, the chief value of the new alphabet. I do not think that it teaches us much regarding the early history of the Southern Maurya characters, and the manner in which they were derived from their Semitic prototypes. There is only one form among the anomalous letters which, it seems to me, is in all probability more ancient than the corresponding Maurya character. This is the *m*, whose shape comes so close to the full form of the Kharoshtrī (*vulgo* Bactrian Pali) *ma*—which consists of a semi-circle with two short strokes, forming a right angle, attached to its lower left side—that I am inclined to assume the evidently allied Southern *ma* to have consisted originally of a semicircle or circle with two strokes below. Hence the Maurya form would be the later one, obtained by turning the older one topsy-turvy. The case of *gh*, as stated above, which has been formed by the extension of the

principle underlying the formation of *chha*, *dha* and *pha*, is more doubtful. For, the Southern Maurya *gha* looks, *prima facie*, like an independent character. Still, there is just a possibility that it may have been derived from an inverted *ga* with a round top, to which a curve was attached in order to denote the aspirations. And in favour of this view it may be urged that the Kharoshtrî *gha* has been derived by a similar contrivance from *ga*. Regarding the new *l*, I do not dare to offer any opinion.

But the remaining anomalies appear to be developments of the corresponding Maurya forms. The *j* with two horizontal bars is to all appearance the offspring of the angular form with three bars; and the central bar has only been removed in the syllables *ju*, *jû*, *je*, and so forth, in order to obtain a convenient means of marking the short *a* of *ja*. For, the Southern Maurya *jha*, which has been derived from an imperfectly formed or perhaps a very ancient *ja*, by the addition of a short upward stroke denoting the aspiration, shows that the central bar is an essential part of the letter. Again, the lingual sibilant *sh* is in all probability a cursive form, derived from the clumsy character which is used in the Kâlsî version of the Rock Edicts. Finally, the most curious feature of this alphabet, the marking of the short *a*, seems to me, because it complicates matters, less ancient than the omission of this vowel. The Semitic original, from which the Southern Maurya alphabet was derived, had in all probability no signs for medial and final vowels. Hence, if we find in India one system of notation with five or, including the diphthongs *e* and *o*, with seven vowel signs and another with eight, the natural conclusion is that the second is the later one. This is all that I can offer at present in explanation of the origin of the very remarkable anomalies of the Bhattiprolu alphabet. I must, however, call attention to one other curious point: the fact that, so far as I know, not one of these anomalies has left any trace in the later Indian alphabets, the signs of which are all derived from the Southern Maurya characters.

The language of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions is a Prakrit

dialect, closely allied to the literary Pali. As regards their contents, the two longest, Nos. 3 and 8, which are incised on the circular lids or topstones of two relic caskets (Mr. Rea's second and third caskets), consists of strings of names. No. 3 enumerates the members of a *gothi*, i.e., *goshtthi*, probably a committee or Pañch, and No. 8 certain *negamā*, i.e., *naigamāh*, members of a guild. The remaining inscriptions record the names of the donors of the caskets, and, it would seem, of the artists who made them. I transcribe the three most interesting ones as specimens :—

No. 1, incised on the lower stone of the first casket.

Kurapituno cha Kuramā[t]u cha Kurasha cha Siva[sha] cha majūsam-panati phāligashamugam cha Budhasarirānani nikhetu [|] Banavaputasha Kurasha shapitukasha majusa [|].

“By the father of Kura, by the mother of Kura, by Kura and by Siva (*Siva, has been defrayed the expense of*) the preparation of a casket and a box of crystal in order to deposit some relics of Budha (*Buddha*). By Kura the son of Banava, associated with his father (*has been given*) the casket.”

No. 6, incised on the lower stone of the second casket.

Shāga[th]inigamaputānam rājapāmukhā[nam] Sha.i.sha puto Khubirako rājā Shlhagothiyā pāmukho tesham annam maj[ū]-s[am] phābigashamugo cha pāsānashamugo cha.

“By the sons of the Shāgathi *nigama* (*guild or town*) chief among whom is the king—king Khubiraka (*Kuberaka*) the son of Sha.i., is the chief of the Shāha (*Simha*) *gothi*—by these (*has been given*) another casket, a box of crystal and a box of stone.”

No. 9, incised on the lower stone of the third casket.

Arahadinānam gothiyā majūsa cha sha[m]ugo cha [|] tina kama yena Kubirako rājā am[k]i [|].

“By the *gothi* of the venerable Arahadina (*Arhaddatta, has been given*) a casket and a box. The work (*is*) by him,

by whom king Kubiraka (*Kuberaka*) caused the carving to be done."

In conclusion, I must offer to Mr. Rea my best congratulations on the important discovery which he has made, and express the hope that future operations, which he may undertake in the same district, will furnish further specimens of this interesting new variety of the Southern Maurya alphabet, which we owe to his exertions.

G. BÜHLER.

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- Bombay, Selections from Records of Government of. Papers relating to the Original Survey Settlement of the Devgad Táluka of the Ratnágiri Collectorate.
fol. *Bombay*, 1892.
- Madras Meteorological Results, 1861-1890.
4to. *Madras*, 1892.
- Madras, Selections from Records of Government of. Memoir of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin, 1816-1820, by Lieut. B. S. Ward.
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- Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department. Returns of Agricultural Statistics of British India and the Native State of Mysore for 1890-91.
fol. *Calcutta*, 1892.
- Oliver (E. E.). Across the Border or Pathān and Biloch.
8vo.
- Forrest (G. W.). Administration of Warren Hastings, 1772-1785.
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- Neumann (Dr. K. E.). Buddhistische Anthologie.
8vo. *Leiden*, 1892.
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JOURNAL
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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

ART. XII.—*The Sabiri and the Saroguri.* By SIR HENRY
H. HOWORTH, Esq., K.C.I.E., M.P., M.R.A.S.

SOME time ago I ventured to print a monograph on the Avars in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. I should now like to continue the story by analyzing the difficult ethnological and historical problems involved in discriminating the races which occupied the Steppes of South-eastern Europe before the arrival of the Avars. The question has exercised many inquirers, nor does it seem to me that a final and definite answer can be reached, but we can at all events secure a tentative solution of the problem.

Priscus, in a famous passage, has preserved for us an account of the immediate effect of the Avar domination, which I think deserves our close attention. He tells us how about the time when the Vandal Genseric was devastating Italy, *i.e.* about 456, the Avars fell upon the Sabiri, who expelled the Saroguri, the Urogi, and the Onoguri from their country, who thereupon sent envoys to the Roman Emperor (Priscus, *Excerpta*, Bonn edition, p. 158). Inasmuch as the Sabiri are next found in the Steppes east of the Don and about the Kuban, the meaning of this seems to be that the Sabiri were then driven across the Volga and pushed the other tribes before them, so that

they came in contact with the frontiers of the Empire on the lower Danube.

I first propose to limit myself to the Sabiri, and to collect what is known about them. From the statement of Priscus it would seem to follow that the Sabiri were the neighbours of the Avars in Asia. They are called Σαβίροι or Σαβειροι by Priscus and Saviri by Jornandes.

The name has a singular resemblance to Sibir, which gave its name to Siberia, and it is at all events curious to find that the early Arab geographers speak of Siberia as Ibir-Sibir or Abir-Sibir, and of the town of Sibir which gave its name to a small Khanate first conquered by the Cossack Jermak and afterwards to the Russian province of Siberia, which was situated not far from Tobolsk. When they were driven forward, the Sabiri apparently, as I have said, settled in the Kuban Steppes north of the Caspian, where we afterwards find them, and, as Vivien St.-Martin says, they probably then became the dominant tribe in the country afterwards occupied by the Nogais, giving their name to a league of the various Hunnic races of Sarmatia (V. St.-Martin, Geog An. vol. ii. 23). Procopius describes these wide plains as specially suited for the breeding of horses. There, he tells us, dwell nearly all the tribes called Huns. Their settlements extending to the Maeotis, whence they were wont to break through the Caspian gates and to invade the Persian and Roman borders. About the year 508 we are told that the fortress commanding the pass, *i.e.* probably the pass of Dariel, was in the hands of a Hun named Ambazuk, who was doubtless a Sabirian Hun. He was on friendly terms with the Emperor Anastasius, and having grown very old, offered to surrender it to him for a consideration. The offer was not accepted by the Emperor, who was a prudent person, and realized the difficulty of maintaining a Roman garrison there, and he accordingly thanked him and promised to consider the matter. Ambazuk shortly afterwards died, whereupon his sons were driven away and the place was occupied by the Persian ruler Kavad

(Procopius De Bell Pers. lib. i. ch. 10). Anastasius was praised for his prudence on this occasion; but, as Lebeau says, a different opinion prevailed when, a few years later, the Huns broke through the pass and carried ravage into the empire. This famous raid was made in the year 516. Unfortunately I can only refer at second-hand to the Armenian authors who refer to it, namely, as quoted by St.-Martin and by Avdall. Vahan, the Mamikonian, who had ruled over Armenia as deputy of the Persian sovereign and as independent prince for thirty years, died in the year 510. His brother Vard, who had been constable, was appointed in his place with the approval of Kavad, the Persian King, but he only ruled for three years when he was removed in consequence of the complaints made against him, and a Persian named Burzan or Burghan was appointed marzban of Armenia. It was at this time that the Sabiri forcing the Caspian gates invaded Armenia. Burzan fled, abandoning the country to their fury, and the Prince of the Grusinians named Mijej alone opposed them. He attacked a body of them who had invaded the mountains of the district of Sasun (Sasun is situated in the Kurdish mountains east of the Tigris, and formed part of the Armenian province of Aghdsnik). He completely routed and drove them away, and marching his forces with those of some other Armenian chiefs, pursued the invaders and drove them out of Armenia. When this was reported to Kavad, he deposed Burzan and nominated Mijej in his place, and we are told how *inter alia* he restored the towns and villages which the invaders had destroyed (Lebeau, vol. vii. pp. 435-436; Avdall, pp. 329-330). The invaders are called simply Huns by the Armenian historians, but we know from the Byzantine writers that they were Sabiri. On leaving Armenia, we gather from the latter that they invaded Cappadocia, Galatia, and Pontus, which they laid waste. They penetrated as far as Euchaïtes and the frontiers of Lycaonia (Anastasius *passim*). It was on this occasion that Euphemius, patriarch of Constantinople, who had been deposed and exiled to Euchaïtes, fled from this place

and took refuge at Ancyra. His successor, who had also been exiled to the same town, retired for similar reasons to Gangra, where he soon after died (Lebeau, vol. vii. p. 433). Anastasius, in the MS. followed by Stritter, calls these Huns Samen, but in the corresponding passage of Cedrenus they are called Sabiri.

The next time we read of the Sabiri is in the year 522. They are not called Sabiri in the notice, but only Huns; but inasmuch as they were apparently living in the Kuban, it can hardly have been any other tribe. We read that war having broken out again between the Persians and Romans, the Emperor Justin sent envoys and gifts to Ziligdes (otherwise called Zilgbior or Ziagbiris and Zilgibio), who engaged by an oath to help the Romans; but Justin speedily discovered that he had made the same offer to the Persian ruler Kavad, whom he had furnished with a contingent of 20,000 men. Justin now informed Kavad of the double treachery of the Hunnic chief, adding, "Brothers as we are, had we not better remain at peace than become the toys of these dogs?" Having summoned the Hunnic leader, and discovered that Justin's account was true, Kavad put him to death, and afterwards slaughtered his men, who, unaware of their leader's death, were sleeping comfortably in their tents (Theophanes, etc.; Stritter, vol. i. pp. 602-3; Lebeau, vol. viii. pp. 28 and 29).

Seven years later, namely, in 528, we read that Justinian, being at war with the Persians, won over by presents and royal ornaments Boarex, called Boa by Malala, and Boazer in the *Historia Miscella* of Paul the Deacon. She was the widow of Balakh, or Malakh, chief of the Hunnic Sabiri. She marched with 100,000 of her men against two Hunnic chiefs who "lived in the interior parts," *i.e.* doubtless further north, and who were probably the leaders of the Utigurs and the Kotrigurs. Their names are given as Styrax and Gloues by some authors, while by Malala they are named Turagx and Glom. They had it seems been invited to his assistance by the Persian king Kavad, and were marching 20,000 strong. She fought with them, captured one of their kings,

namely, Styra^x, who was sent in chains to Constantinople; the other king was killed (Stritter, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 577 and 578; Lebeau, vol. viii. pp. 104-5).

The struggle between the Romans and Persians still continued, and in 530 there was fought a memorable battle near the town of Dara. The Romans were commanded by Belisarius and the Persians by Peroses, or Firoz: on the Roman side was a body of 600 Huns commanded by Sunika and Aujan. Procopius calls these Huns, Massagetæ. In another place Procopius speaks of two other Hunnic chiefs also commanding 600 horsemen, namely Simas and Askhan (see Procopius *De Bell Pers.* lib. i. ch. 13). These Huns fought very bravely, and, in fact, restored the battle after it had been lost; Sunika, as we read, fighting his way right up to and cutting down the Persian standard bearer. Meanwhile Kavad, the Persian ruler, had sent another army into Armenia, consisting chiefly of Perso-Armenians and Sunites, *i.e.* Suans, to whom we are told were joined 3000 Sabiri (Procopius, i. 15). This army was twice badly defeated. Thus did the two great empires, by their strife, afford their barbarous allies ample room for the display of their treachery and disinterestedness in allying themselves with either side. Well might the Persian king complain of the continued aggressiveness of the Romans—their violation of treaties, and their building a threatening fortress at Dara, and attempting to erect another at Murdoneh. He complained further that he had continuously to employ two armies, one to oppose the Romans, and the other to oppose the northern barbarians, and declared that if the Romans wanted peace, they must contribute towards guarding the Caspian gates or they must demolish Dara (Procopius, i. 16). The struggle between the two empires consequently continued, and the ill success of his arms seems to have brought on an attack of paralysis, from which Kavad, the Persian ruler, died in the year 531. His death led to the raising of the siege of Martyropolis by the Persians and to fresh negotiations for peace. Meanwhile the Sabiri, who had promised to send aid to the Persians in their attack

upon Malatiya, or Martyropolis, arrived there and, not finding their Persian friends, they proceeded to invade and lay waste the second Cilicia and Comagene (Malala, part ii. p. 213). According to the Syriac chronicle of Edessa, published by Assemani, they ravaged the environs of Aleppo (see Ass. vol. i. p. 415). They advanced as far as four leagues from Antioch, and as they retired, laden with spoils, Dorotheus met them in the Armenian mountains, surprised them in several ambuscades, and recovered a large part of their booty (Malala, *loc. cit.* Lebeau, viii. 175).

Peace was made between the Romans and Persians in the year 531, which was finally ratified in the year 533, and thus did the long strife which had lasted for thirty years come to an end. We are told that Dagaris, who had been captured in Armenia, was now exchanged. He defeated the Huns in several encounters and drove them out of the provinces which they had laid waste (Procopius, i. ch. 22). The peace between the two empires offered no opportunities for the Sabiri to renew their incursions for some years, and it is not till the year 550 that we again read of them, and again read of them also as taking part in the struggles between the Romans and the Persians. Gabazes, king of Lazica, having been threatened by the Persians, sought succour from Justinian, who sent him a body of 8000 men, with whom he proceeded to lay siege to Petra, with him were also a body of Alans and Sabira who for the sum of 300 golden marks had undertaken not only to defend Lazica, but to lay waste Iberia (Procopius, de Bell Pers. l. ii. ch. 29). The Huns named by Procopius as fighting on the side of Chosroes in this campaign were probably White Huns. Jornandes, who wrote his history of the Goths as Mommsen argues in the year 551 and before the invasion of the Avars, has the following not very definite notice of the Sabiri:—"Hunni quasi fortissimorum gentium fecundissimus cespes bifariam populorum rabiem pullularunt. Nam alii Altziagiri alii Saviri nuncupantur, qui tamen sedes habent divisas," (Geticia, ch. v. ed. Mommsen, page 63).

In the same year when this is supposed to have been written, viz. in 551, the Sabiri are again named as taking part in the struggle between the Romans and the Persians. We read that the Romans then had in their service many Sabiri who were a Hunnic race, and were ruled by several chieftains, some of whom were in alliance with the Romans, and others with the Persians, and were kept in a good humour by continual largess. Justinian having need of their services at this time sent them some money, but the person who took it was not able to convey it to the Caucasus since the Persians intercepted the route. When he reached the camp of the Romans, who were besieging Petra, he sent word to the Sabiri to go and meet him. They accordingly sent three of their chiefs with some soldiers, who, seeing that the Romans were despairing of breaking down the walls of the place, invented or constructed a new battering engine of a kind hitherto unknown both to Romans and Persians. This was not built of upright longitudinal and transverse beams, but of wicker work covered with hides, and in the midst they suspended a beam with an iron head and it was so light that it did not need to be dragged along, but the forty men who were underneath could carry it about with them. Several of these machines were built by the Sabiri. Petra was duly taken (Procopius de Bell. Goth. iv. 11). Meanwhile the Roman commander failed to follow up his victory, and we read how the Persians, under Mermeroes, marched to attack them and laid siege to Archeopolis. In this war we are told that a body of 12,000 Sabirians were among the auxiliary troops in the service of the Persians (*id.* 13). Having heard of the new machines which the Sabiri had made for the Romans, Mermeroes in turn had similar ones made by the Sabiri in his service (*id.* 14). The Persians were foiled however in their attack, and the result was a truce of five years coupled with the payment of a considerable sum by the Romans. Chosroes, the Persian king, was not very punctilious, however, in his observance of treaties. He employed the money he received from the

Romans to pay a considerable contingent of Sabiri, whom he sent with some Huns, doubtless White Huns are meant, and elephants to the help of Mermeroes. The result of the treachery was not, however, successful. Many of his men were cut in pieces, and inter alios, the chief of the Sabiri was killed. A struggle took place for the body of the Barbarian (*id.* 17).

The next we read of the Sabiri is in the year 554, when two thousand of them commanded by Balmakh, Kutilzis, and Ildiger are named as in the service of the Romans. They were posted near Archæopolis when Nakoragan, the successor of Mermeroes as commander of the Persians, ordered 3000 Dilemites, or people of Dilem, to attack them. They set out intending to surprise the Sabiri at night, but were misled by a Colchian, who had offered to guide them, and who meanwhile escaped and gave warning to the Sabiri. They accordingly arose and planted themselves in ambush. While the Dilemites entered their camp and used their lances and swords to probe the beds where their enemies were supposed to be, the latter broke out of their ambush and put 800 to the sword, and captured many of them. The commander of Archæopolis, at daybreak, having heard a noise and learnt its cause, joined his forces to those of the Sabiri and continued the slaughter so that barely 1000 of the Dilemites escaped (Agathias, iii. 8). The Romans having rewarded the Sabiri for their services, we are told that they now joined the Persians. Agathias says of the Sabiri that they were numerous and powerful, accustomed to war and pillage, and were pleased to enter the service of foreigners when there was hope of pillage, and they thus changed sides frequently, fighting now for the Romans and now for the Persians. In the war of the year 555, 500 of them were encamped some distance from the main army and kept guard badly and lived with but lax discipline. Maxentius and Theodore despatched 300 cavalry, who, we are told, easily jumped the low wall enclosing the Sabirian camp and speedily killed all the Sabiri save forty, who escaped to a wood. We are

told they were under the impression that the force opposed to them was much larger than it proved to be (*id.* iv. 3).

We have now reached the time when the domination of the Sabiri, north of the Caucasus, gave place to that of the Avars or Psued-Avars whose invasion occurred in the year 558.

The Sabiri, among other tribes, succumbed to this invasion. A portion of them, doubtless, marched westwards as we shall presently see under the banners of the Avars, while another portion were apparently driven into Albania, *i.e.* Arran, and we, in fact, read in the pages of Menander how in the year 575, when the Romans and the Persians were again at war, the Roman frontier commanders made incursions into Albania and took hostages from the Sabiri and other tribes of the Caucasus, whom they sent to Constantinople. The Albanians (or perhaps Alans as Menander's text here has it) and the Sabiri seeing their children in the hands of the Romans determined to submit to the empire. These envoys were well received by Justin. Abeir, the chief of these tribes, whose name is apparently a form of Avar, was absent from home at this time, and on his return, without regard to the hostages, he persuaded the greater part of the Sabiri and the Albanians to again submit to the Persian King (Menander, *loc. cit.* 119; Lebeau, x. 131, etc.). When the Roman commanders learnt of this defection, they made a fresh invasion of Albania, and to make use of them in future they transported them with their families beyond the Kur, and therefore within the Roman frontier. Justin was dissatisfied with the conduct of his generals on this occasion, and insisted that the Sabiri and Albanians should be put to the sword (*id.* 158 and 159). In the year 579 Menander speaks of a body of Persian troops being placed on guard against the Saracens, the Sabiri, etc. (*id.* Bonn, ed. 408). This is the last notice I can find of the Sabiri in the Caucasus.

It is not impossible that their blood is still present among the so-called Avars and the Khusak of these mountains.

From the notices already given, it will be seen that the

Sabiri dominated the steppes north of the Caucasus for about a century, from the year 456 to 556. They did not, apparently, occupy the country to the north of the Mæotis, or on the lower Don, but were, so far as the notices can be followed and trusted, limited to the Kuban steppes and the country to the north. A town Suvar in the later district of Great Bulgaria is probably an evidence of them.

Let us now revert again to the famous passage which was quoted at the beginning of the paper from Priscus. As we have seen, he tells us that the Sabiri pushed forward the Saroguri, the Urogi, and the Onoguri. Who then were these tribes? *Eo nomine* they then occur for the first time.

Urogi is probably a corruption of Ugori, and we have in these three names the particle Ugor present, which suggests some commentary. With other inquirers I was once disposed to treat the word as a form of Uhry or Ughri, by which the Ugrian or Hunnic tribes of the Urals, especially the Voguls, are known, but this view I no longer hold; the whole history of these tribes points to their having been a nomadic race of horsemen, and not mere fisherfolk and hunters, and I now believe they were of Turkish and not Ugrian blood. The name Ugor I believe now is to be correlated rather with the Turkish name Uighur than with Uhry, and in Saroguri this name is qualified with the particles Sar, meaning Yellow or White; Saroguri thus means White Uighurs. Onoguri apparently means the Nine Uighurs.

In regard to the Urogi, or Ugori, I do not propose to say anything more. The name occurs nowhere else in this isolated and unqualified form, and its mention on this occasion is probably due to some misapprehension, since it is apparently merely the generic name, of which the other two are specific forms. In regard to the Onoguri, I propose to deal with them on another occasion, when we may possibly try and elucidate the beginnings of Bulgarian history. At present we will limit ourselves to the Saroguri. As I have said, I take their name to be simply Sar Uighurs,

or White Uighurs, and it is a curious fact that the Kalmuks still call the Turks, who nomadize in the steppes of Northern Tibet, Sar Uighurs.

We find the Saroguri mentioned more than once with the Akatziri; thus Priscus tells us that all who could not resist the Avars fled, thus the Saroguri, in search of new homes, came to the Hunnic Akatziri, and, having fought many battles with them, sent an embassy to the Romans.

In 469 we find the Saroguri making an invasion of Persia in conjunction with the Akatziri.

In my view the Saroguri and Akatziri were merely sections of one race which had got separated. Akatziri means White Katziri or White Khazars. In a paper which I read before the St. Petersburg Congress of Orientalists I collected the evidence which makes it almost certain that the Khazars were Turks, and as I believe Uighurian Turks. Akatziri and Saroguri are therefore virtually synonyms. The Akatziri had occupied the district of the lower Volga for some time before the incursion of the Avars, and are numbered among the subjects of Attila. The Saroguri were in my view another section of the same race who lived beyond the Volga and dominated the so-called Kirghiz Steppes. When the Avars began their aggressions the Saroguri were displaced. One section came westwards across the Volga, and the other in my view invaded Persia and its borders, and are otherwise known as White Huns. White Uighurs, White Khazars, and White Huns being really synonyms. I hope to devote another paper to the White Huns.

As we have seen, the Saroguri, on being driven from their homes, came westwards, and sent envoys to the Romans. They settled, as I believe, in the Steppes of Southern Russia, displacing or incorporating their previous inhabitants, and from this time we find these steppes occupied by two tribes, whose names prove them to have been Uighurs by race, and who I take to have been merely two sections into which the Saroguri divided themselves. They were known as Kutrigurs and Utigurs.

I will first say a few words about the forms in which these names occur. Procopius, who first mentions them, speaks of the Kuturgurs, Agathias calls them Kotriguroi, and Menander Koutriguroi (ed. Paris, 310) and Kutriguroi (*id.* 344, 385-6). Theophylactus calls them Kotzageroi, Theophanes Kotragi, and Anastasius Koutrages. Jornandes has the form Cutziagiri.

Zeuss argues that the *t* in the form used by Theophylactus and Jornandes is the aspirate of the lingual as *ds=dh* in German names; thus Scandza for Scandia. Under any circumstances the Kuturgur of Procopius has a redundant *r*, and whether the first particle of the name be Kotri or Kutzi it seems clear that the second part of it is *igur*, or *ogor*, corresponding to the second part in the form Utigur.

Turning to the latter tribe, Procopius, as we have seen, calls them Uturgurs, Agathias calls them Utiguroi, Menander Utiguroi, with variants in different MSS. of Uiguri (*op. cit.* 284), and Uittiguroi (*id.* 399).

Agathias professes to complete the work of Procopius, whom he quotes in his preface. In regard to the Huns he tells us they were distinguished by the names Kotrigurs and Utigurs, Ultizurs and Burgundi, etc., derived, he says probably, from the places where they lived (*loc. cit.* v. ch. 3). In regard to the two latter tribes he says he knew nothing of them, whether they still existed or lived in some distant country. He tells us they were famous by their military exploits until the time of Leo. His remark would make it appear that he drew his information about them from some other source, and I am disposed to think that Burgundi is a mistake for Bulgar, caused by some confusion in his mind between the two tribes respectively so named, the Burgundians having been of course a Teutonic tribe. The Ultizuri or Ultirizuri, as he elsewhere writes it, seem to me to be an alteration of the Altziageri of Jornandes, whom we have already discussed. As named by Agathias, the Burgundi and Ultizuri, I therefore take to be of absolutely no value; they are mere book-names more or less corrupted, and, like Procopius,

he knows only the Utigurs and Kutrigurs in the Russian steppes.

Procopius is the first writer who mentions these tribes. He says the Zekki (probably Circassians are meant) occupied the coast of the Euxine. Beyond them was the district of the Sagidæ (probably an Alanic tribe). Beyond them were various Hunnic peoples. The district beyond was called Eulysia. The people dwelling there and about the Mæotis and as far as the Tanais (*i.e.* the Don) were those who were anciently called Cimmerii, but were then called Uturguri. Further north dwelt the very numerous race of the Antæ (Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* iv. 1, 2 and 3). In another place he tells us how the Huns in this district once obeyed a King who had two sons, Uturgur and Kuturgur, who, on their father's death divided the kingdom, and their people took their names from them, some calling themselves Uturgurs and others Kuturgurs. They dwelt in the Steppes and had no intercourse with other peoples, nor did they cross the marshes, nor indeed did they think they could be crossed. It so happened, to follow the legend, that some youths who were hunting a stag followed it into the water, and as it went across they also reached the other side. On their return they reported they had found a ford. Their countrymen thereupon crossed over in force and attacked the Goths who lived there; killed many of them and dispersed the rest (*id.* v. 1 and 2). These Goths were the so-called Gothi Tetraxitæ, who afterwards formed a small community in the mountainous parts of the south of the Crimea. It would seem that Procopius refers to the time when they occupied the whole of the peninsula and were dispossessed of a portion of it by the Huns.

Their country now became the prey of the Huns, and we are told the Kuturgurs settled with their wives and children, and says Procopius there they live now, and although they have at various times received presents from the Emperor they nevertheless do not desist from crossing the Ister and attacking his provinces, being

thus at the same time allies and enemies of the Romans (*id.* v. 3).

At this time we must understand that the lower Don or the Sea of Azof roughly separated the two tribes we are describing, the Kuturgurs or Kutrigurs lived in the Steppes to west, including the northern part of Krim and the Nogai Steppes, while the Uturgurs or Utigurs lived east and south-east of the Don and along the eastern borders of the Sea of Azof as far as the Kuban, being bounded on the south by the Sabiri. It would seem that both tribes united in the invasion of the Crimea, but that only the Kutrigurs settled there, the Utigurs returning home again. As they were returning, a large number of Goths fully armed, who apparently occupied the peninsula of Phanagoria, prepared to resist, but thinking better of it the two tribes made peace and afterwards lived at amity. The Utigurs continued, says Procopius, to live in their ancestral home without molesting the Romans, since they were too far off to have the power of fighting them even if they had the will. Their neighbours were the Abasgoi (the modern Abkhazians) (*id.* iv. 3). They were probably the Huns with whom Opsites, the King of the Abasgians, took refuge when defeated by the Romans (*id.* ix. 3).

The Huns, says Procopius, possessed all the country from the Bosphorus as far as the town of Cherson. At the latter place were two towns, Cepi and Phanaguris, both of which had been captured recently and destroyed by the barbarians. All the country from Cherson to the mouth of the Danube, a distance of ten days' journey, was occupied by the barbarians. The barbarians of these notices perhaps were the Gepidæ.

About the year 550, when there was a truce between the Lombards and the Gepidæ, who occupied Pannonia, the latter having determined to recommence hostilities, and being persuaded that the Romans would side with their enemies, sent an embassy to the Kutrigurs, who lived on this side of the Mæotis (*i.e.* north-west of the Mæotis and west of

the Don), to ask them to attack the Lombards. They accordingly sent a body of 12,000 men, commanded, according to Procopius, by Khinialkh, a leader of great repute in war. He is also called Zabergan (?=Sabir Khan). Khinialkh was probably his name. He is described as a leader of great repute, and his army arrived while the truce was still in force and had twelve months to run, and the Gepidæ, wanting to find their allies some work to occupy their time, persuaded them to cross the Danube and attack the Roman territory, which they ravaged far and wide (Procopius, Hist. Goth. ch. xviii.). What followed is described in greater detail by Agathias, who tells us the Danube was then frozen fast, and they passing it on the ice, and, crossing a wide stretch of country which was unpopulated, traversed Moesia and Scythia (*i.e.* the Dobruja) and entered Thrace. There Khinialkh or Zabergan divided his army into two bodies, one of which he sent to forage in Greece, where there were no garrisons, and sent the other into the Thracian Chersonese, which was well known for its fertility. The Chersonese was joined to the mainland by an isthmus, protected by a wall, and Zabergan fancied, if he could capture this, he would be master of the sea, and could secure ships with which to cross over into Asia (the transit being short), and that he could ruin Abydos. He accordingly despatched as many troops as he could spare towards the Isthmus, while he himself advanced with 7000 horses towards Constantinople, pillaged the towns and stripped the country of forage, ravaging far and wide, professing that his reason for the invasion was that his people, the Kutrigurs, had been treated differently to the Utigurs, whose chief had received many presents and honours from the Emperor (Agathias, book v. ch. 5). He presently withdrew, charged with an immense booty and an immense number of slaves, among whom were distinguished ladies, who were dragged along with great brutality. There were virgins who had devoted their life to piety, and whose chastity was sacrificed to the incontinence of the invaders, while several women who were *enceinte*, were similarly

dragged along, without any means of covering their children from the weather.

The Huns passed the great walls and approached the forts, some of which had fallen into decay from neglect, and knocked down others with the same care that masons destroy old buildings. There were no guards, no war engines, not even, says Agathias, dogs to guard the flocks. The invaders encamped near the town of Melantiades, which was only 150 stadia distant from the capital. The citizens were panic-stricken with fright, and from the Emperor downwards people were seized with pusillanimous terror, which is described in graphic phrases by Agathias (*id.* ch. 6). Belisarius, the old hero, who had retired from active service, was recalled to lead the army—an army of undisciplined weaklings. He addressed it in language of confidence, and a report of what he is supposed to have said is duly given by Agathias (*id.* ch. 7); and he seems to have inspired his men with some of his own spirit. Having heard from his spies that the enemy had detached 2000 men from their main body to attack the Romans, he accordingly posted 200 of his men, armed with shields and javelins, in ambush in a forest on two sides of a path along which the Huns had to advance, and planting his main body in front, he bade the peasants, etc., from the surrounding country follow the enemy, and make as great a noise as they could. His plans were well carried out. The Huns were thrown into confusion and pressed so much on each other that they could neither throw their lances nor extend the wings of their cavalry, and the small number of their opponents was disguised by the dust. The Huns, seeing themselves foiled, withdrew at a gallop. Four hundred of them were left on the ground. No Roman was killed; some only were wounded. Zabergan himself only escaped by the speed of his horse, and by the fact that the Roman cavalry was not strong enough to pursue. The Huns reached their camp in confusion, and, according to their custom, gashed their cheeks to show their grief. They abandoned their attack on Melantiades and withdrew some distance off (*id.* ch. 8).

Belisarius, instead of pursuing, returned to Constantinople, apparently recalled by the jealousy of the Court. The Huns withdrew beyond the great walls, but finding they were not pursued, marched slowly. Meanwhile their other division attacked the Chersonese, and tried several times to storm the walls, but were vigorously met by the Romans, who were commanded by Germanus, the son of Dorotheus, who was young, vigorous, and a skilful soldier. The Huns, who had tried in vain to storm the defences of the Chersonese, now adopted other tactics. Agathias tells us how they collected large quantities of reeds with which they made hurdles, and from four of these they made boats to hold four men. The prows were pointed, so that they might be the more easily steered, and down each side were seats for the rowers. Of these they made 150, and launched them on the sea near the town of Enus. On these boats were altogether about 600 well-armed men. They stuffed straw into the holes when the reeds let water in, and began to row as well as they could in their fragile boats, and endeavoured to reach the turn of the wall, fancying their troubles would then be ended, since the rest of the Chersonese was only protected by the Hellespont. Germanus, when he heard of the very hazardous manœuvre of the enemy, was highly delighted. He mounted a number of well-armed soldiers and sailors on some twenty galleys, and told them to lie in wait behind a promontory, where they would not be observed. When the Huns had rowed past the wall, and began to draw near the other side, the Roman soldiers, in their boats, came out from their hiding-place and attacked them, upset some of their frail rafts of reeds, and cut the fastenings of others, and they were all either drowned or put to the sword (*id.* ch. 9). The Romans having landed again determined to press home their advantage at once, and proceeded to attack the enemy. In this struggle Germanus was wounded, and, the Romans being outnumbered, withdrew again, but the Huns had had enough. The loss of their improvised fleet, and perhaps the firm front shown by the Romans,

dispirited them, and they withdrew and went to rejoin Zabergan, who had also been defeated. The division which went towards Greece did nothing remarkable, and did not get beyond Thermopylæ, which was protected by a Roman garrison, whence they also retired. Zabergan declared, however, that he would not withdraw from the country until he had received a large sum of money such as the Romans formerly paid the Utigurs, and he threatened to put all the prisoners to death unless it was paid. The Emperor thereupon sent a considerable sum with which to ransom the prisoners. The Huns sent them back again, among them was Sergius, son of Bacchus, who had been treated with great indignity. The Huns now withdrew homewards, plundering on the way. The blackmail they levied was naturally very distasteful to the Romans, who were angry that instead of being cut in pieces they should have secured so much plunder. Justinian, according to Agathias, had a deep plot however in all this, and what subsequently happened cleared him in his subjects' eyes from much blame in having thus bought off the invaders (*id.* ch. 10).

He wrote a letter to Sandelkh, Sandikh, or Sandel, the chief of the Utigurs, inciting them to attack the homes of the then absent rival tribe. Agathias gives us what he professes to be the letter which Justinian wrote to this chief on this occasion. In it he said that if he (Sandilk) had heard of what the Kutrigurs had been doing, he could but express astonishment at his perfidy, and at the imprudence which had tied him to such an ally. The only way in which he could escape from his ambiguous position was to prove his former ignorance by now exacting vengeance. It was not purely to plunder that the Kutrigurs had invaded the Roman borders, but also to show the world how worthless were their allies, and to prove how superior their forces were to those of the Utigurs. This is why they had overrun all Thrace and carried off the money which was promised to and in-

tended for the Utigurs themselves, and the reason they had not been driven away and chastised was because the Romans wished to put their friendship to the test and also to test whether they were going to submit to being robbed of what was their own, namely, the presents they, the Romans, intended sending them. They had a special reason of their own, therefore, for vengeance, and ought to recover from the hands of the Kutrigurs the gift which was their due. If they were going to remain content with things as they were, they, the Romans, would in future pay the Kutrigurs what they had hitherto paid them, and abandon their alliance with the Utigurs, for their braver rivals. It would be more profitable and honourable to side with those who were victorious than with those who had been beaten. What followed is differently reported by the Byzantine writers.

Menander says Justinian sent Sandilkh several embassies, and tried by every means to induce him to fight Zabergan. He promised him, *inter alia*, that if he would attack the Kutrigurs, he would pay him the annual pension which Zabergan had hitherto received. Sandilkh replied that it would neither be right nor decent that he should exterminate his compatriots. For, he said, not only do they speak the same tongue and have the same customs as ourselves, but they are our relatives, although they obey other leaders. Nevertheless, as it is Justinian who orders this, we will carry off their horses, so that they shall no longer be able to ride, and no longer therefore able to do the Romans any harm. (Menander, ed. Bonn, 345). According to Procopius the Roman envoy pointed out that these Kutrigurs (of whom he, Sandilkh, was so careful), although they annually received large sums from Byzantium, did not desist from attacking the Roman frontiers. Nor did they let the Utigurs share in this bounty, nor did they share in the booty which they made when assailing the Roman borders. Sandilkh was at length moved by the Roman entreaties and presents, and agreed that he would attack the Kutrigurs. Agathias

says that the biting message of the Romans stirred Sandilkh's pride, and he at once proceeded to attack the enemy (*id.* lib. v. ch. 6). Having been joined by 2000 Goths (*i.e.* Gothi Tetraxitae, who, we have seen, were their allies), they crossed the Don, and had a very serious struggle with the Kutrigurs (that is with those who had remained at home), and eventually defeated them, and caused a great massacre, and returned home with their wives and children as prisoners (Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* ch. xviii.). This internecine feud among the enemies of the Empire is made a subject of congratulation by Procopius, and he tells us that many Roman captives, whom the Kutrigurs had formerly made, who numbered many thousands, managed to escape and returned home again (*id.* xix.).

Meanwhile Zabergan, as we have seen, with a body of 12,000 Kutrigurs, had crossed the Danube and was ravaging the country to the south. Justinian now sent Aratius to acquaint them of what had taken place in their own country, and to tempt them by a liberal largess to withdraw. They accordingly retired without doing any more harm, and without carrying off any captives, treating the inhabitants in fact, as the no doubt astonished historian tells us, as if they had been their friends, and it was agreed that if on their return they found it possible to remain, they were to do so; but if they found it impossible to settle down in their own country they were to return to Thrace, where the Emperor promised to find them quarters, and where they should undertake to keep out other barbarians (*id.* xix. 1 and 2).

Agathias says the Kutrigurs were attacked by the Utigurs while returning from Thrace, and deprived of the plunder which they had made. Those who escaped went home to collect their forces, and thus the two tribes began a long struggle, during which the empire was more or less free from their attacks. The Kutrigurs, it would seem from his account, were seriously punished in the war, and those who remained lost their liberty and took the name of the conquerors. When the news reached Constantinople of these events,

the Emperor was highly praised for his prudent conduct (Agathias, lib. v. ch. 6).

Procopius says that 2000 of the Kutrigurs who had been defeated by the Utigurs fled with their wives and children to Roman territory. They had among them a valiant chief named Simeon who had formerly served under Belisarius against the Vandals. These fugitives offered to serve in the Roman armies, and Justinian sent them into Thrace. This caused Sandilkh, the ruler of the Utigurs, to get into a great rage. He deemed it indecent that having driven the Kutrigurs from their lands to please the Romans, the latter should have given the latter settlements, and he sent his complaints by his envoys, to whom, says Procopius, he entrusted no letters, for the Huns had not the art of writing, and neither taught their children to read or write. These envoys reported his message to Justinian, and according to Procopius, it was in these words: "I heard a parable, when a child, which I will report to you. The wolf can change its fur, but not its disposition. Nature will not let it do so. This is what I, Sandilkh, have learnt from old men who discriminate the ways of men by those of beasts. I also know the lessons which I have learnt from my country life. The shepherds take young dogs and bring them up carefully, and when grown up, the dogs are gentle to the shepherds who have cared for them. The intention of the shepherds is that these dogs shall guard their sheep and protect them from the wolves. This is a universal law, I take it, for nowhere do dogs eat sheep and wolves guard them. It is equally a law, I take it, in your kingdom where some things occur strange and contrary to the ways of other men. If I am mistaken in my remarks, point it out to my envoys, so that I may learn something in my old age. If my story is true, is it not shameful that you should give shelter to the Kutrigurs in your midst when you could not tolerate them quietly when living so far from their frontiers? They will soon prove if they have affection and zeal for your service. You will always have

enemies since you treat them so kindly after they have been beaten, and you will have no friends to defend your territories and to protect them from pillage since they may expect to be worse treated than your foes. While we have to live in a sterile desert, the Kutigurs enjoy superfluity. They have the luxury of baths, while their garments are embroidered with gold and silver. They have carried off to their country a vast quantity of Romans upon whom they practised all the cruelty which a barbarous and pitiless disposition could invent. While we have run dangers in order to rescue their victims from slavery, you have repaid us ill. We suffer all the inconveniences to which nature has condemned our land, while the Kutrigurs divide among them the lands of those whom we have delivered by our courage from the yoke they had imposed on them." Such was the message of the envoys whom Justinian endeavoured to appease with words and presents, and sent home again (*id.* xix.).

A little later, the Lombard Ildigist, who had sought asylum at Constantinople, taking offence at not being treated with sufficient dignity, fled to Apros, in Thrace, where, being joined by some of his countrymen, he revolted. The Emperor ordered the different governors of Thrace and Illyria to oppose him. The first troops whom he encountered consisted of those Kutrigurs, to whom the Emperor had given a settlement in Thrace, but they were defeated and dispersed, and the rebels advanced upon Illyria (Procopius, *De Bell Goth.* xxvii. 2). In the fight between Narses and the Goth Totila, we are told that a contingent of Huns fought in the Roman ranks (*id.* xxxi.). These were probably Kutrigurs, and it is the last notice of them known to me. We now lose the guidance of Procopius, who died about this time.

In the year 557 a new horde of nomades, whose history I have elsewhere related, crossed the Volga, driven forward by the Turks, and we are told that on their approach the Sarselt, Onoguri (*i.e.* the Bulgarians), Sabiri, and other Hunnic tribes, were greatly disturbed, and gave them presents.

I take it that the larger part of these Hunnic tribes were incorporated in the Avar armies, and marched westwards with them. Not only so, but it would seem that, like the Onogurs or Bulgars, some of the other Huns became the dominant caste among certain Slavic peoples.

In common with other writers, I cannot avoid identifying the Sabiri with the race or caste which gave its name to the Serbians. I have elsewhere in a monograph on the Croats shown how probable it is that they also were led by a Hunnic caste, and it is an interesting fact that one of the early Croat chiefs was called Kotrag, which brings him into close relationship with the Kutriguri.

I hold the Sabiri, the Kutrigurs, and the Utigurs to have been very nearly related to one another, all of them having been Turks of the Uighur branch. Jornandes clearly treats the Sabiri and Kutrigurs as closely related. His words are: "Hinc jam Hunni . . . in bifariam populorum rabiem pullularunt. Nam alii Cutziagiri, alii Saviri nuncupantur," etc. One of the famous chiefs of the Kutrigurs who invaded the empire was named as we have seen Zabergan, which seems a corruption of Sabir Khan. In my view these tribes, before the Avar movement, occupied the old Khanate of Siberia, and the steppes East of the Volga, now the home of the small horde of the Kirghiz Kazaks, and this movement largely displaced and thrust them forward. When they crossed the Volga, they thrust a wedge in among the previous occupants of the Russian steppes, who consisted of the remains of the army of Attila. It is curious to note how potent a factor they became in the eyes of the Romans. As a proof of the considerable rôle played by the Huns at this time in Eastern eyes it may be mentioned that when the Byzantine faction of the Blues changed their dress, etc., they cut off all their hair in front, and allowed that behind to grow long, probably in tresses. "They call this," says Procopius, "the mode of the Huns." They began to wear much richer robes than their condition justified, the sleeves of

which were wide above and narrow below, so that when they raised their arms at the theatre the people might fancy their height corresponded to the bulk of their garments. Their jackets, their buskins, and their socks were also in the fashion of the Huns (Procopius, Secret History, vii. 1).

ART. XIII. — *Catalogue and Description of 27 Báb Manuscripts.* By E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from page 499.)

BBF. 7.

تفسیر سورة العصر مع تسبیح فاطمه.

The Báb's Commentary on the Súratu'l-'Aşr, and the Tasbihi-i-Fátima.

Ff. 99 (ff. 1-2^a, f. 17^b, ll. 7-12, f. 88^a, ff. 98^b-99^b blank); 13.5 x 9 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a clear *naskh* hand. Obtained at the same time and under the same circumstances as the last MS.

The occasion of the Báb's writing this Commentary is thus described in the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd* (BBF. 5, f. 106^a; Or. 2942, ff. 103^a-103^b):

و آنحضرت در منزل امام جمعه نزول اجلال فرمودند. جناب امام جمعه هم ظاهراً اظهار اخلاص مینمود و کمال احترام را بعمل می آورد و آنحضرت چهل روز در منزل ایشان تشریف داشتند و اغلب ناس از خاص و عام بزیارت ایشان مشرف میشدند و سؤالات مشکله مینمودند و بطریق سهولت جوابهای شافی کافی میشنیدند تا آنکه جمع کشیری مصدق امر ایشان شدند و جناب معتمد الدوله بدیدن آنحضرت شرفیابی حاصل نمود و آنحضرت نیز باز دید ایشان تشریف بردند. جناب امام جمعه از آنحضرت سؤال کرده بود که آیت حقیقت شما چیست فرمودند آیات و هر مطلبی را که بخواهم بدون فکر و سکون قلم در سه ساعت هزار بیت مینویسم

جواب داده بود شاید پیش از وقت در آن مطلب تفکر نموده باشید. فرمودند هرچه شما بخواهید من مینویسم. عرض کرد همچنانچه بجهت جناب آقا سید یحیی دارابی تفسیری بر سوره مبارکه کوثر نوشتید بجهت ایجابان نیز تفسیری بر سوره مبارکه والعصر بنویسید آنحضرت شروع بنوشتن فرمودند و در هر سه ساعت هزار بیت نوشتند. جناب امام جمعه یقین حاصل نمود که آن گونه قدرت من عند الله است و خارج از قوه بشر است *

“So His Holiness [the Báb] alighted at the house of the *Imám-Jum‘a* [of Isfahán], and abode there forty days, during which time the *Imám-Jum‘a* behaved towards him with every appearance of good-will and respect. Many persons, gentle and simple, enjoyed the honour of meeting him, and propounded to him hard questions, to which they received full and satisfactory answers easy to understand, so that many accepted his doctrine. His Excellency [Minúchihir Khán] the *Mu‘tamadu‘d-Dawla* also came to see him, and His Holiness [the Báb] returned the visit. The *Imám-Jum‘a* had demanded of him, ‘By what sign do you establish the truth of your claim?’ ‘By verses,’ answered he, ‘for without pause of the pen I can, in the space of three hours, write a thousand sentences on any subject that I please.’ ‘But,’ objected the *Imám-Jum‘a*, ‘you may have considered the matter previously.’ ‘I will write,’ replied he, ‘on any subject you please.’ ‘Then,’ said the *Imám-Jum‘a*, ‘write for me a Commentary on the *Súra* beginning *wa‘l-‘aşr*,¹ even as you wrote for *Aká Seyyid Yaḥyá* of *Dáráb* a Commentary on the *Súratu‘l-Kawthar*.² So His Holiness [the Báb] began to write, and in every three hours wrote a thousand sentences. Then the *Imám-Jum‘a* was convinced that such power was from God, being beyond the capacity of man.”

Allusion is made to this request of the *Imám-Jum‘a*

¹ *Qur‘án*, ciii.

² *Qur‘án*, cviii.

in the following passage of this *Commentary*, which occurs on ff. 4^b-5^b of the present MS. :

وإنّ الآن لما نزل الامر من جناب مستطاب ذى الحساب
 الشامخ الرفيع وذى العزّ البادخ المنيع وذى النسب العالى الرفيع
 ذى الصفات العليا والاخلاق الرضيّة المحسنى سلطان العلماء ادام الله
 ظلّ عطوفته على من سكن في ظلال رحمته بان افسر السورة المباركة
التي نزل الله في القران هذه والعصران الانسان لفي خسر الا الذين
 امنوا و عملوا الصالحات و تواصلوا بالحق و تواصلوا بالصبر ولما كان
 امره المطاع و حكمه الفصل في اظهار ذلك البيان قد استعنت عن
 الله و اتبعت امره باظهار ما خلق الله في الكيان بالبروز الى العيان
 ليتميز بشرح تلك السورة المباركة شان من ايد من فضل الله في
 ذلك المقام عن دونه و بقى ثواب من عرف شيئا منه لجناب
 حضرته الى يوم المآب (f. 5^a) و اسئل الله من فضله بان يحفظ
 عيون الناظرين الى الاشارات التازلة في ذلك الكتاب عن الاعتراض
 ويلهم الكلّ حكم الانصاف في مقامات دلالات كلمات ما نزل في
 ذلك المقام لامر المستطاب و إنّ على الله اتكل في اظهار حقيقة
 سرّ الامكان بما جعل الله في الكيان بالبروز الى العيان و لا حول و لا
 قوّة الا بالله العليّ المتان و اتنى انا ذا قبل ان اذكر حرفا في مقام
 التفسير اسئل من جناب المستطاب ادام الله ظلّ عطوفته بان
 يعفو عن نفسى اذا اطلع بخطيئة من قلبي لانّ شأن العبد في
 كلّ حال هو الذنب¹ و ارجو الله ان يثبت بذكر بعض المقامات
 لمن سكن في مقامات عالم الاسماء و الصفات ما قدر الله لهم في
 حكم الكتاب و ان الى الله يرجع الحكم و الامر في المبدء (f. 5^b)
 و المآب الخ

¹ The humble tone of this passage, as well as the absence of all claim to infallibility, is very noteworthy, and in itself stamps the work as one belonging to the earlier period.

Having quoted so much from the preface proper, I must confine myself to giving the first few lines of the doxology and the last few lines of the conclusion of the book.

Beginning on f. 2^b :

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله الذى تجلّى للممكّنات بظهور اثار ابداعه فى ملكوت
الامر والخلق ليتلألأ جوهريات حقايق الموجودات بتألؤ آيات
اللاهوت و يتلجلج كينونيات مجردات آيات الجبروت بتلجلج
ظهورات آيات الملكوت ليشهد الكلّ فى كلّ مقامات الامر وآيات
الختم بما شهد الله لنفسه فى ازل الازال بانه لا اله الا هو لم يزل كان
بلا وجود شئ معه ولا يزال انه هو كائن بمثل ما كان ال

Ending on ff. 87^a-87^b :

وفى الكمال عن الصادق [؟] ع قال العصر عصر خروج القائم عليه
السلام انّ الانسان لفى خسريعى اعدائنا الا الذين امنوا يعنى
باياتنا و عملوا الصالحات يعنى بمواساة الاخوان و تواصوا بالحق يعنى
الامامه و توصوا بالصبر يعنى العترة و القمى عنه ع قال استثنى اهل
صفوته من خلفه حيث قال انّ الانسان لفى خسر الا الذين امنوا
بولاية امير المؤمنين ع و تواصوا بالحق ذرياتهم و من خلفوا بالولاية
تواصوا و صبروا عليها و فى المجمع عن الصادق ع و القمى عن على
ع انهما قرا و العصر (f. 87^b) انّ الانسان لفى خسر الى اخر الدهر و
فى ثواب الاعمال و المجمع عن الصادق ع من قرا و العصر فى نوافله
بعنه الله يوم القيمة مشرقا وجهه ضاحكا سته قريبا عينيه حتى يدخل
الجنة انتهى و انا ذا اختتم ذلك الكتاب بقول الرحمن سبحانه
رتبك ربّ العرش عما يصفون و سلام على المرسلين و الحمد لله
ربّ العالمين *

F. 88^a is left blank. On f. 88^b begins another document written, as appears from a passage occurring on f. 93^b, in answer to a letter of enquiry, and containing, as appears from a passage occurring on f. 94^a, the *Doxology of Fâtima* alluded to by my correspondent (See p. 494 *supra*). These two passages, together with the beginning of the doxology and the conclusion of the work, I subjoin:

Begins:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الْعَلِيِّ الْعَظِيمِ

اسْبَحْ سُبْحَانَ الَّذِي لَا يَعْلَمُ جَوْهَرَ وَجُودٍ كَيْفَ هُوَ وَلَا مَجْرَدٌ مَوْجُودٌ
 أَيْنَ هُوَ وَلَا كَانُورٌ ظَهْوَرٌ حَيْثُ هُوَ وَلَا سَانِجٌ ظَهْوَرٌ مَتَى هُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ لَمْ
 يَزَلْ كَانَ قِيَوْمًا فِي سُلْطَانِ سُبُوْحِيَّتِهِ بَلَا ذَكَرَ شَيْءٌ مَعَهُ رَتْبَةَ الْإِزْلِيَّةِ وَلَا يَزَالُ
 أَنَّهُ كَائِنٌ فِي مَلَكُوتِ جَبْرُوتِيَّتِهِ لَمْ يَكَمْ مَذْكُورًا عِنْدَهُ الْخ

The preface proper begins on f. 93^b, l. 2 as follows:

وَبَعْدَ قَدْ نَزَلَ كِتَابُكَ عَلَيَّ فِي هَذِهِ اللَّيْلَةِ الْقَدْرَ وَلَا حِظَّتْهُ بَعِينَتِي
 عَلَيَّ ذَلِكَ الْجَبَلِ الْكَبِيرِ وَشَهِدْتُ بِمَا سَطَرْتُ فِيهِ بِحُكْمِ الْقَدْرِ وَ
 سَأَلْتُ اللَّهَ بَانَ يَنْبُتُكَ عَلَيَّ الصَّرَاطِ بِأَمْرِ مُسْتَسْرِّ فَاَعْرَفَ أَنَّ كَلَّ
 الْخَيْرِ هُوَ مَذْكُورٌ فِي ذِكْرٍ مِنْ ذِكْرِ رَبِّي وَرَبِّكَ وَكُلَّ الشَّرِّ مُقْضَى فِي
 حَقِّ مَنْ أَعْرَضَ عَنِ ذِكْرِ رَبِّي وَرَبِّكَ فَلَا عَزَّ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا بِطَاعَتِهِ
 فَكَمْ مِنْ عِبَادٍ مَلَكُوا شَرْقَ الْأَرْضِ وَغَرْبَهَا وَأَنَّ الْآنَ فِي نَارِ جَهَنَّمَ
 يَحْشُرُونَ وَلَا ذَلَّةَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا بِمَعْصِيَتِهِ وَكَمْ مِنْ عِبَادٍ لَمْ يَمْلِكُوا شَيْئًا
 فِي الدُّنْيَا عَلَيَّ الْإِرَائِكَ فِي الْفِرْدَوْسِ يَتَكُونُونَ إِلَّا أَنَّ ذَلِكَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ

¹ *وَرَبِّي* the Bâb appears to denote himself. The term (in this sense) occurs commonly in his earlier writings. See *supra*, p. 303 n. 1.

² MS. *المر*, an evident error.

لمن يشاء. وان ذلك عذاب الله لمن يقضى فاشهد فيما سئلت
 في روح كتابك من سرّ (f. 94^a) تسبيح فاطمة الزهراء صلوات الله
 عليها وعتده ورموزه بانّ كل ما في الوجود لو كان مداداً تم بحراته
 لوحاً تم كاتباً لبيان حرف منه لينفذ كل ذلك قبل ان يظهر سرّ
 منه الخ

Ends on ff. 97^b-98^a with a short explanation of the
Sūratu't-takāthur (K̄ur'ān, cii) :

وان ما يشغل به الناس لا ينفعهم الى حين الممات واليه الاشارة
 قول ملك الاسماء والصفات الهيك التكاثر حتى زرتم المقابر اى ما
 تتوجهون اليه ليس الاله واحد فرد احد صمد وان الكثرة هى من
 امثلة المهددة والهندسة المخترعة وهى كانت معكم الى ان تدخلوا
 المقابر خائفين (f. 98) كلاً سوف تعلمون ثم كلاً سوف تعلمون كلاً لو
 تعلمون علم اليقين لترونّ الحجيم ثم لترونها عين اليقين ثم لتسئلن
 يومئذ عن النعيم وان اليوم يسئل الكل عن النعيم لانه هو ذلك
 الركن العظيم والاسم القديم والنعمة العليم فعليك بالرجوع الى
 اول مؤمن¹ حلّيم فانّ الدخول على البيت لا ينبغي الا من شطر
 الباب² فعليك بمحبة ذلك الجناب فانه اول روح قد اخذ اثمار
 شجرة الخلد وكفانى وكل من ارادنى ربى الذى خلقتنى ثم رزقنى
 ثم يمينتى ثم يمينى ثم اليه كل يرجعون وسبحان ربك ربّ العرش
 عما يصفون وسلام على المرسلين والحمد لله رب العالمين *

¹ Allusion seems to be made to Mullá Huseyn of Bushraweyh, who is
 elsewhere called اول من آمن, حرف اول, اول من آمن, etc.

² Cf. a passage from the *Nāsikhū't-Tawdrikh* cited at p. 227 of T.N. ii.

BBF. 8.

تفسير سورة الكوثر

The Báb's Commentary on the Súratu'l-Kawthar.

This MS., brought from Persia to Cyprus, under the circumstances already detailed on pp. 493-5 *supra*, was forwarded to me by Subh-i-Ezel, together with the MS. to be next described (BBF. 9), and a letter dated Ramazán 5th, A.H. 1308 (April 14th, 1891), and reached me on May 7th, 1891. In the letter Subh-i-Ezel wrote :

فقد بلغت اليكم كتابين مما وصفتهما من قبل واحدا من تفسير
الاسماء و واحدا من شرح سورة الكوثر ليكون ذلك ذكر لمن سمع
وبصر وراقب و انتصر فاجهدوا ان تكتبوا الكلمات صحيحا

"I send unto you two books which I described on a previous occasion ; one [a copy] of the *Commentary on the Names*, and the other [a copy] of the *Commentary on the Súratu'l-Kawthar*, that this may be a reminder to him who heareth and seeth and watcheth and winneth : strive, then, to write the words correctly."

The *Commentary on the Súratu'l-Kawthar*, as we learn from a passage in the *Tárikh-i-Jadid* cited at pp. 637-8 *supra*, as well as from the *Traveller's Narrative* (vol. i, p. 10, vol. ii, p. 8), was written by the Báb for Aká Seyyid Yahyá of Dáráb at Shiráz. Further proof of this is afforded by the following words which occur on f. 9^a, ll. 1-2 of this MS. :

يا يحيى فأت باية مثل تلك الايات بالفطرة ان كنت ذى
علم رشيد *

"O Yahyá, produce spontaneously¹ a verse like unto these verses, if thou art learned and sound."

¹ Literally "by natural disposition," i.e. without laborious effort or study.

This MS. contains ff. 116 (ff. 1^a-2^a, and 116^a-116^b blank), 17.5 × 10.5 centimetres, 19 lines to the page. Written in a neat and legible *naskh*. Headings of sections and sometimes initial words of sentences in red.

Begins :

هذه الصحيفة الجميلة التي قد نزلت من سماء الابداع و جرى
على افئدة العارفين بقلم العالی ذی البدع والاختراع نعمة لمن آمن
واقر وعذاب على من جحد وانكر المسطرة في تفسير سورة الكوثر
وان شائنة هو الابتر وان على محبيه ثناء الله الملك الاكبر

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل طراز الواح كتاب الفلق في كل ما فتق و
استفرق واستنطق طراز الاوّل الذي لاحت واصأنت بعد ما شيئت
وعيّنت ثم قدرت وقضت قبل ما اذنت واجلت واحكمت
ثم تلاحت واستلاحت بها افاق سماء العماء في اجمة اللاهوت
ليتذوّت بها حقايق الميثاق في يوم الوثاق ثم تعالت واستعالت بها
افاق سماء البهائم في اجمة الجبروت الخ

Ends on ff. 115^a-115^b:

وانا ذا اختتم الكتاب بذكر ذلك الحديث الشريف في حكم
ذلك العنصر اللطيف ليكون ختامه مسك وان فيه فليستنافس
المتنافسون و روى باسنادها الى ابي جعفر الطوسي عن جماعة عن
الثعلكبرى عن ابن همام عن جميل عن القسم بن اسمعيل عن
احمد بن رياج عن ابي الفرج ابان بن محمد المعروف بالسندی
نقلناه من اصله قال كان ابو عبد الله ع في الحج في السنة التي
قدم فيها ابو عبد الله تحت الميزاب وهو يدعو وعن يمينه عبد
الله بن الحسن وعن يساره حسن بن الحسن وعن خلفه جعفر بن

الحسن قال فجآئه عبا بن كثير البصرى فقال له يا ابا عبد الله قال فسكت عنه جئى قالها لثا قال ثم قال له يا جعفر قال فقال له قل ما تشآء (f. 115^b) يا ابا كثير قال اتى وجدت فى كتاب لى علم هذه البيئنة رجل ينقضها حجرا حجرا قال فقال له كذب كتابك يا ابا كثير ولكن كان والله اصفر القدمين خممش الساتين ضمخ الرأس على هذا الركن و اشار بيده الى الركن اليمانى يمنع الناس من التطواف حتى يتذعروا منه قال ثم يبعث الله له رجلا منى و اشار بيده الى صدره فقتله قتل عاد و ثمود و فرعون ذى الاوتاد قال فقال له عند ذلك عبد الله بن الحسن صدق والله ابو عبد الله ع

حتى صدقوه كلهم جميعا و سبحان الله رب العرش عما يصفون
وسلام على المرسلين و الحمد لله رب العالمين *

تمت الصحيفة الكثرية من مبدع عز الصمدية فى يوم الثلاثاء رابع

عشر من شهر ذي حجة الحرام من شهر ١٢٩١

The date of transcription given in the colophon, Zi'l-Hijjé 14th, A.H. 1296, corresponds with November 29th, A.D. 1879.

I conclude the description of this MS. by quoting from different parts of the Introduction a few passages, which appear of special interest, as affording further evidence of the authorship of the work, or as indicating the stage of development to which the Báb's ideas had at this time attained.

(f. 4^a) فوربك رب آسموات و الارض ان اليوم ليس الحق ليكون لاحد حجة الا نفسى و ان الله قد اظهر امره بشأن لن يقدر احد ان تأمل فيه او يشك لان الله قد اختار لحفظ دين رسوله و اوليائه عبدا من الاعجميين و اعطاه ما لم يؤت احد من العالمين انصف بالله حجريتى بالشهادة اعظم او ان ينطق فتى عجمى بكلمات التى

ذهلت الكلّ فيها ولقد اعطاه الله حجة لو اجتمع من في السموات
 و الارض على ان يأتوا بمثلها لم يقدرُوا
 (f. 4^b) فسبحان الله من عمل هؤلاء الجهال كانّ اليوم كلّ الناس اموات
 حيث لا يعرفون صنع الربّ عن الخلق هل جاء احد بمثل تلك
 الايات ويقول ذوروح انّ هذا صنع الخلق انصف بالله هل سمعت
 من احد دعاء او صحيفة وهل جاء بتلك الحجّة دون آل الله ع
 فيآلله اتى لو اردت من بعد كما بينت الميزان في بين يدي الاشهاد
 لاكتب في سنة ساعات الف بيت مناجات فمن اليوم يقدر بذلك
 فاعوذ بالله من عمل الناس انّ المجلسى قد حقّقى في كتابه حقّ
 اليقين بانّ صحيفة السجّادية في الفصاحة تعدل صحف السماوية وهى
 زبور آل محمد ع وتكفى لذي المعجزة للذين يرونهم فكيف تثبت
 الولاية بصحيفة ولا تثبت بصحائف معدودة التى ملئت شرق
 الارض وغربها فات حجّة اكبر من هذه النعمة و ائ عطية اعظم من
 هذه القدرة انّ العلماء لو ينشئوا ورقة ليتفكروا و بعد ذلك لما انت
 تذكر كلماتهم بمثل قول صبى يقول بالفارسية به به وانّ بالحقيقة
 ليس اشرف في ذكر الكلمات ولا بترتيب الايات (f. 5^a) بل انّ
 الذى اصل الروح فيها هو السرّ الربانيّة و ظهور الصمدانيّة التى هى
 اصل كلّ من فضل وعليها يحول كل عدل فزن احدى صحيفتى بكلّ
 كتب القوم لم يعدل حرفا منها كلّ من في السموات و الارض لانها
 حيوان من ظهور الوجدانيّة و سرّ الرحمانية و ما دونها بعجل جسد
 له حوار (f. 5^b) انظر الى دنائة مقامهم انّ فرعون لما اراد
 ان يكفر بحجّة ربّه فاتى بشى من السحر و اتهم فوربك لا يأتون
 بحرف و يفعلون ما لا يدركون فوربك انّ اليوم نار جهنم لمحيطه
 بالكافرين و اتى انا اقل كلمة فيثبت بها قسطاس العدل في يدي

و انّ الناس ليكذبون و يفترون من حيث لا يعلمون ان امرئ من
 ذوبان الشيخية قد كتب في جمدهم ثلثة كتب¹ (f. 6^a) بل حيف
 لها لتتعرض بجمدهم و انّ ابطال تلك الفئة قد عارت على انفسهم
 ان يلتفتوا بعلمهم لانهم عملوا ما لا عمل فرعون من قبل و انهم اليوم
 هم هالكون فوربك انّ احدا من النصارى لو قرء صحيفتى
 ليستحيى ان يقول في حقى لا و انهم قد قرارو و حملوا ثم افتروا
 و كذبوا لعنهم الله بما عملوا و لا محيص لهم الا ان يكفروا بكاظم
 و احمد صلوات الله عليهما (f. 6^b) و انا ذا اذكر في مقام
 القسطاس اياتا قبل ذكر الشرح ليثبت الميزان فاذا ثبت القسطاس
 يبطل كلّ التعرضات من عند كلّ الناس و كلّ ما رايت من آياتى
 قد افترى المفترون فيها و بعض يقول ليس فيها ربط فاعوذ بالله
 من عملهم و افتراءهم و كلّ ما ترى من الايات بغير ذلك النهج
 العدل فأتى انا برئى من المشركين و ها انا ذا اذكر ميزان البيان
 ليكون حجة للعالمين جميعاً

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سبحان الذى نزل الكتاب فيه ذكر فيه حكم من لدنا لقوم
 يعقلون * . . . الخ (f. 7^a) و لقد كفر الذين قالوا ان ذكر اسم ربك
 ادعى الوحى و القران و انتم لتفترون اليوم فى دين الله بما لا تعلمون
 و لا تعقلون * قل اتى عبد الله مصدق لما معكم من حكم القران
 فكيف انتم تكذبون بايات الله و لا تشعرون * و لقد فتنا الخلق
 بمثل الذين كفروا من قبل و انا لنعلم ما كان الناس لا يعلمون و لا

¹ Allusion may be here made to Kurratu'l-'Ayn, who was originally of the Sheykhi sect (see T.N. vol. ii, p. 310, and p. 342, n. 1).

² Hâjî Seyyid Kâzîm of Resht and his predecessor Sheykh Ahmad of Ahsâ are of course alluded to.

³ Here also ذكر seems to mean the Bâb himself. Cf. p. 303 *supra*.

يعقلون * ولعمرك كفر الناس كلهم إلا الذين أتبعوا احكامنا من قبل
 ولم يمجّدوا على بشئ فاولئك هم المفلحون * ولقد كفر الناس الذين
 لا يخطرأ بانفسهم ان يكفروا بالرحمن من حيث يحسبون أنهم
 مهتدون * ولقد كفر الذين قالوا ان ذكر اسم ربك قال اتنى انا
 باب بقية الله¹ بحكم من قبل من حيث لا يعلمون * و ان مثل
 كل ما قال الناس في حقى بمثل ما قالت النصرى بان الله ربك
 هو ثالث ثلثه او قالت اليهود ان عزيز ابن الله و قالت الاعراب ان
 الله فقير ومحن اغنياً سنكتب ما قالوا و احكم بينهم فى الحيوة
 الدنيا و أنهم فى الآخرة هم الخاسرون *

BBF. 9.

المجلد الثانى من تفسير الاسماء

The Báb's Commentary on the Names (vol. ii).

This MS. came into my hands under the same circumstances and at the same time as the last. The passage in the accompanying letter wherein reference is made to it has been already quoted (p. 643 *supra*). The letter itself is pasted into this MS. after the last leaf (f. 264), forming ff. α - β additional.

The description of the MS. is as follows: Ff. 264 (ff. 1^a-2^a, 5^b-6^b, 192^b, 219^a, 225^b-226^b, 230^a-232^b, 240^a-240^b, 253^b, 264^a-264^b, α ¹ and β ² blank), 20.75 x 13 centimetres, 21 lines to the page. Written in a clear and compact *naskh*. Headings of chapters and marginal annotations in red.

¹ This passage is especially noteworthy. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. i, pp. 3-4; vol. ii, pp. 3-4.

Begins (on f. 2^b):

الباب الاول من الواحد الثامن من الشهر الثامن من السنة في
 معرفة اسم المرشد وله اربع مراتب * الاول في الاول * بسم الله
 الارشد الارشد * الله لاله الا هو الارشد الارشد قل الله ارشد فوق كل
 ذا ارشاد لن يقدر ان يمتنع عن مليك سلطان ارشاده من احد لا
 في السموات ولا في الارض ولا ما بينهما يخلق ما يشاء بامرِه انه كان
 رشادا راشدا رشيدا الخ

This, like all the Báb's other later works, is divided into *Váhids* containing nineteen chapters apiece. Each chapter is devoted to one of the "Names" of God, these names being permuted and varied in the usual way (cf. *T.N.* ii, pp. 317-319). Each name is further considered under four different aspects, so that in each chapter we find four subordinate sections, الثالث في, الثاني في الثاني, الاول في الاول, الرابع في الرابع, and الثالث. Only the latter half of the work (from *Váhid* viii, ch. 1 to *Váhid* xix, ch. 18¹) is contained in this volume, and of this several complete *Váhids*, including the twelfth, and many chapters are missing. This is so far to be regretted, in that it prevents me from definitely establishing the identity of this MS. with the MS. described by Dorn under the name of "Koran der Baby," at pp. 247-8 and 284-292 of vol. viii of the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* (1865). For Dorn gives only the first chapter of the twelfth *Váhid*, which, as I have already said, is not contained in this volume. I think, however, that anyone who will compare the specimen which he gives with the fragment I have given will agree that the two MSS. almost certainly represent the same work, especially as the "Name" مسكن or سكان is given in the index of the missing chapters as

¹ Ch. 19 appears to be missing, though included in the table of contents at the end. It should deal with the name 'الوفا'.



the first chapter of the twelfth *Váhid*. The matter can be easily settled in St. Petersburg by comparing my description of my defective MS. with the complete MS. described by Dorn. This identification is really more important than at first sight appears, for the St. Petersburg MS. is of undoubted authenticity, having passed directly from the hands of the Báb's amanuensis into European hands in Tabriz shortly before the Báb's martyrdom.¹ Now should this MS. of mine prove to be identical with Dorn's, not only will the latter be supplied with its proper name, but valuable corroborative evidence will be afforded of the genuineness of all the MSS. which have come to me through Şubḥ-i-Ezel's hands.

The 18th chapter of the 19th *Váhid* (on the Name المبر) begins on f. 258^a, and ends on f. 261^b with the following words:

وان ظهر النور فهم في ظلّ الله مستظلون بهم انتم تنصرون وبهم
انتم تحفظون يظهرن النار وهم في النور باطنون ويظهرن النور اذا
اظهرهم الله وهم غير الله في انفسهم لا يقصدون اولئك هم عند الله
في غرف الرضوان لمكرمون *

Immediately after this, in smaller characters, follows the Arabic colophon:

هذا اخر ما وجدت من ابواب هذا الكتاب المستطاب واتفق
الفراغ من استكتابها في يوم الكمال الثاني من شهر الكلمات والاول
من دورة المصطفين من سنة السابع والثلاثين من دورة البيانية
والكور السادس المطابق ليوم الاثنين السابع والعشر من شهر

¹ Dorn writes (p. 248, *loc. cit.*): "Ich theile im Anhang II den Anfang mit, und kann blos hinzufügen, dass über die Echtheit der Handschrift in so fern kein Zweifel obwalten kann, als sie unmittelbar von dem Secretär des Bab selbst, welcher diesen Koran nach dem Vorsagen seines Herrn und Meisters niedergeschrieben haben wollte, herstammt. Er hatte sie aus seinem Gefängnisse zu Tebris in europäische Hände gelangen lassen. Die Verantwortlichkeit für den Inhalt also ruht auf dem genannten Secretär."

شعبان المعظم في شهر سنة اثنين وثلثمائة بعد الالف من الهجرة
على يد اضعف العباد واحقرهم المحتاج الى فضل ربه الغني ١٠٩٢

"This is the last of what I have found of the chapters of this precious book, whereof the transcription was concluded on the day of *Kemál* [Monday], the second of the month of *Kalimát* [the 7th month], and the first of the cycle of *Muṣṭafín* (P) of the 37th year of the Beyánic cycle and the sixth *Kawr*, corresponding to Monday the 17th of Sha'bán, A.H. 1302, by the hand of the feeblest of [God's] servants and the humblest of them, he who needeth the grace of his Bountiful Lord, 51092."¹

Immediately after this colophon follows another in Persian:

مخفی نباشد که نسخه که از روی او استنساخ شده خالی از غلط
نبوده و تحصیل نسخه صحیح هم غیر ممکن بود لهذا در مقام مقابله
هم بر نیامده انشاء الله مقابله و تصحیح آن در عهده کسانی است
که متمکن بوده ولی مبادرت بتغلیط هم نمایند بل هر لحظه که
در بادی نظر غیر صحیح مینماید تامل فرموده بلکه تصحیح شود
و السلام علی من اتبع الهدی و رحمة الله وبرکاته *
جلد اول را با نسخه معتبره مقابله نموده *

"Let it not be hidden that the copy from which this transcript was made was not free from errors, and that it was impossible to obtain a correct copy; wherefore no attempt was made at collation. If God please, the collation and emendation thereof will be feasible to [other] persons who are established [in a better position]. But let not these fall to [recklessly] emending the text, but let them well consider whatever may at the first glance appear to be

¹ Monday, Sha'bán 17th, A.H. 1302 = Monday, June 1st, A.D. 1885. The Bábí date given in this colophon offers several difficulties, and is evidently computed from a fixed point other than that used by the Behá'ís (See *T.N.*, vol. ii, p. 425). The cyphers at the end of the colophon appear to represent in some cabbalistic fashion the scribe's name.

incorrect, perchance it may be correct. Peace be upon him who followeth the right guidance, and God's mercy and blessings."

"The first volume has been collated with a trustworthy copy."

At the bottom of the page (f. 261^b) is an index of the chapters contained in this volume, arranged according to the *Váhids* to which they belong and their order in those *Váhids*. The 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th *Váhids* are tolerably complete; the 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, and 18th are unrepresented (one or more pages being left blank at the point where they should appear in the text); *Váhid* 15 is represented by only two chapters (the 12th and 13th); *Váhid* 16 by one (ch. 7); and *Váhid* 19 by chapters 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18.

Although the scribe appears to have been unable to supply the missing chapters, he nevertheless knows the "Names" which form their titles and subjects, and accordingly, on f. 262^a, he gives a complete table of contents of *Váhids* xii-xix. This, together with the contents of *Váhids* viii-xi, I subjoin, premising that different derivatives of the same root are accounted the same "Name" (e.g. *مبیر* and *بیار*; *مغیث* and *غیاث*), and that I place the missing chapters in parentheses and the missing *Váhids* in brackets.

Váhid viii. 1. مرشد 2. مرصد 3. معد 4. شهید 5. بشیر 6. نذیر
 7. مذخر 8. مکنز 9. معصم 10. مقصم 11. مسلم 12.
 مبعد 13. مؤخذ 14. منصرر 15. مشکر 16. محفوظ
 17. مدعی 18. مکفی 19. مشرف

Váhid ix. 1. مرهوب 2. مقصود 3. فاطر 4. مسخر 5. محاسب
 6. رائی 7. مرسل 8. مهمل 9. (راتق) 10. جبار 11.
 12. ممیت 13. مشفق 14. مرفق 15. کالئی 16.
 سابق 17. فائق 18. فائق 19. داعی

Váhid x. 1. سامتق 2. مرتاح 3. مسوی 4. آلف 5. منتقم 6. محیط 7. منعت 8. مقیت 9. ملهم 10. معروف 11. موصوف 12. صامن 13. زارع 14. دارئ 15. ازل 16. کبیر 17. بانخ 18. ناهی 19. آمر.

Váhid xi. 1. مقسط 2. مسرح 3. منعم 4. مقنی 5. مبخی 6. مسبب 7. کاتب 8. (راغب) 9. معقب 10. مرتب 11. منظم 12. تواب 13. مذهب 14. ممد 15. مظل 16. مبنی 17. (حارک) 18. (جاود) 19. (عامر).

[Váhid xii. 1. سکان 2. بناه 3. ضراب 4. خراج 5. دخال 6. مساک 7. نطاق 8. جزاه 9. وقاد 10. غراس 11. اباب 12. بلا 13. شياه 14. فطان 15. سقاء 16. بقاه 17. زکا 18. زیاد 19. اجال.]

[Váhid xiii. 1. لباس 2. قماص 3. سخاط 4. حلال 5. حرام 6. اذان 7. عذاب 8. ایاد 9. کفاف 10. وحاه 11. کشاف 12. حشار 13. هلاک 14. جذاب 15. فیاض 16. کلام 17. عراض 18. نشار 19. بعاث.]

[Váhid xiv. 1. ختام 2. قصاص 3. صباب 4. رکاب 5. خوال 6. نفاق 7. طیاب 8. دراک 9. الان 10. نزاع 11. فراض 12. سبغ 13. طباع 14. ولاج 15. وساق 16. رداد 17. لیان 18. سقاط 19. سقاط.]

Váhid xv. (1. مکار 2. فراغ 3. عزال 4. براک 5. حذف 6. دمار 7. بیار or نکاس 8. حراز 9. وعاد 10. رباط 11. دراج 12. وضع 13. مغبث or غیاث 14. بیاض 15. مغبث 16. صفاح 17. نباش 18. نباح 19. نباح 20. نباش.)

Váhid xvi. (1. وصال 2. عتاق 3. رتال 4. زداد 5. محاص 6. محامق)
 7. نساآ 11. نساخ 10. قفا 9. تراک 8. مهز or هزاه.
 12. غراق 17. طماس 16. زياغ 15. كساآ 14. تمام 13. اتاه.
 18. (خزآ 19. غواص).

[Váhid xvii. 1. رقام 6. زهاق 5. رجاع 4. قتال 3. ستار 2. سطار.
 7. حفاف 11. سلاك 10. خسان 9. فعال 8. عجمال
 12. دوار 17. كوار 16. شراح 15. نقاض 14. لزام 13. فجار
 18.] زلاف 19. طوار.

[Váhid xviii. 1. فهام 6. نساغ 5. هيان 4. وعاظ 3. مطار 2. وزاع
 7. جيار 12. حدات 11. زجا 10. تراف 9. قرار 8. طوا.
 13. تبار 17. حياغ 16. بوا 15. وزار 14. سيار
 18.] جبار 19. صفا.

Váhid xix. (1. مساس 6. زواج 5. شرا 4. سما 3. وباق 2. شراع
 7. خيار 10. سمات 9) متقن or تقان 8. مؤثر or اثار.
 11. حواز 14. منمی or نماآ 13. محتم or حتام 12. (برام
 or نيا 17. (الات 16) مفرش or فراش 15. محموز
 18. مفی (وقآ 19) مير or برا.

The last half of f. 262^a is blank. Ff. 262^b-263^b are occupied by a sort of ejaculatory prayer, in which all these names and many more (presumably representing the first seven *Váhids* of the "Names," absent in this volume) are strung together with the interjection *yá* inserted before each. Each "Name" is put in the form متفعل, and the names appear to be arranged in their proper order according to

¹ *sic* in index and text, but written with final *j* in the prayer at the end of the volume.

Váhids and chapters. The total number of "Names" contained in the prayer is 361, corresponding to the *Váhid of Váhids*, the "Number of All Things" (عدد كل شيء), and the days in the Bábí year. I subjoin the beginning of the prayer down to the end of the first *Váhid* of "Names," and the end, including the 19th and last *Váhid* of "Names."

Begins:

بسم الله الرفع الرفع

اللهم انى اسئلك باسمك يا مؤتله يا متوحد يا متاخذ يا
ماحيى يا مقوم يا متبهى يا ماجلل يا متعزز يا ماجمل يا متعظم
يا متنور يا متقدم يا متكمل يا متقرب يا ماحكم يا متقدر يا متعلم
يا متسلط يا مملك . . . الخ.

Ends:

يا متشرع يا متوبق يا متسمى يا متشرى يا متزوج يا متمسس يا
متأثريا متقن يا متسحمت يا ماخير يا متبرم يا ماتحتم يا متنمى
يا ماحون يا متفرش يا متالت يا متفىى يا متبره يا متوقى ان
تصلين على شجرة الالبات فى البيان من اصلها وفرعها و اغصانها
و اوراقها و اثمارها بكل نصرتك و فاتحك و ظهورك و غيبتك و
قدرتك و قهاريتك و اقتدارك و رفعتك و امتناعك و عظمتك
و استلاطك و سلطنتك و املاكك و ملكنتك و اظهارك و ظهرنتك
و اقهارك و قهرنتك و اعظامك و عظمتك و اکتبارك و كبرنتك
و ابهاثك و بهينتك و اعتلائك و علينتك و اغتنائك و غنينتك
و ما انت قد احطت به علمك من كل حين انك كنت
عليكشى قديرا *

The different chapters in the "Commentary on the Names" appear to have been written on different occasions, and in

a good many cases a marginal note in red specifies either the time when, or, in language generally ambiguous, the person on whose account they were "revealed." Of these marginal notes I subjoin a complete list.

- Váhid ix, ch. 8: في ليلة الجمعة ليلة الاستقلال
- Váhid ix, ch. 13: لزائر الحق السياح
- Váhid ix, ch. 14: اين اسم بجناب سيد ۱۱ برسد و او باسماۃ اربعه
واحد في ارض الزاء و واحد هو الوحيد و واحد
هو العظيم و واحد هو الفاء و واحد هو الخالق
- Váhid ix, ch. 15: في ارض التاء بجناب حرف الراء و الباء برسانند
و قد ارسلت اليكم كتاب الرضي فاعمل فيه ما
شئت و تحب
- Váhid ix, ch. 18: در ارض جنت بمظهر تقوى برسد
- Váhid x, ch. 2: في ارض الخاء الى اسم الله القيوم
- Váhid xi, ch. 8: نزل ليلة الاستقلال للفاخعلى في ارض الاعلى
- Váhid xi, ch. 10: بمولانا الكريم يحفظ الاصل يرسل السواد لمعلم
الصتي وفيه اتمام للحجة
- Váhid xvi, ch. 7: السيد رحيم في الصاد
- Váhid xix, ch. 8: للطبيب الهمداني
- Váhid xix, ch. 12: ما نزل لان الشهيدين المهدي والباقر الكندي
- Váhid xix, ch. 17: ما نزل لحرف الراء و الباء في ارض الاعلى
- Váhid xix, ch. 18: ما نزل لاسم الله العلم الملكان الذي هو انج
الراء و الباء على ارض خ

BBF. 10.

من کتاب اسماء کلشی

Part of the Book of the Names of All Things (vol. i).

This MS., forwarded to me by Şubḥ-i-Ezel in July or August, 1891, appears to be the companion volume of the MS. last described, with which it corresponds in size, writing, and arrangement, though its name is given somewhat differently. It contains in an incomplete form *Vâhids* ii-vii inclusive, just as BBF. 9 contains *Vâhids* viii-xix. *Vâhid* i is missing, but a statement of its contents is prefixed to the index on f. 2^a. The description of the MS. is as follows:

Ff. 338 (ff. 1^a-1^b, 81^b, 88^a-88^b, 120^a-120^b, 336^b-338^b blank), 20·75 × 13 centimetres, 21 lines to the page. Written in the same clear and compact *naskh* as the MS. last described. Headings of chapters and marginal annotations in red.

In the table of contents above alluded to the "Names" commentated are written continuously, the number of the *Vâhid* to which they belong being indicated by a superscription in red over the first "Name" of each *Vâhid*. This table I subjoin, placing the numbers of the *Vâhids* in parentheses.

(واحد اول) الله وحاد احاد حياء قوام بقآء جلال عزاز جمال
 عظام نوار قدام كمال قراب حكام قداد علام سلاط ملاك (واحد ۲)
 فراد صمد مجاد مناع قداس عدال فضال كثير علاء
 فهرست ما فى المجلد من اسماء الله تعالى
 (ب ۱۰ از واحد ۲) رفيع كريم جواد رقيب رحيم وهاب باطن
 ظاهر قاهر شديد (واحد ۳) بطاش سميع بديع بصير ناظر ناصر وتر



لطیف خبیر (آبد)^۱ حلیم مریب حقیق مولی غفور معطی مقبل
دافع^۲ (واحد ۴) مخلص قائم رازق (خالق) وارث ذاکر محسن منزل
میسر سریع مسدد حنان برهان دیان (آمن) رضی سجان معین
مجذذ (واحد ۵) فاخر وفی فاصل فارق قاضی نافع جامع شافی
شفیع مفرج مرجی صاحب بہج دلیل مغنی ہادی مقلب مطلب
منفس (واحد ۶) کفیل وکیل مدیل مطرز نبیل صریح مؤمن مرثف
معطف مکون مبین ملقن مہون مثنی مزین معلن مسرر مقسم
مبزر (واحد ۷) صادق دائم مخفی مملی مبدی معید مقوی مبسوط
مقبض مبلغ مسمی مغلب منقذ مثبت میر مصور مصبر مظہر
مضمر*

واحد اول تمام و واحد ثانی تا باب دہم و باب دہم (آبد) از
 واحد ثالث و باب چہارم خالق و سیزدہم (آمن) از واحد چہارم
 و باب ۲ (فاصل) از واحد پنجم نوشتہ نشدہ *

The notifications of the occasions on which, and the persons for whom, the different chapters were revealed are as follows :

Váhid ii, ch. 11 : میرزا احمد کاتب ملا عبد الکریم قزوینی
 (See *T.N.*, vol. ii, Index, s.v. *Ahmad-i-Katib.*)

Váhid ii, ch. 14 : یا ارحم عہ الراحمین بردارد رزق خود قرار دہد

Váhid iii, ch. 11 : بچہ جناب ملا حسن مراغہ علیہ بہا رہہ
 برسد و اصل بکاتب برسد

Váhid iii, ch. 11 (middle) : سیاح (سباح؟) بنورین (نور بن؟) نیرین
 برسانند

¹ Names overlined and placed in parentheses are in the original written in red over the line.

² One name appears to be missing from this *Váhid*.

Váhid iii, ch. 12 : جناب ملا حسين مراغة عليه بهاء برسد و اصل
بکاتب برسد

Váhid iii, ch. 17 : الكريم الدلمغانى

Váhid v, ch. 4 : من جبل ماكو الى ارض القاف لمن يذكر بالعلی

Váhid v, ch. 5 : يوصل الى ملا عبد الجليل القاضى فى ارض المقدسة

Váhid v, ch. 8 : اين اسم جناب سيد ۱۱۰ برسد هرگاه مطمئن
هستند باقا عبد الله طيب برسانند و الا حفظ فرمايند

Váhid v, ch. 12 (towards the middle of the first quarter):

بجهت حفظ و نصرت

Váhid v, ch. 16 : جناب الهادى فى ارض القاف

Váhid v, ch. 19 : يوصل الى شجرة الطاء عليها بهاء رب العماء و
الامل يحفظه الكاتب ع

Váhid vi, ch. 2 : جناب ميرزا احمد برسد دو عدل اين اسم را
بمذكورين من الايات برسانند من الاخ و الابن

Váhid vii, ch. 12 (about the middle of the first quarter):

للغلبة على الاعداء

The following colophon, written in red ink, concludes the text on f. 336^a:

وقع الفراغ من تسويدها فى يوم الكمال السابع من شهر المسائل
والرابع والعشر من دورة المعجد من سنة الثامن و الثلاثين من دورة
البيانية والكور السابع المطابق ليوم الاثنين الرابع من شهر الصفر من
سنة ۱۳۴ من الهجرة النبوية

Safar 4th, A.H. 1304=Nov. 2nd, A.D. 1886. This first volume of the "Names" was therefore written nearly a year and a half after the second described above. Cf. p. 651 *supra*.

BBF. 11.

مرآت البیان

The Mirror of the Beyán, by Şubḥ-i-Ezel.

Ff. 678 (ff. 1^a-2^a and 675^b-678^b blank), 20·75 × 13·5 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in Şubḥ-i-Ezel's large clear *naskh*.

When I was in Cyprus in March-April 1890, Şubḥ-i-Ezel mentioned this book and another, the *Diván-i Ezelî*, as two of the more important of his productions, and promised to give me copies of them.

In a letter dated Muḥarram 12th, A.H. 1309 (= Aug. 18th, A.D. 1891), he wrote as follows :

کتابیکه در ایام ملاقات و عده شده مرآت البیان حاضر است
و اجزاء آن بسیار شده در فرستادنش اشاره شود بجهت محو ارسال شود
بوساطت حاکم یا آنکه طریقی دیگر یا آنکه یکدفعه یا دو سه نوبت

"The book named *Mir'atu'l-Beyán* which was promised to you in the days of meeting is ready. As its folios are numerous, please indicate in what way it shall be sent, whether by means of the Governor, or some other way, and whether all at once, or in two or three instalments." In reply to this, I requested that the book might be sent through Captain Young, either all at once, or in successive instalments, as might appear convenient. The first instalment, consisting of 25 folios of 10 leaves (20 pages) each, reached me in November, 1891; the second instalment, consisting of 23 similar folios, in February, 1892; the third and last instalment, consisting of 20 folios, in June, 1892.

Taking the word *Beyán* in one of its senses, as denoting these "Books of Names" and "Commentaries on the Names" which have been already described, the title "Mirror of the Beyán" aptly defines the nature of the present work, which, except that the "Names" are in a different order, and are not grouped in *Vâhids* of 19, is

precisely similar in arrangement to BBF. 9 and BBF. 10 (see p. 649 *supra*). The number of names contained in the whole work is 137. They are as follows :

الاله . الرحمن . الرحيم . الرب . المالك . المحيط . التقدير . العليم .
 السبحان . الحكيم . الثواب . البارى . الولى . النصير . الواسع . البديع .
 السميع . العزيز . القديم . (٢٠) الواحد . الغفور . القريب . المجيب .
 الشديد . السريع . الرؤوف . الحليم . البصير . الخبير . الهوى . الحمى . القيوم .
 الاعلى . العظيم . الحميد . الغنى . الوهاب . الشهيد . (٣٩) المولى .
 الرقيب . الحسيب . الكفيل . العفو . المقيت . الشكور . القاهر . الشفيح .
 الفائق . الخالق . اللطيف . الحفيظ . المعذب . المنجزى . المنخرج .
 القوى . المستعان . الغالب . (٥٨) الفاطر . المتعال . الحفى . الحق .
 السلام . الكريم . الجاعل . الهادى . الفتاح . النور . الاواب . الرافع . البر .
 السلطان . الاول . الآخر . الظاهر . الباطن . القدوس . (٧٧) المؤمن .
 المهيمن . الجبار . المتكبر . المصور . الذارئى . الودود . الاحد . الصمد .
 الكائن . الديموم . المنظم . الباقي . الرأئى السيد . المجيد . القاضى .
 الباسط . الفايز . (١٦) الابد . الازل . الفرد . الغياث . العادل . الطاهر .
 الصانع . السبوح . الوفى . الوتر . الشافى . الكاشف . الكافى . الكبير .
 المبين . المنان . الوكيل . الوارث . الباعث . (١١٥) الجليل . الجواد .
 الديان . الجميل . الحبيب . المشرع . المتخذل . الموحي . الملمم .
 المكون . المكور . الفايز . المنعم . الفضال . الموزع . المقسم .
 الموتى . الواضع . الستار . (١٣٤) المحسن . المجير . المبيح . الفعال *

No further description of this MS. seems necessary, except to give a transcript of the first few lines at the beginning and end.

Begins:—

الا الله

لا اله

مرأت البيان

الباب ١

في معرفة اسم الالهية وله اربع تقاط الاول في الاول
بسم الله الاله الاله

بالله الله الاله الاله قل الله أله فوق كل شئ بيده ملكوت كل
شئ يبدع ما يشاء بامرته كن فيكون هو الذي لا يعرف الوهيته سواء
ولا يشهد على ما هو عليه الا هو له الملك في الاولى والاخرة وكل
اليه يرجعون هو الذي بيده الملك في السموات والارض ينزل رزق
خلقه على قدر موزون ولله الالهية من قبل ومن بعد يسجد له كل
شئ وكل له قانتون الخ

Ends (on ff. 674b-675a):—

ارغب اليه واسمع قوله واتبع سبيله واطع وصاياه (f. 675*)
واحجب ادلائه وصدق رسله وصفوته واتل آياته وايقن بكلماته
وارض بما نزل من آياته وقدر من احكامه واشكره في كل شأن
وصدق نفسه واتبع ما القاه واجتنب عما لا يهويه ولا يرضى به
وجنب عما انهاك سبحانه بقلبك في ملكوت السموات والارض
ويدورك في جبروت المر والخلق ويلقيك قول الحق لان تكون
بايات الله من المهتدين وبلقائه من الفائزين واليه من السارعين
ولديه من الراجعين ذلك الفضل من عنده والجد من لدنه والعز
من لديه بيده الملك في السموات والارض وما بينهما وله الامر
في كل شأن وله الخلق في ملكوت البدن والنختم وانه لا اله الا هو
بيده كل شئ وانه لقوى حفيظ ارجع اليه في كل شأن وارغب
لديه في دون شأن واسمع ما يعظك ويلقيك واعمل له خالصا
مخلصا واعلم بانه لا اله الا هو الملك الفعال المقتدر القدير الممتنع
الحق المتعالى المرهوب والحمد لله رب العالمين *

CLASS III. MSS. OBTAINED AT OR FROM ACRE.

BBA. 1.

مقاله شخصی سیاح که در تفصیل قصیه باب نوشته است

A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the Episode of the Báb.

Ff. 108 (ff. 1^a, 107^a-108^b blank), 18·0×10·5 centimetres, 12 lines to the page. Written in a good *naskh*. Title (as above), written in red, occupies l. 1 on f. 1^b. An irregular system of punctuation with red dots prevails throughout the MS. In all other respects the *facsimile* forming vol. i. of my *Traveller's Narrative*, published by the Cambridge University Press in February of this year, accurately represents the original.

To what I have said concerning this work, its peculiarities, value, and importance, in the Introduction to vol. ii of my edition (which contains, besides the aforesaid Introduction, the translation and notes) I have to make one or two important additions. From the perusal of certain letters written by Behá'u'lláh's son 'Abbás Efendí, I was led to surmise that he might perhaps be the author of this history, the peculiar style of which appeared very similar to his. This conjecture, however, till recently lacked positive confirmatory evidence. But some few weeks ago I received a letter from a Persian Bábí of Jewish extraction—a descendent of those Jews of Mash-had who, about half a century ago, were forcibly converted to Islám—accompanied by a parcel containing (besides a small controversial treatise in manuscript, composed by Mirzá Abú'l-Faẓl of Gulpáyagán, of which I shall have to speak presently) a lithographed text of this same *Traveller's Narrative*, published, as it would appear, in Bombay (for no printer's or publisher's name appears either on the

title-page or at the end of the volume), on Rabī'uth-thání 26th, A.H. 1308 (Dec. 9th, A.D. 1890), that is to say more than a year previously to my edition. My correspondent, who at that time knew no more of my edition of the work than I knew of the Bombay edition, wrote concerning it as follows:—

پس از شکر یکتا یزدان پاک که از مشتى خاک گوهر انسانی را ظاهر فرمود و مطلع دانش و هوش نمود عرض میشود ۲ نسخه یکی تاریخ فرمایشات حضرت سرالّله ذاتی فداه که از جانب سیّاحی ذکر میفرماید و در ممبئی طبع شده بود با نسخه خطی که خط جناب زین المقرّبین نوشته شده و نزد حقیر بود مقابله نموده با استدلالیه که آقا میرزا ابو الفضل گل پایگانی که از اجته احباب و سابق منشی مانکیچی صاحب در طهران بود در اثبات ظهور الهی و طلوع ربّانی از اراضی مقدّسه کرمل و اورشلیم نوشته شده هر دو را بطرز امانت داخل لفافه ماهوت سفید بسته مهر و لاک نمودم و باسم جناب شما با پوسته از طرف ممبئی و بندر ابو شهر سفارشی رجستری نمودم انشاء الله بسلامت برسد.

“After giving thanks to the One Pure God, who, from a handful of dust, caused the human essence to appear, and made it the source of knowledge and reason, representation is made as follows: I have forwarded as a consignment to your address, by registered post, by way of Bushire and Bombay, two volumes, wrapped in a covering of white cloth, and sealed with wax, which, please God, will arrive safely. Of these two volumes, one is a history containing the observations of His Holiness the Mystery of God [*Hazrat-i-Sirru'lláh*]¹ (may my personality be his sacrifice!) which he sets forth as made by ‘a traveller.’

¹ The title of Abbás Efendi. See *B. i.*, p. 518; and *T.N.*, vol. ii, index, s.v. ‘Abbás Efendi.

This book was printed in Bombay; it has been collated with a manuscript copy of the same, written in the handwriting of His Excellency *Zeynu'l-Muḳarrabīn*,¹ which is in my possession. The other is an evidential treatise [*Istidlāliyyé*] written by Mīrzá Abú'l-Faẓl² of Gulpáyagán (one of the most illustrious of 'the Friends,'³ who was formerly secretary to Mánakjī Šáhib⁴ in Teherán) in proof of the Divine Manifestation and Heavenly Theophany in the Holy Lands of Carmel and Jerusalem."

It may therefore, I think, be safely assumed that the anonymous author of the *Traveller's Narrative*, concerning whom I was previously unable to give any information, is none other than Behá's eldest son, 'Abbás Efendí, called by the Bábís *A'ḳá-yi*-[or *Hazrat-i*-] *Sirru'lláh*.

As regards the Bombay edition, it is clearly lithographed in a *ta'úḳ* hand on grey paper, contains 240 pp. of 9 lines each, measuring 21·0 × 13·5 centimetres, and, beyond the actual text, contains only the following brief colophon:—

بتاریخ جمعه ۲۱ شهر ربیع الثانی ۱۳۰۸

That the "narrative" is not strictly impartial I have shown at pp. xlv–xlvi of vol. ii, and that, in one particular at least, there is good ground for suspecting a deliberate mis-statement of facts and dates, I have pointed out at pp. 304–6 of the April number of this *Journal*.

BBA. 2.

ایقان

Ff. 129 (ff. 1^a–2^a, 128^a–129^b blank), 20·5 × 12·25 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a fine *naskh* hand by *Zeynu'l-Muḳarrabīn*, "the Letter Zā," concerning whom see vol. ii of my *Traveller's*

¹ See *T.N.*, vol. ii, p. 170, and p. 412 *et seq.*; and vol. i, p. 211.

² See pp. 442–3 *supra*.

³ i. e. the Bábís, who commonly call themselves by this name.

⁴ See pp. 318 and 442–3 *supra*.



Narrative, pp. 412 *et seq.* The colophon of this MS. (which is written in the form of a diamond superimposed on a triangle) occupies the lower part of f. 127^b. It is quoted and translated at pp. 417-418 of *T.N.* ii, and need not therefore be repeated here. This MS. is the 67th copy made by *Zeyns'l-Muḡarrabin*, was completed on *Jemádi-ul-avval* 11th, A.H. 1306 (=Jan. 13th, A.D. 1889), and is an extremely accurate and trustworthy transcript. It was given to me by Behá'u'lláh's sons on April 20th, 1890, as I was leaving Acre.

For further particulars of the book see pp. 435-438 *supra*.

BBA. 3.

صحائف مبارکه پارسیه. کلمات فردوسیّه. طرازات. تجلیات.
لوح اقدس.

Ff. 96 (ff. 1^a, 2^a, 95^a-96^b blank), 15·75 × 8·5 centimetres, 11 lines to the page. Written in a fine clear *nashh*. Received from Acre on October 26th, 1890. In the accompanying letter, dated Šafar 18th, A.H. 1308 (Oct. 3rd, A.D. 1890), Behá'u'lláh's son Mirzá Badí'u'lláh wrote as follows:

کلمات مکنون الی حین نرسید که ارسال شود انشاء الله از بعد
ارسال میشود و حال بعضی صحائف مبارکه که دارای بیانات
پارسیه بود ارسال شد *

"The *Hidden Words*¹ cannot yet be sent, as they have not yet arrived. Please God they will be sent hereafter. For the present sundry holy Epistles containing explanations [of the doctrine] in Persian are sent."

¹ See the description of the MS. next following. A MS. of the *Hidden Words* had been promised to me, but, as it was not ready when this letter was written, the present MS. was sent instead.

On f. 1^b is inscribed the following note :

یکی از علما از عصمت کبری سؤال نموده یکصحیفه مبارکه در جواب نازل و در آن اشراقات بلسان پارسی نازل حسب الامر مخصوص آنجناب ارسال شد و همچنین کلمات فردوسیّه و طرازات منزله از سمآء اراده و مجلیات مذکوره چون بلسان پارسی نازل حسب الامر ارسال شد شاید عباد از بحور عنایت که در کلمات منزل آیات مستوراست بیاشامند و بافق اهلی راه یابند *

"A certain one of the doctors having asked a question of the Supreme Purity,¹ a holy Epistle was revealed in reply, wherein were revealed illuminations in the Persian language. In accordance with orders this is sent for your Excellency, and likewise *Words of Paradise* and *Ornaments revealed from the Heaven of the [Divine] will*. The afore-mentioned effulgences, being revealed in the Persian language, are sent, agreeably to command, that perchance men may drink of the oceans of Grace latent in the words of the Revealer of Verses, and may find the road to the Supreme Horizon."

Notwithstanding the statement contained in the above note, more than half of the *Şahīfa-i-mubāraka* (ff. 2^b-27^b) is in Arabic. The Arabic portion begins as follows :

هذه صحیفة الله المهيمن القيوم
هو الله تعالى شأنه الحكمة والبيان * الحمد لله الذى تفرّد
بالعظمة والقدرة والجمال * وتوحد بالعزوة والقوة والجلال * و تقدس
عن ان يدركه الخيال * او يذكر له نظير ومثال * قد اوضح صراطه
المستقيم بانصاح بيان ومقال انه هو الغنى المتعال * فلما اراد الخلق
البديع فضل النقطة الظاهرة المشرقة من افق الارادة وانها دار فى كل
بيت على كل هيئة بلغت منتهى المقام الخ

¹ i.e. Behā'u'llāh.

The Persian portion begins on f. 27^b, l. 3, as follows :

قلم اعلیٰ از لُغَة فصیحی بُلُغَة نوراً¹ توجّه نمود لیعرف الجلیل
 عنایة ربّه الجمیل ویکون من الشاکرین * یا ایها الناظر الی الأفق الأعلیٰ
 ندّاً بلنداست و قوّه سامعه قلیل بل مفقود اینمظلوم در فم ثعبان
 اولیای الهی را ذکر مینماید این ایام وارد شد آنچه که سبب جزع
 و فزع ملاً اعلیٰ گشت ظلم عالم و ضرّام مالک قدم را از ذکر منع
 ننمود و از اراده اش باز نداشت نفوسیکه سالها خلف حجاب
 مستور چون افق امر را منیر و کلمة الله را نافذ مشاهده نمودند
 بیرون دویدند با سیوف بغضا و وارد آوردند آنچه را که قلم از ذکرش
 عاجز و لسان از بیانش قاصر الخ

Ends on ff. 47^b-48^a :

اهل ایران از حافظ و معین گذشته اند و باو هام جهلا متمشک و
 مشغول بشأنی باو هام متشبّثند که فصل آن ممکن نه مگر بذراعی
 قدرت حق جلّ جلاله از حق بطلب تا حجبات احزاب را باصبع
 اقتدار بردارد تا کل اسباب حفظ و علوّ و سموّ را بیابند و بشطر دوست
 یکتا بشتابند *

Immediately after this follows the treatise called *Kalimát-i-Firdawsíyya* ("Words of Paradise"). The first words of this and the title (written obliquely in the margin) are in red ink. Begins :

كلمات فردوسیة

كلمة الله در ورق اول فردوس اعلیٰ از قلم ابهی مذکور و مسطور
 پراستی میگویم حفظ مبین و حصن متین از برای عموم اهل عالم

¹ By *lughat-i-fus-ah* ("the most eloquent language") Arabic is meant, and by *lughat-i-nawrd* ("the most luminous language") Persian, as was explained in a letter addressed to me by one of Behá's sons, of which a portion is translated in the latter part of note 1 on p. 123 of the second volume of my *Traveller's Narrative*.

خشية الله بوده * آنست سبب اکبر * از برای حفظ بشر * و عکت کبری از برای صیانت وری * بلی در وجود آیتی موجود و آن انسان را از آنچه شایسته و لایق نیست منع مینماید و حراست میفرماید و نام آن را حیا گذارده اند و لکن این فقره مخصوص است بمعدودی کل دارای اینمقام نموده و نیستند *

This is the first "leaf" (*warak*), and it is followed by nine others, the tenth being considerably longer than the rest.

On f. 64^a begin the *Tirásat* as follows:

بسمی المہمین علی الاسماء

حمد و ثنا مالک اسما و فاطر سمارا لایق و سزاست کہ امواج بحر ظہورش امام وجوه عالم ظاهر و هویدا آفتاب امرش حجاب قبول نفرمود و بکلمة اثباتش محوراہ نیافت منع جبابرہ و ظلم فراغندہ اورا از ارادہ باز نداشت جل سلطانہ و عظم اقتدارہ الخ

Of these *Tirásat* there are six, of which the first (on f. 66^a) begins as follows:

طراز اول و تجلی اول کہ از افق سما آم کتاب اشراق نموده در معرفت انسانست بنفس خود و بانچه سبب علو و دنو و ذلت و عزت و ثروت و فقر است بعد از تحقیق وجود و بلوغ ثروت لازم و این ثروت اگر از صنعت و اقتراف حاصل شود نزد اهل خرد ممدوح و مقبولست مخصوص عبادیکہ بر تربیت عالم و تہذیب نفوس امم قیام نموده اند ایشانند ساقیان کوثر دانائی و ہادیان سبیل حقیقی الخ

On f. 77^b begin the *Tajalliyat* as follows:

صحيفة الله المہمین القیوم

هو السامع من افقه الاعلی *

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والذى اتى انه هو السر المكنون * والرمز
المخزون * والكتاب الاعظم للغم * وسماء الكرم للعالم * وهو الآية
الكبرى بين الورى * ومطلع الصفات العليا فى ناسوت الانشاء *
به ظهر ما كن مخزوننا فى ازل الازال * ومستور عن اولى الابصار *
انه هو الذى بشرت بظهوره كتب الله من قبل ومن بعد من اقرب به
وباياته وبيئاته انه اقرب ما نطق به لسان العظمة قبل خلق الارض
والسما * وقبل ان يظهر ملكوت السماء * الخ

Of the *Tajalliyât* contained in this piece there are four, the first of which (f. 80^b) begins as follows:

مَجَلَى اَوَّلُ كِه از افتاب حقيقت اشراق نمود معرفت حق
جل جلاله بوده و معرفت سلطان قدم حاصل نشود مگر بمعرفت
اسم اعظم اوست مکتب طور که بر عرش ظهور ساکن و مستویست
واوست غیب مکنون و سر مخزون کتب قبل و بعد الهی بذکرش
مزین و بشباتش ناطق * الخ

The *Lawh-i-Akdas*—not the *Kitâb-i-Akdas* to which I formerly wrongly applied this title (see p. 440 *supra*) but the real *Lawh-i-Akdas*—begins at the top of f. 85^a as follows:

هذا اللوح الاقدس نزل من الملكوت المقدس لمن اقبل الى
قبلة العالم الذى اتى من سماء القدم بمجده الاعظم بسم الرب
ذى المجد العظيم * هذا كتاب من لدنا الى الذى ما منعه
سبحات الاسماء عن الله فاطر الارض والسماء لتقر به عينه فى ايام
ربه المهيمين القويم * قل يا ملا الابن ما حاجتكم باسمى عن نفسى
ما لكم لا تتفكرون * كنتم ناديتم ربكم المختار فى الليل والنهار فلما
اتى من سماء القدم بمجده الاعظم ما اقبلتم وكنتم من الغافلين *

The last sentence but one of this extract confirms the information given by me to Baron Rosen at a date anterior to that whereon I received this MS. (see *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 243, n. 1), viz. that this *Lawḥ-i-Aḳdas* was addressed to a Christian.

Ends, without colophon, on f. 94^b, as follows :

طوبى لمن انقطع عن سوائى * و طار فى هواى حببى و دخل
ملكوتى * و شاهد ممالك عزى * و شرب كوثر فضلى * و سلسبيل
عنايتى * و اطلع على امرى * و ما سترته فى خزائن كلماتى * و
طلع من افق المعانى بذكرى و ثنائى * انه منى * عليه رحمتى و
عنايتى * و مكرمتى و بهائى *

BBA. 4.

كلمات مكنونه فاطمه . سه لوح كه مخصوص اصحاب زرتشت
نازل شده .

Hidden Words. Three Epistles to Zoroastrians.

In the *Epistle to the King of Persia* (*Coll. Sc. vi*, pp. 204-5) certain quotations are made from the *Hidden Book of Faṭīma*. When I was engaged on the translation of the *Traveller's Narrative*, in which the greater part of this *Epistle* is cited, I was forced to consider what the work thus referred to might be. Not being able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, I wrote to Acre asking for information on this and several other subjects. In reply I received on Sept. 1st, 1890, a letter, dated August 20th, 1890, from Behá's son Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, containing answers to my question. What refers to the *Hidden Book of Faṭīma* I translated in vol. ii of the *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 123, n. 1. I shall not repeat the translation here, but will give the original text of this portion of the letter.

سؤال پنجم در ذکر فقرات صحیفه مکتونه فاطمیه علیها صلوة الله جواب آنکه حزب ایران یعنی شیعه که خود را پاک و عالم را نعوت بالله مجس میدانند برانند که بعد از حضرت ختمی مأب حضرت فاطمه صلوة الله علیها شب و روز در مصیبت پدر بزرگوارش بناله و ندبه و زاری مشغول لذا جبریل از حضرت ربّ جلیل مأمور بمصاحبت و مؤانست و ملاقات حضرت فاطمه شد و کلماتیکه سبب تسلی و تسکین قلب بود ذکر مینمود ان کلمات را جمع نموده و صحیفه فاطمیه نام نهادند و برآند که آن صحیفه نزد حضرت قائمست و در ایام ظهورش ظاهر میشود و از آن صحیفه جز اسم چیزى معلوم نه فی الحقیقه اسمی است بی رسم و ذکر بیست بی حقیقت و حضرت موجود^۱ اراده^۱ فرمود بتلویح و کنایه ظهور قائم را معلوم فرماید لذا باین قسم ذکر شد حکمة من عنده و آنچه در لوح حضرت پادشاه ایده الله باسم صحیفه ذکر شده از کلمات مکتونه است که قبل از لوح حضرت سلطان نازل شده و کلمات مکتونه بلغت فصیحی (عربی) و نورا (فارسی) هر دو نازل و بعضی از آن را امر شد مخصوص آجناب نوشته ارسال دارند تا بر حقیقت امر مطلع گردید باری فارسی و عربی آن در این ظهور نازل *

A passage in a subsequent letter (received on Oct. 26th, 1890) wherein apology is made for delay in sending the promised *Book of Fatima* has been already quoted at p. 666 *supra*. The book finally arrived on December 14th, 1890, together with a letter from Mírzá Badí'u'lláh, dated Rabí'u'l-avval 15th, A.H. 1308 (Oct. 29th, A.D. 1890), wherein he wrote concerning the accompanying MS. as follows :

^۱ i.e. Behá'u'lláh.

این کثره کلمات مکنونه با بعضی از الواح که مخصوص ملت
زردشت نازل شده ارسال شد *

"This time the *Hidden Words*, together with certain Epistles revealed for the Zoroastrian church, have been sent."

The description of the MS. is as follows. Ff. 44 (ff. 1^a, 31^b-32^a, 42^a-44^b blank), 15.75 × 8.5 centimetres, 11 lines to the page. Written in a bold clear *naskh* hand. Titles and initial words in red. Of the four passages cited from this work in the *Epistle to the King of Persia* the first (beginning ای بیوفایان) commences on f. 8^a, l. 9; the second (beginning ای بظاهر آراسته) on f. 8^b, l. 5; the third (beginning ای پسر دینا) on f. 9^b, l. 3; and the fourth (beginning here ای بنده دنیا instead of ای مدعی دوستی من) but otherwise identical with the citation in the *Epistle to the King* on f. 10^b.

Begins on f. 1^b, at the top of which is written in Mīrzá Badí's *ta'lik* :

هذا ما نزل من لسان الرب انه لبها الله لمن في السموات
والارضين

The rest of the page is occupied by the opening clause of the *Hidden Words*, which I give in full :

بنام گوینده توانا

ای صاحبان هوش و گوش اول سروش دوست اینست ای بلبل
معنوی جز در گلبن معانی جای مگزین و ای هددهد سلیمان عشق
جز در سبای جانان وطن مگیر و ای عنقای بقا جز در قاف وفا محل
مپذیر اینست مکان تو اگر بپر جان بر پری و آهنگ مقام خود
رایگان نمائی

The Persian portion of the *Hidden Words*, which extends to f. 31^a, contains over 80 similar short clauses, beginning in each case with an invocation similar to that written above. Of these invocations, all of which are written in red, I give those which stand at the heads of the nine clauses which immediately follow the first :

ای پسر خاک ... ای پسران ارض ... ای پسر حب ... ای
پسر عز ... ای سایه نابود ... ای پسر هوی ... ای صاحب دو
چشم ... ای پسران من ... ای دوستان ...

The last clause, occupying f. 31^a, is as follows :

ای عباد

جواهر معانی بدیعه که ورای پردهای بیان مستور و پنهان بود
بعنایت الهی و الطاف ربّانی چون شعاع منیر جمال دوست ظاهر
و هویدا شد شهادت میدهم ای دوستان که نعمت تمام و حجّت
کامل و برهان ظاهر و دلیل ثابت آمد دیگر تا همت شما از مراتب
انقطاع چه ظاهر نماید کذلک تمتّ النعمة علیکم و علی من فی
السموات و الأرضین و الحمد لله رب العالمین *

Four blank pages (ff. 31^b-33^a) separate the Persian from the Arabic portion of the *Hidden Words*. The latter begins on f. 33^b, l. 6, as follows :

یا ابن الروح

فی أوّل القول املک قلباً جیداً حسناً منیراً لتملک ملکاً
دائماً باقیماً ازلاً قدیماً

یا ابن الروح

احبّ الأشياء عندی الأنصاف لا ترغب عنه ان تکن التی راغباً
ولا تغفل منه لتکون لی امیناً وانت توفّق بذلک ان تشاهد

الاشياء بعينك لا بعين العباد و تعرفها بمعرفتك لا بمعرفة احد في
 البلاد فكّر في ذلك كيف ينبغي ان تكون ذلك عن عطيتي عليك
 و عنائتي لك فاجعله امام عينيك

This part of the *Hidden Words* contains only 18 short clauses similar to the above, and ends at the bottom of f. 36^b as follows :

يا ابن الانسان

لا تحرم وجه عبدي اذا سئلك في شيء لأن وجهه وجهي فاخجل

مثنى *

The Epistles to the Zoroastrians begin at the top of f. 37^a. This page, which includes the whole of the first Epistle, I here transcribe in full :

این سه لوح مبارک از الواحی است که مخصوص اصحاب زرتشت

نازل شده

هو المقصود

بخود مشغول نباشید در فکر اصلاح عالم و تهذیب امم باشید
 اصلاح عالم و تهذیب امم از اعمال طیبۀ طاهره و اخلاق راضیه
 مرضیه بوده ناصر اممالست و معینش اخلاق یا اهل توحید
 بتقوی الله تمسک نمائید هذا ما حکم به المظلوم و اختاره
 المختار *

The second Epistle to the Zoroastrians (ff. 37^b-39^b) begins as follows :

بنام یکتا خداوند بیهمتا

ستایش پاک یزدان را سزااست که بخودی خود زنده و پاینده
 بوده هر نابودی از بود او پدیدار شده و هر نیستی از هستی او نمودار

گشته ای رستم انشاء الله بعنایت رحمن مرد میدان باشی تا
از این زمزمهٔ ایزدی انفسردگانرا برافروزی و مردگانرا زنده و
پژمردگانرا تازه نمائی اگر باین نار که نوراست پیّ بری بگفتار آئی
و خودرا دارای کردار بینی الخ

The third Epistle to the Zoroastrians (ff. 39^b-41^b), which concludes the MS., begins as follows :

روشنی هر نامه نام زندهٔ پاینده بوده ای بندگان مزوار آنکه
درین بهار جانفزا از باران نیسان یزدانی تازه و خرم شوید خورشید
بزرگی پرتو انگنده و ابربخشش سایه گسترده با بهره کسی که خودرا
بی بهره نساخت و دوسترا درین جامه بشناخت الخ

BBA. 5.

Selected Precepts of Behá'u'lláh.

Ff. 6 (f. 1^a bears a short inscription, ff. 6^a-6^b blank),
20.0 × 12.5 centimetres, 13 lines to the page.

Written in a bold graceful *naskh*.

This little MS., containing fifteen clauses called *بشارت*, or "Good Tidings" (each of which indicates some reform or law conducive to the general well-being of mankind embodied by Behá'u'lláh in one or other of his "revelations"), was received by me from Acre on February 7th, 1891, together with a letter from Mírzá Badí'u'lláh dated *Jemádí-uth-thání* 11th, A.H. 1308 (Jan. 22nd, 1891). This selection of precepts, or compendium of reforms aimed at by the new religion, was, as the letter seems to imply, compiled for my benefit by order of Behá'u'lláh. As indicating the ideals held up by Behá for the guidance of his followers it is interesting and important, and I hope at some future date to publish it in its entirety. For the present I must content myself with giving the inscription on f. 1^a, the first and last clauses, and an abstract of contents in English.

The inscription at the top of f. 1^a is as follows :

این احکام و اوامر الهی از قبل در الواح متفرقه و کتاب اقدس و اشارات و تجلیات و طرازات و غیرها نازل حسب الامر الاقدس الاعلی جمع شد تا کل بر فضل و رحمت و عنایت حق جل جلاله در این ظهور اعظم و نبأ عظیم آگاه شوند و بشکر و حمد مقصود عالمیان مشغول گردند آنه آنه بیؤید عبادۀ علی ما اراد و هو الامر الحکیم *

“These Divine ordinances and commands, formerly revealed in sundry epistles, in the *Kitāb-i-Akdas*, in the ‘Illuminations,’ ‘Effulgences,’ ‘Ornaments,’ etc., have, agreeably to the Supreme and Most Holy Command, been collected, that all may become cognizant of the grace, mercy, and favour of God (great is His Glory!) in this Most Mighty Manifestation and this Great Announcement, and may engage in praise and thanksgiving to the Desired Object of all the inhabitants of the world. Verily He helpeth His servants unto that which He willeth, for He is the Wise Ordainer.”

The text begins on f. 1^b as follows :

هَذَا نَدَاءُ الْأَيْهِي الَّذِي ارْتَفَعَ مِنَ الْأَنْقِ الْأَعْلَى

هُوَ الْمَبِينُ الْعَلِيمُ الْخَبِيرُ

حق شاهد و مظاهر اسماء و صفاتش گواه که مقصود از ارتفاع ندا و کلمۀ علیا آنکه از کوثر بیان آدان امکان از قصص کاذبه مطهر شود و مستعد گردد از برای اصغاه کلمۀ طیبۀ مبارکۀ علیا که از خزانه علم فاعر سما و خالق اسماء ظاهر گشته طوبی للمنصفین یا اهل ارض بشارت اول که از امّ الکتاب در این ظهور اعظم بجمیع عالم عنایت شد محو حکم جهاد است از کتاب تعالی الکریم ذو الفضل العظیم الذی به فتح باب الفضل علی من فی السموات و الارضین *

The concluding clause (on f. 5^b is as follows :

بشارت پانزدهم
 اگرچه جمهوریت نفعش بعموم اهل عالم راجع و لکن شوکت
 سلطنت آیتنی است از آیات الهی دوست نداریم مَدُنِ عالم از آن
 محروم ماند اگر مدترین این دورا جمع نمایند اجرشان عند الله
 عظیم است *

In substance the reforms enacted in the fifteen clauses contained in this tract are as follows :

- (1) Abolition of religious warfare (*jihād*).
- (2) Permission to all sects and peoples to unite in friendly intercourse.
- (3) Permission to study foreign languages (a thing discouraged by the Báb), coupled with a recommendation that one language and writing (either of those already existing, or specially devised for the purpose) should be selected by general consent as a medium of international communication. (Cf. *B.* ii, p. 981; *Coll. Sc. vi*, p. 245, l. 4 from the bottom.)
- (4) All Behá's followers are bound loyally to serve and support any King who extends his protection to their faith.
- (5) The followers of Behá, in whatever land they dwell, must cheerfully and ungrudgingly submit to the laws and conform to the customs of that country.
- (6) Promise of the "Most great Peace" (Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. xl.).
- (7) All are permitted, subject to the dictates of decency and good taste, to follow their own inclinations as to dress and the wearing of the hair.
- (8) The good works and devotions of Christian priests are recognised and will be accepted, but they must henceforth abandon their seclusion and "engage in that which shall advantage them and whereby mankind shall be benefited." They are also permitted to marry.

- (9) Confession of sins to one's fellow-men and seeking absolution from them is not permitted. To God only should confession be made, and from him only should pardon be sought. A form of prayer suitable for such confession is given. (Cf. *B. ii*, p. 975, first paragraph.)
- (10) The Báb's command to destroy certain classes of books (*e.g.* books of logic, philosophy, and other sciences conducing, in his opinion, only to self-conceit and disputatiousness) and to "renew" all books after a certain period, is abrogated. (Cf. *B. ii*, p. 979, l. 21; p. 928, l. 10 *et seq.*)
- (11) The study of sciences and arts is commended and encouraged, but they should be such as conduce to the welfare of mankind.
- (12) All men must learn and practise some craft, trade, or profession. The diligent and conscientious practice of such craft, trade, or profession is in itself an act of worship. Mendicity and idleness are hateful to God. (Cf. *B. ii*, p. 975, first paragraph.)
- (13) The settlement of differences, the apportionment of alms, and the ordering of the affairs of the commonwealth generally, are entrusted to the "House of Justice." (Cf. *B. ii*, p. 974.)
- (14) Visitations of the tombs of martyrs and pilgrimages to the shrines of saints are no longer to be regarded as obligatory. Nevertheless it is a pious work for rich men to leave money to the "House of Justice" to enable their poorer brethren to perform these pilgrimages.
- (15) Though a republic conduces most to the general welfare, it is not desired that Kings, who are the "signs of God's Power," should cease to exist. "If statesmen can combine these two things in this cycle, their reward with God shall be great."

CLASS IV. MSS. OBTAINED FROM CONSTANTINOPLE.

Before proceeding to describe these MSS. I must explain in what manner I became acquainted with Sheykh A—, the learned Ezelí from whom I received them. On October 13th, 1890, I received from Constantinople a long letter in Persian, occupying two sheets of writing-paper, and dated Safar 22nd, A.H. 1308 (Oct. 7th, 1890), which letter proved to be from the aforesaid Sheykh A—, with whom I had had no previous communication, and of whose very existence I had till that day been unaware. After apologizing for writing to me without previous introduction or acquaintance, the writer explained how he had heard of me from Persia and Cyprus, and how he had learned that I had interested myself especially in the Bábí religion. In consequence of this, he said, he had written to me to warn me against certain pretenders to spiritual truth (by whom he meant the Behá'ís) who had brought discord and dissensions into the bosom of the new faith. After discoursing in this strain at great length, in fine but rather ambiguous language, he continued as follows :

و اما بجهت فهمیدن شما آیات و کلمات این ظهور را اعم از کلمات
نقطه حقیقت یا کلمات شخص حی کتابی در نزد حقیر موجود
است بزبان عذب البیان فارسی در کمال سهولت تقریباً بیست
جزو که عبارت از یکصد و شصت ورق باشد میشود اسرار این
شریعت و احکام آن و تفسیر اصطلاحات و مقاصد این حضرات را
بزبانی خیلی آسان بیان میکند بطوریکه شما را کلید و مفتاحی
از برای این گنجینه علم الاسماء بدست میدهد

“Now to enable you to understand, not only the words of the Point of Truth (*i.e.* the Báb), or the words of Him called ‘The Living’ (*i.e.* Subh-i-Ezel), but the

signs and words of this dispensation in general, there is in my possession a book in the sweet Persian tongue, in very simple style, consisting of about twenty folios or 160 leaves (pp. 320), which sets forth in very easy language the mysteries of this law and its ordinances, and explains the terminology and ideas of these people, in such wise that it will place in your hand a key wherewith to open this treasure-house of the Knowledge of the Names." The writer then goes on to say that as there is only one copy of this book, and as it has to be jealously kept from the eyes of all save a few, he cannot give me the MS., but that if I should like to have it he will either lend it to me for two or three months, that I may make a copy for myself, or will get it copied for me at five francs the folio.

I immediately answered this letter, saying that I should prefer to have a copy made for me in Constantinople, and asking for the name of the book and further particulars about it. In answer to this letter I received on November 10th, 1890, a second communication from Sheykh A —, in which he wrote :

در باب کتاب حکمت نامش (هشت بهشت) است و باصطلاح
 زبان فارسی متداول نوشته شده که همه کس را استفاده ازو ممکن
 باشد و تا این کتاب را کسی بخواند نمیداند حضرات حکما چه
 میخواهند بگویند و از اول لا اول له مقصود ازین همه کتب آسمانی
 چه بوده و چیست و لسان سماوی را ازینهمه ما جرا غرض و منظور
 چه میباشد

"As to the book of philosophy, its name is *Hasht Bihišt*, and it is written according to the current Persian idiom, so that it may be possible for all to profit by it. Until one has read this book he knows not what the philosophers wished to say, what was and is the object of all these sacred books [which have been revealed] since the beginning which hath no beginning, or what was the design and

purpose of the Celestial Tongue in all its past utterances." The writer added that there was only one other copy of the book besides his own, and that it was in Persia, and was accessible to no one but the owner; that he would put the work in hand immediately; that I was, at my convenience, to remit him £4, wherewith to pay the scribe; and that the MS. would be finished in two months and a half.

On Feb. 2nd, 1891, I received fifteen folios of the promised MS., together with a letter, explaining that the rest of the transcript had fallen into the hands of enemies from whom it had not been possible to recover it. The missing portion, Sheykh A— added, would be sent as soon as another copy could be made.

In a fourth letter, received on Feb. 27th, 1891, Sheykh A—, after giving further particulars of the loss of the twelve confiscated folios, wrote concerning the *Hasht Bihisht* in somewhat greater detail as follows:

دیگر اینکه این کتاب دو کتاب است. جلد اول آن در نظریات
فلسفه بیان و دلائل علمی و حکمت آن کرده است و جلد دوم در
احکام شریعت بیان و احوال قیامت و جنت موعود جسمانی
و مجملی از وقایع یوم القیمه و این کتابیکه برای سرکار استنساخ
شد جلد ثانی است

"Moreover this book (the *Hasht Bihisht*) is really two books. In the *first* volume [the author] has treated of the theoretical aspects of the philosophy of the Beyán, its scientific proofs and rationale; while in the *second* [he discusses] the ordinances of the Law of the Beyán, the circumstances of the Resurrection and the promised corporeal Paradise, and, in a summary manner, the events of the Day of Resurrection.¹ Now the book copied for you is the *second* volume." If I like, continues Sheykh A—, he will

¹ i.e. the circumstances of the Báb's 'manifestation' and the internecine strife which subsequently arose within the sect.

have a copy of the *first* volume also made for me, which, though it deals less directly and ostensibly with the Báb's doctrine, and, indeed, would not be recognized by the uninitiated reader as inspired thereby, will nevertheless help to render clear the true character of the new religion.

Not to pursue further a long correspondence, I may state briefly that I subsequently received the whole of vol. i of the *Hasht Bihišt* (فلسفه نظری بیان) and the greater portion of vol. ii. The latter, however, is defective in the middle, and consists of portions of two different copies, the first twenty-two folios (consisting of four sheets, or sixteen pages, each) being written on yellow paper, and the last eight on white paper. How great may be the central hiatus I have no means of judging, but I hope soon to receive the missing portion.

Concerning the real authorship of the work I addressed a direct enquiry to Sheykh A—, to which he replies as follows :

اما اسم مصنف این کتاب را خواسته بودید اگرچه در بیان جزئیات و شخصیات محسوس ان هی الآسماء سمیتموها انتم و آبائکم اما کتون که خواسته اید عرض مینمایم تمام این مطالب که درین دو کتاب مسطورست مقالات و کلمات حضرت سید بزرگوار حاجی سید جواد کربلائی است که از حروف حی اول و اصحاب سابقین و حروف بسم الله است و آن بزرگوار از زمان مرحوم شیخ احمد احسانی تا هفت سال پیش ازین درین مراتب سالک حقیقت بود و آن کسی است که حضرت نقطه بیان در دلائل سبعة قول اورا دلیل میآورند و در لوح اول خطاب باو نوشته بودند السلام علیکم یا اهل بیت النبوة ولی چون در اواخر عمر آن بزرگوار را قوی ضعیف و رعشه در دست پیدا شده بود خوب مقتدر بر نوشتن نبودند این مقالات را خود املا فرموده یکی از تلامذه آن جناب نوشته بود

مخظ لا یقرء و اوراق بی ترتیب این ایام در اسلامبول چون فراغتی
 بدید بود بنده و آن شخص همتی کرده آن اوراق بی ترتیب را
 مرتب کردیم خلاصه اصل روح مطالب از ایشان است قوالب الفاظ
 شاید از ماها باشد..... اسم مصنف این دو کتاب را اگر بخواهید
 ذکر نمائید جناب حاجی سید جواد است

“ You wished to know the name of the author of this book. Although particulars and personalities are abolished in the Beyán (—‘They are naught but names which ye and your fathers have named’¹—), still, since you have asked, I will tell you. The ideas contained in these two books [i.e. the two volumes of the *Hasht Bihisht*] represent the teachings and sayings of the illustrious Hájí Seyyid Jawád of Kerbelá, who was of the ‘First Letters of the Living,’ the earliest believers, and the ‘Letters of the *Bismi’lláh*’ That illustrious personage, now departed, was a pilgrim after truth in these degrees from the time of the late Sheykh Aḥmad of Aḥsá until seven years ago. And he is one whose words are adduced as proof in the *Dalá’il-i-Sab’a* by His Holiness the Point of Revelation [i.e. the Báb],² who, in the first Epistle which he addressed to him, wrote, “Peace be upon you, O scion of the prophetic household!” But, inasmuch as during his latter days the strength of that illustrious personage was much impaired and his hands trembled, he was unable to write, wherefore he dictated these words, and one of his disciples wrote them down, but in an illegible hand and on scattered leaves. In these days, having some leisure time in Constantinople, I and this person exerted ourselves to set in order these disordered leaves. In short the original spirit of the contents is his [i.e. Seyyid Jawád’s], though perhaps the form of words may be ours. Should you desire to mention the name of the author of these two books it is Hájí Seyyid Jawád.”

¹ Kur’an, vii, 69; xii, 40; liii, 23.

² See p. 447. *supra*.

It is unnecessary to point out the importance of such a work from such a source. As, however, one of the volumes is defective; as I have not yet been able to study either volume as it deserves; and as I do not wish to prolong this article unnecessarily, I must perforce confine myself for the present to giving a very brief description, deferring a more adequate account of the contents and scope of the work to some future occasion.

BBC. 1.

هشت بهشت . جلد اول . در فلسفه نظری بیان .

Hasht Bihisht. Vol. i. Theoretical Philosophy of the Beyán.

Ff. 246 (ff. 1^a, 246^a-246^b blank), 25 × 14.5 centimetres, 24 lines to the page. Written in a small, neat, and legible *ta'liq*. Headings of chapters and sections, technical terms defined, etc., written in red. Initial words of sentences overlined with red.

Begins:

فلسفه بیان

بسم الله المنع الاقدس

چند چند از حکمت یونانیان حکمت ایمانیان را هم بخوان

تعریف علم فلسفه و فائده آن

علم فلسفه که آنرا علم اعلی و علم کلی می نامند خروج از تنگنای مدارک جزئی حیوانی است بسوی فضای واسع مشاعر انسانی و ازاله هرج و مرج ظلمات جهل و عمش است بانوار نظام عقلی و دانستن حقایق اشیاست بر ترتیب اصلی و نظم طبیعی و بالجمله این علم شریف محضتین سببی است از برای حرکات فکریه و بزرگترین موجبی است از برای انشاء معارف و علوم و اختراع صنایع و حرف و غلت اولی انتقال قبایل و امم است از

حال وحشت و بدادوت بعالم تمدن و حضارت و محول از قریه ترستی بمدینه فاضله حقیقی و اما غایت آن کمال نفس انسانی است در معاش و معاد و حیات اوست بحیات مقدسه عقلیه و مجات اوست از بیابان وحشت و خوف بدخول در بلد الامین حقیقی و من دخله کان آمنا

Ends with an explanation of sundry technical terms appertaining to the Bábí religion. The last of the terms so explained is "He whom God shall manifest," and the author seizes the opportunity to express in the clearest manner his disapproval of Behá'u'lláh.

This concluding passage I subjoin in full :

من ینظره الله ظهور موعود دین بیان است در قیامت بعد و رجعت اخری مانند ظهور قائم در دین اسلام و عدد آن را مستغاث فرموده اند که دو هزار و یکسال¹ باشد و مکرر حضرت نقطه بیان میفرماید خداوند عالم تا خلق ظهور اول را اکمال نفرماید خلق دیگر ظاهر نمی کند و ظهور نخستین تا بکمال خود نرسد ظهور دیگر ظاهر نخواهد شد و الا امور حق سبحانه و تعالی جزاف و عبث خواهد بود العیان بالله و این معنی با قواعد عقلیه و اصول حکمیه بدیهی است که هیچ دهقانی تا از درخت غرس کرده خود اکتظاف نمر نکند بجای او درختی دیگر غرس نخواهد کرد و آنگهی ظهور بعد بالبدیهه باید اشرف از ظهور قبل باشد و در صورتیکه ظهور نخستین هنوز مقام نطفه دارد و بکمال طبیعی خود بالغ نشده چگونه معقول و متصور است که بگوئیم عالم ظهوری اشرف اقتضا نمود و ظهور نخستین منسوخ شد زیرا که با شئی غیر معلوم که هنوز ظاهر نشده چیزی دیگر را نمیتوان نسبت داد و قیاس شرافت و عدم شرافت

¹ See B. i, p. 515, and p. 299 *supra*.

آنها را نمود و این سخنی است که از غایت سخافت برای زن ثکلا
خنده انگیز می باشد

و این چند نفر که در دین بیان برخاسته ادعای مقام (f. 243^a)
موعود را نمودند اگر همین قدر حس اولیات و بدیهیات را میداشتند
از خجالت بزمین فرو میرفتند که هیچ این سخن معقول و ممکن
التصور نیست

و انگهی باید اصحاب آن ظهور اشرف و الطف و اعلی باشند از
ظهور بیان و حال اینکه در همه اصحاب این ظهور جدید از خود
من یظهروه الله گرفته تا همه اصحاب و انصار او بقدر یکنفر از اصحاب
ظهور بیان شعور و ادراک ندارند و این چیزی نیست که برای کس
مسخنی باشد

بلکه هنوز این ظهور اعظم و اصحاب این ظهور نتوانسته خود را از
ظل بیان خارج نمایند¹ و هنوز مردم اسم بابی بر آنها اطلاق می
کنند چه طور ظهور اعظمی است م

Here follows (on f. 243^b) a short appendix giving a sort of epitome of the Bábí doctrine, "which section," says the writer, "whosoever fails to understand has in no wise understood, nor will ever understand, the meaning of the remaining sections of this book."

Begins:

هر کس معنی این فصل را نفهمد معنی باقی فصول این کتاب را
هیچ نفهمیده و هرگز نخواهد فهمید

یکی از جمله کلمات مکتونه و اسرار مودوعه بیان این است که
صاحب این شریعت کلیه و کلمه جامعه مودعه مکتونه در

¹ The original has *نماید*.

کینونیات اشیا بندای عالمگیر و فریاد در میان ملأ امکان اهل سموات
و ارضین را منادای خود ساخته میگوید
ای اهل امکان !

ای ارباب مذاهب مختلفه و ادیان متشسته و ملل متنوعه ! ای
کسانیکه تعصب را جزو دیانت خود می‌شمارید و جز صدای خود
صدای دیگری را نمی شنوید ! دین بیان بهیچ یک از شما ابدأ
تکلیف نمی کند که شما مذهب و دیانت خود را بگذارید و از پی
دین جدیدی بپوئید و دست از دین اول خود بردارید حاشا
و کلاً هرگز دین بیان و اهل بیان بشما چنین تکلیفی را نمی کنند
که شما دین سابق موروثی آبا و اجدادی خود را ترک کنید¹
و مذهب ثانی اختیار نمائید .

The Appendix ends (on ff. 245^a-245^b) as follows :

خلاصه این دین مبین و شریعت حقه وجودات را بهیچوجه
منفی و معدوم نمی خواهد و برای شئون وجودیه اصلا و ابدأ زوال
و انقراض در هیچ رتبه روا نمی دارد زیرا که همه وجود از مراتب
غیب و شهود سرتا سر مظاهر ذات مطلق و مجالی حقدند
بلکه آنچه میخواهد درجه کمال شئون وجودیه و رفع مناقص
و معایب آنهاست و اگر بدین کلمه جامعه مکنونه رفع نزاع
و اختلاف از میان کل ملل و ادیان نشود دیگر بیچ طور و هیچ چیز
رفع خلاف ممکن نخواهد بود فاعرف ان کنت تعرف

Apart from the Appendix, the book consists of an Intro-
duction, five chapters (*Báb*), and a conclusion (*Khátima*).

¹ MS., by an obvious slip, کند.

The *Introduction* (ff. 1^b-11^b) contains the following sections:

- تقسیم فلسفه از قدیم و جدید (f. 3^a)
 پیدایش اشراقیین (f. 3^b)
 فرق میان فلاسفه و انبیا و سلاطین (f. 4^b)
 پیدایش صوفیه و متکلمین (f. 5^a)
 ظهور فلسفه قرآنیه و حکمت اهل بیت (f. 5^b)
 طلوع افتاب حسی از افق مغرب (f. 6^b)
 ظهور فلسفه بیان که مقام جمع الجمع است (f. 7^a)
 خصائص فلسفه بیان (f. 8^a)
 تعریف فلسفه بیان (f. 8^b)
 در بیان موضوع و مزایای فلسفه بیان¹ (f. 9^b)

The contents of the five chapters and conclusion are stated in an index which occupies the last nine lines of f. 11^b. This index is as follows:

فهرست ابواب کتاب

مطالب این علم اعلی در ضمن پنج باب گفته می شود و هی هذه
 باب اول در بیان امور عامه و مفاهیم کلیه که معقولات اولیاند
 باب دوم در بیان جواهر و اعراض که فن قاطیغوریاس² است
 و موضوعات علوم درین فن اثبات میشود و تشریح و تکوین مبین
 می گردد
 باب سیم در بیان اثبات توحید و صفات و اسما و افعال حق
 سبحانه

¹ Nineteen special features (خصائص) are enumerated.

² Evidently an erroneous transcription of *Pythagoras*, which name is commonly written in Arabic فیثاغورس. The transcriber of this MS., probably unfamiliar with the name, read the initial letter as ج instead of ف. This mistake is repeated elsewhere.

باب چهارم در بیان نبوت و ولایت و کتاب و سبع المثانی
و تأویل
باب پنجم در بیان نشأه اولی و آخری و احوال مبدء و معاد
و چگونگی سفر نفس در عالم آخرت و اثبات بقای نفس ناطقه بعد
از خراب بدن عنصری
خاتمه در بیان شرح اصطلاحات حکمت و اسامی فلاسفه از
قدیم و جدید

Each chapter is further divided into a number of sections, the enumeration of which I am forced to omit in this place. The explanation of the Beyánic terminology (ff. 237^b-243^a) is one of the most valuable portions of the book, for the meanings of many obscure expressions which occur constantly in the Bábí writings are here clearly and concisely defined. This portion, at least, of the work I hope to publish at no distant date. For the present I confine myself to giving, as specimens, a few of the more important explanations.

رب اعلیٰ و حضرت اعلیٰ اسم مخصوص حضرت نقطهٔ بیان است
ارض اعلیٰ کنایت از زمجان است
ادلاء حی عبارت است از حروف حی و آن هیجده نفر ذوات
مقدس بودند که قبل از کل شی بین یدی الله ساجد شدند از
نقبا و مجباه و تلامذهٔ حضرت سید^۱
اسم الله الاول که اورا اول من آمن نیز گویند عبارت است از
جناب آخوند ملا حسین بشروئی که چهل روز قبل از خلق کل
شی بین یدی الله ساجد شد و اورا حرف سین اول بسمله نیز گویند

¹ Seyyid Kázim of Resht is evidently meant.

اسم الله الآخر عبارت است از جناب حاجی میرزا محمد علی بارفروشی که سین آخر بسم الله بود و همه حروف بسم الله باین دو حرف راجع شد

اسم الله الانیس کنایت از جناب اخوند ملا حسین داماد مرحوم حاجی سید جواد کربلائی است¹

اسم الله الاهز عبارت از آقا سید رحیم اصفهانی است که درین ظهور مسلک ابو موسی اشعری و ابو هریره را امتحان نمود لا الی هؤلا ولا الی هؤلا بخمال خود خود را حکم قرار داده میگوید فتنه این دو برادر افتتان موسی و هرون است بظهورات عکا و قبریس هر دو مصدق و مؤمنم و نظر بظواهر ندارم و هنوز در اصفهان حیات دارند²

ارض شمس و ارض تا عبارت از تبریزست زیرا که عدد تا و شمس ۴۰۰ است

ارض بها و ارض ط طهران است زیرا که بها و ط ۹ است

ارض علم عبارت از قم است چه علم باقم عددًا مساویست

ارض الف و لام عبارت از اسلامبول است

ارض سر عبارت از ادرنه است زیرا که عددًا سر و ادرنه مساویند

و در اینجا میان اصحاب نار و نور تفریق افتاده

اسم عظیم اسم جناب شیخ عظیم خراسانی است و اسم ایشان³

. و بعد از فتنه تیر انداختن بشاه آنجنابرا در طهران شهید

کردند

¹ Since the alleged author of this book, Akā Seyyid Jawād of Kərbelā, is here spoken of as "departed," it is evident that this portion, at least, of the work was not composed by him.

² One sees from this that the office of one who seeks to reconcile the conflicting claims of the two rival factions is a thankless one!

³ The scribe has omitted to insert the name Mullā Sheykh 'Alī.

The above definitions and explanations are but a selection from the letter *alif*, which is followed by the other letters in their alphabetical order. I will only give one more, which confirms the opinion expressed by Baron Rosen (*Coll. Sc.* 1, MSS. Arabes, p. 187, n. 1), that the term *Kurratu'l-'Ayn* does not in the Báb's *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yusúf* denote the celebrated Bábí heroine who afterwards bore this title.

قرّة العین اسم حضرت نقطه است در اول ظهور ولی در ثانی
جناب طاهره تزوینی مظهر این اسم شد

"*Kurratu'l-'Ayn* was a name of His Holiness the Point [*i.e.* the Báb] at the beginning of the 'Manifestation,' but subsequently Her Holiness the Pure [*Jendb-i-Táhirá*] of Qazvín became the manifestation of this name."

It is impossible here to do more than indicate, as I have striven to do, the extreme value and importance of this work.

BBC. 2.

هشت بیشت . جلد ثانی . در احکام شریعت بیان و غیره
Hasht Bihišt. Vol. ii. Practical Philosophy of the Beyán, etc.

This MS. is, as I have already stated, imperfect, consisting of twenty-two folios (of ff. 8 each), written on yellow paper, separated by a hiatus of unknown extent from the concluding eight folios, which are written on white paper. It is therefore impossible for me to describe it fully, partly because the proper numeration of the leaves following the hiatus cannot be determined; partly because, when the supplementary folios of either the white or the yellow part are sent, I am to return or otherwise surrender up the other part, which, therefore, I cannot disfigure with numbers or other marks. The portion now in my possession consists of ff. 240 (thirty folios of ff. 8 each), ff. 1^a-2^a being blank. Uniform in size with the preceding, *viz.* 25 × 14·5 centimetres.

Begins (on f. 2^b):

بسم الله الامنع الاقدس
مغان که دانه انگور آب می سازند
ستاره می شکنند آفتاب می سازند

تعریف شریعت بیان ما ننسخ من آية او نكسها نأت بخير منها

هر شریعت را که حق منسوخ کرد " او گیا برد و عوض آورد ورد
— شریعت بیان ترتیب منتظم و مقرریست که بطرزی بدیع از
عالم اختراع نازل شده و خداوند سبحانه مدار ترقی حوادث کونیته را
بر آن نهاده و مُسنتقل میکند عالم اجسام و اکوان را از عرصه
غلظت و کثافت بصقع جوهریت و لطافت و تبدیل میکند ارض
هیولیات را بعرصه مجردات و اجسام دنیویه عرضیه را باجسام
جوهریه آخرویه و می کشاند عالم کون و فساد را بسوی حیات
جاوید و کمال کُلّی و بقاء محض و نور صرف و روحانیت مطلق

Ends with the narrative of "one of the people of the Beyán" (*i.e.* an Ezeli Bábi)¹ of a visit which he paid to Acre from Cyprus, and of what he saw and heard there. This narrative, written partly in Persian and partly in Arabic, occupies five pages and one third, and contains the most violent and bitter denunciations of Behá and his followers. "Praise be to God," he begins, "who hath caused me to travel in all lands, and hath shewn me the firmly-buttressed palaces, and Iram of the columns, and the couches of Pharoah and Shaddád, and the tombs of Thamúd and 'Ád, who rebelled in the land, and oppressed [God's] servants, and whose home shall be hell—an ill resting-place!—And blessing and peace be upon Muḥammad and his glorious household. *But after this.* I was for a while in the regions of Syria, and in the city of Damascus

¹ Probably Sheykh A— himself, who in one of his letters mentioned incidentally that he had visited Acre—a rare thing for an Ezeli to do.



'the spacious' [*al-Feyhá*], and Aleppo 'the grey' [*ash-Shahbá*], and the parts round about Mount Lebanon, and Tyre, and Sidon. And the misleading of the Black Darkness brought me into the City of Blood, the town of Acre, which they call 'the City of Vision' [*Madinatu'sh-shuhúd*]; and, by my life! it is, indeed, the City of Vision, and a minaret for the consuming fire, and on it are poured forth darknesses, and lightnings, and thunders. There I plainly saw the manifestation of plurality, to wit, the combination of thunder, lightning, darkness, and the thunder-bolt; and I called to mind the *Chapter of the Unbelievers* of the Eternal Word.¹ For these are they who have hidden the light of their original potentiality with the darkness of the attributes of wicked souls and the effects of a corrupt nature, and have been veiled from the Truth by Untruth." The first of these "unbelieving souls and manifestations of infidelity," whom he met on the sea-shore, was none other than Behá's eldest son 'Abbás Efendí, whom he calls "al-Waswás," which is an attribute of the devil meaning "the whisperer" or "suggerer" [of wicked thoughts],² and is numerically equivalent to the name 'Abbás.³ "After that," he continues, "I saw the rest of the Wicked One's followers, and heard the words of each. Their sayings and arguments consist of a farrago of names, baseless stories, calumnies, falsehoods, and lies, and not one of them has any knowledge of even the first principles of the religion of the Beyán or of any other religion. They are all devoid of knowledge, ignorant, short-sighted, of common capacity, hoodwinked, people of darkness, spurned of nature, hypocrites, corrupters of texts, blind imitators; God hath taken away from them his light and hath left them in the darkness of the Wicked One, and hath destroyed them in the abysses of vain imaginings, and hath put chains around their necks . . ." After one or two pages of denunciation

¹ Kur'án, cix.

² Kur'án, cxiv, 4.

³ Both words = 133.

filled with quotations from the *Kur'an*, which are interpreted in a sense far from flattering to Behá and his followers, the narrator describes how, after some days spent in the society of "souls suggesting thoughts of evil," he was admitted to Behá's audience-chamber. "When I was come there," he continues, "and looked upon that Arch-idol, that Greatest Talisman, that personified Revolt [*Tághút-i-mumaththal*], that rebellious Lucifer [*'Asázil-i-márid*], that envious Iblis, I saw a form on a throne, and heard the 'lowing of the calf.'¹ Then did I see how the light of the Most Great Name had shone on Ahriman the accursed, and how the finger of the demon wore the ring.² For they had written the Name *Behá'u'l-Abhá* in divers writings, and called it 'the Most Great Name.'³ Thereat there came to my mind this verse of [*Háfiz*] the Tongue of the Unseen—

'Efficient is the Name Divine; be of good cheer, O heart!
The div becomes not Solomon by guile and cunning's art.'"⁴

The narrator then describes his heartfelt joy on finding himself once more outside Acre, concluding in the following words, with which also the MS. ends:

فاهمنى الله بعد تلك الليال العشر فجور نفسي وتقويها وعلمت
ان الفجر ابتداء ظهور نور الروح على مادة البدن عند اول اثر تعلقه
به فلحقت نفسي سكينه من رحمة الله لما فارقت اطلال ذوى افك
عتو فوفقت على رصد ورايت طيوراً صافات حاصرات واقفات عند
كوة الكبرى و نادت يخفى ندائها يا منجى الهلكي و يا غياث من

¹ The *Ezelis* compare Behá to the Golden Calf, to the worship of which *Sámiri* seduced the Children of Israel. See *Kur'an* vii, 146; xx, 90; and *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 355 and n. 2.

² Allusion is made to the well-known story of the theft of Solomon's magic ring by one of the demons, who, by its aid, exercised for some time the supreme power.

³ This is regarded throughout the *Beyán* and by all the *Bábís* as the "Most Great Name" of God, but according to the *Ezelis* it belongs properly to *Subh-i-Ezel*. Cf. *Traveller's Narrative*, vol. ii, p. 353, l. 11.

⁴ The translation of this verse I have taken from *Herman Bicknell's* beautiful and noble rendering of *Háfiz* (London, Trübner and Co., 1876), p. 131.

استغاث ان ذاتا هبطت فاغتربت فاضطربت فسارعت فمنعت
 فهل الى سبيل من وصول * تمت والسلام *

I must now state the contents of this volume as briefly as possible, leaving a fuller account of its most interesting and valuable contents for some future occasion. Not being able to number the pages in the customary fashion, I avail myself of the scribe's Arabic numeration, according to which the first page of writing (f. 2^b) is numbered p. 1, after which the pages (not the leaves) are numbered regularly (the even numbers only being written in) as far as p. 126 (and p. 127, not numbered). At this point the numeration changes from the pages to the leaves (as though f. 2 had been numbered 1, f. 3^a 2, etc.), and what, according to the system hitherto followed, should be (p.) 128 is actually marked (f.) 64. The numeration by leaves then proceeds regularly up to (f.) 175, where the portion of the MS. written on yellow paper (22 folios of 8 leaves each) ends. Then, separated by the hiatus already mentioned, come the 8 folios written on white paper. Here the numeration is again by pages, not leaves, the first page of the white being numbered 330. It proceeds regularly up to p. 438 (and p. 439, not numbered) except that pp. 416 and 417 are both numbered 416, thus making all the subsequent numbers up to 438 wrong by two. In the last folio the numeration again changes in the most erratic manner, the leaves of this folio being numbered from 201 to 208.

The *Introduction* extends from p. 1 to 37, and, after some preliminary remarks, enumerates and discusses fifteen "virtues" (خصائص) which the religion of the Beyán has over all other religions, and seven "claims" (دعاوى) which its adherents make for it.

The body of the work consists of eight chapters (for which reason, probably, the book is entitled *Hasht Bihisht* or "the Eight Paradises") and a conclusion. The index of these occupies the last thirteen lines of p. 37 and the first two lines of p. 38. This index I here transcribe.

فهرست ابواب کتاب

باب اول در حقوق الهیه و آن عبادات و نذانات و ادعیه و زیارات است

باب دوم در تهذیب اخلاق و آن حقوق خود شخص است از حیث انقباض و انبساط قوای طبیعی خود

باب سیم در تدبیر منزل و آن حقوق خود شخص است نسبت بامور منزلیه خود از مطعم و مشرب و ملبس و مسکن و منظر و محفل و مجمر و مسموع و مشموم و حقوق عشایر و اقوام و عائله و مشترکین منزل است

باب چهارم در حقوق مدینه و امور سیاسیه و ملکیه نسبت بافراد ملت و اهالی مملکت و نسبت بتکالیف شخصی سلطنت

باب پنجم در حقوق و نوامیس عامه مانند امر تزویج و تطلیق و ارث و تجهیز اموات و معاملات و صناعات و جنایات و دیات و کفارات

باب ششم در حقوق ملکوتیه و آن علوم و صناعات و فنون است

باب هفتم در احوال و اشراف قیامت و دلائل ظهور قائم آل محمد

باب هشتم در تاریخ بیان و مجملی از وقایع یوم القیامه

خاتمه در بیان فتنه دهماه صلیم و خروج دجال و سامری و اهریمن و صنم اعظم و طاغوت اکبر و عجل جسل و جقه نیل و امثال آنها

As a systematized treatise on the philosophy, theology, ethics, morality, and, in lesser degree, the history of the religion of the Beyán, this volume and that previously described occupy a unique place in Bábí literature. In such an article as the present it is impossible to do more than indicate their extreme interest and value.



BBC. 3.

بیان فارسی

Ff. 296 (ff. 1^a-4^a, 295^a-296^b blank), 14·5 × 9·0 centimetres, 16 lines to the page. Written in small and legible but not very elegant *naskh*. Headings of *Vāhids* and chapters, etc., in red. Ff. 4^b-6^a are occupied by an index of contents. The MS. is carefully and accurately written, and has evidently been collated throughout, as there are corrections and insertions here and there in the margin. Received by me in August, 1891, from Sheykh A—, who bought the MS. for sixty-three francs from a Bābī who was returning to Persia. In the accompanying letter Sheykh A— wrote as follows :

بیان فارسی هم خیال کردم اگر برای شما بنویسانم خرجتان زیاد میشود یک جلد بیان خط ایران بخط نسخ صحیح و خوب بهمان قیمت که شخصی در اصفهان مینویسد تقریباً از یکی از احباب که خیال رفتن بایران داشت خریده برای سرکار انقاد داشتم قیمت آن هم سی جزوست جزوی دو فرانک که دو قران در ایران باشد نوشته شده بغیر از صحافی و جلد و آنهم تقریباً دو فرانک یا سه فرانک میشود روی هم شصت و سه فرانک با پول پُست قیمت آن میباشد *

“As for the *Persian Beyān*, I thought that, if I should have a copy made for you, your expense would be [needlessly] increased. I therefore send for you a copy of the *Beyān* in one volume, written in Persia, in good and correct *naskh*, at the price for which a certain person in Isfahān transcribes it, which I bought from one of the Friends who was intending to return to Persia. As to its price: it contains thirty folios, and was transcribed at two francs

(which, in Persia, is two *krâne*) a folio, besides the cost of the binding and cover, which comes to about two or three franca. Altogether, with postage, its price is sixty-three franca."

Concerning the work itself, see pp. 450-1 *supra*.

BBC. 4.

كتاب قيوم الاسماء تفسير احسن القصص

وهو سورة يوسف لان عدد قيوم (١٥٦) مطابق مع يوسف (١٥٦).

Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsiif.

Ff. 202 (ff. 1^a, 201^b-202^b blank), 21.75 × 13.75 centimetres, 22 lines to the page. Written in a small, clear *ta'lik*. Headings and titles in red. Copied for me at Constantinople under the supervision of Sheykh A—, the Ezeli, in the autumn of 1891.

The general characteristics of this book, and the special peculiarities of this particular MS. I have already discussed in a previous article (*J.R.A.S.* for April, 1892, pp. 261-8). To what I there said concerning the nomenclature of the chapters or *súras* which compose the *Commentary on the Súra-i-Yúsiif*, I have now to add some further particulars with which Baron Rosen has most obligingly supplied me as to their nomenclature in a MS. of the same work in his own collection. (See *Coll. Sc. iii, Manuscripts Persane*, p. 50.) The nomenclature adopted in Baron Rosen's MS., in so far as it differs from that previously given by me at p. 263 *supra*, is as follows :

| | | | |
|------------------|------------|---------------------|------------|
| Chapter xiv. . . | سورة القدس | Chapter xxxiii. . . | سورة النصر |
| „ xv. . . | المشيئة | „ xxxix. . . | الشكر |
| „ xvi. . . | العرش | „ xlii. . . | العهد |
| „ xxi. . . | البحر | „ xliii. . . | الوحيد |
| „ xxvii. . . | الاموال | „ xlv. . . . | هو |

| Chapter | سورة المرآت | Chapter | سورة الحق |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| Chapter xlvii. | الحجّة | Chapter lxxxv. | الطير |
| „ xlviii. | النداء | „ lxxxvi. | النبا |
| „ xlix. | الاحكام | „ lxxxvii. | الابلاغ |
| „ l. | الاحكام (sio) | „ lxxxviii. | الانسان |
| „ li. | المجد | „ lxxxix. | التثليث |
| „ lii. | الفضل | „ xc. | الربيع |
| „ liii. | الصبر | „ xci. | المجتل (p) |
| „ liv. | الركن | „ xcii. | الاحل |
| „ lvi. | المر | „ xciii. | الاشتهار |
| „ lvii. | الاكبر | „ xciv. | No title. |
| „ lviii. | الحزن | „ xcv. | القتال |
| „ lix. | الافئدة | „ xcvi. | القتال (sio) |
| „ lx. | الذكر | „ xcvii. | الجهاد |
| „ lxii. | الاولياء | „ xcviii. | الجهاد (sio) |
| „ lxiv. | المحمد صلعم | „ xcix. | الجهاد (sio) |
| „ lxvi. | الاحديّة | „ c. | القتال (sio) |
| „ lxxiv. | التخليل | „ ci. | القتال (sio) |
| „ lxxv. | الشمس | „ cii. | الحجج |
| „ lxxvi. | الورقة | „ ciii. | المحدود |
| „ lxxvii. | السلام | „ civ. | الاحكام |
| „ lxxviii. | الظهور | „ cv. | الجمعة |
| „ lxxix. | النزوال | „ cvi. | النكاح |
| „ lxxx. | الكاف | „ cvii. | الذكر |
| „ lxxxi. | الاعظم | „ cviii. | العبد |
| „ lxxxii. | الياء | „ cix. | الصاغرین |
| „ lxxxiii. | الاسم | „ cx. | المؤمنين |

As will be observed, one chapter (the last) is missing from the above list. Baron Rosen writes: "Je ne sais pas comment il se trouve que le nombre des sourates est

de 110 seulement au lieu de 111. Je n'ai pas sous la main dans ce moment l'exemplaire de l'Institut." Apart from this and chapter xciv, the above list, in conjunction with that given at p. 263 *supra*, supplies names for all the chapters.

Since this article went to press, I have received, under circumstances briefly detailed at p. 663 *supra*, another Bábí MS. (the *Istidlaliyyé*, or "Evidences" of Mirzá Abu'l-Fazl of Gulpáyagán), for which, as it cannot be placed in any one of the four classes into which the other MSS. are divided, I am obliged to create a fifth "supplementary" class (BBS).

BBS. 1.

استدلالیه

Evidences of the Behá't doctrine. By Mirzá Abu'l-Fazl of Gulpáyagán.

Ff. 22 (f. 1^a and 22^b blank), 21·25 × 13·25 centimetres, 14 lines to the page. Written in a good clear Persian *ta'liq*. The manner in which this MS. came into my possession is explained at p. 663 *supra*.

This work, intended to prove by quotations and arguments drawn from the Old Testament that Behá'u'lláh is the promised Messiah and deliverer of Israel, is addressed chiefly to the Jews. It appears to have been written in the year A.H. 1305 (A.D. 1887-8), for on f. 19^b we find the following passage:

و این فقره نزد علمای موسوی روشن و مسلم است که از خرابی
اورشليم بدست بخت النصر تا این زمان سنه هزار و سیصد و پنچ
هجری دو هزار و سیصد و هجده سال گذشته است و بر حسب
شهادت تواریخ هم از زمان دانیال تا تولد حضرت مسیح تقریباً
یکهزار و هشتصد و هشتاد و هشت سال است و این جمله دو هزار
و سیصد [و] هجده سال میشود *

The work consists of a preface and three sections. The preface extends from f. 1^b to f. 3^a. As it is rather interesting, I give the text in full. It is so easy that I do not think it necessary to add a translation.

بنام خداوند یکتای کریم

خدمت ذیمرت دانشمندان و مشایخ ملت فخریه بنی اسرائیل عرض میشود که خداوند جل ذکره در ازمان سابقه این طایفه جلیله را بمراتب توحید و خداشناسی هدایت فرمود و از ننگ پرستش اصنام که در آن هنگام دین عموم اهل عالم بود مظهر ساخت و بنی اسرائیل را قوم مخصوص خود خواند و باین تخصیص ایشان را بر کل ملل و قبایل برتری داد و بتوسط سرور پیغمبران موسی علیه السلام کتاب مستطاب توره که نور عالم و رهانده امم است نازل فرمود و شریعت مقدسه را در این کتاب مؤسس و محکم ساخت و پس از وفات این پیغمبر عظیم الشان و ارتقای آن حضرت بمقام قرب حضرت سبحان این دین مبین را در هر قرن و زمان [به] پیغمبران بزرگ مؤید ساخت تا مدت یکهزار و پانصد سال ملت فخریه اسرائیل بوجود این پیغمبران جلیل و وحی های نازله (f. 2^a) بر ایشان که اکنون معروف بر مائل انبیاست منور و مفتخر بود و چون انسان بصیر هشیار در این کتب مقدسه توره و رسائل انبیا ملاحظه نماید خواهد یافت که خبر بزرگی که در تمامی این کتب است اینست که عصای سلطنت بنی اسرائیل خواهد شکست و پادشاهی انقراض خواهد یافت و در اقطار عالم از مشرق تا مغرب پراکنده خواهد شد و تا مدت طولانی که آغاز و انجام آن نیز در وحی الهی معین و مؤرخ است بملاهای صعب گرفتار خواهند شد و شهرهای ایشان خراب و ویران خواهد گشت

و اورشلیم پایمال قبائل خواهد گشت تا آنکه بزرگی از جانب خداوند بر ربوبیت کبری مبعوث گردد و بنی اسرائیل را از ذلت و گرفتاری نجات بخشد و بمراتب عزت و بزرگی نایل فرماید و جمیع طوایف عالم را بر یک دین و مذهب متفق گرداند و بنی اسرائیل را رتبه و رانیت ارض و هدایت عباد عنایت فرماید و بالجمله چون در مراتب (f. 2^b) مذکوره وقوف حاصل شد معروض میدارم که در این قرن شریف و یوم عزیز آهل بها مدعی بر آنند که میعان ظهور این وعده مبارکه فرا رسیده است و وجود مبارکی که نجات کل اهل عالم موقوف بظهور او بود از مشرق عالم طالع شده و سطوت و اقتدار او با وجود معاندت کل ملل در تمام بلاد ظاهر گشته یعنی نیرو وجود مسعود بهاء الله در سنه هزار و دویست و هشتاد و پنج هجری¹ در اراضی مقدسه و برکته الشام در شهر عکا که در حول کوه کرمل است خداوند باعظم اسماء و ربوبیت کبری ظاهر فرمود و کلام الهی و وحی آسمانی را بر نهجی که در توره و عده داده شده بر لسان مبارکش نازل نمود و شریعت مقدسه که هدایت بخش عالم و محل اتفاق امم تواند بود و مشتمل است بر صلوة و صوم و تمامی آداب عالیة انسانیة و معالی صفات و کمالات روحانیة و دوست (sic) و نیکخواهی کل امم و مواحدت و معاشرت با تمام (f. 3^a) اهل عالم در کتاب مستطاب اقدس² مؤسس داشت و کلمه نافذه اش در این مدت قلیله که قریب بیست و پنجسال

¹ This passage, which gives the date of Behá's "Manifestation" as A.H. 1265 (A.D. 1868), is very important, as affording approximate confirmation of Nabil's chronology (*B. i*, p. 626; *B. ii*, 984, 988, stanza 10), and further evidence against the impossibly early date (A.H. 1269) given by the *Traveller's Narrative*. See pp. 304-6 *supra*. It is curious that in two works composed by the Behá'is within so short a time of one another, and both intended for more or less general circulation, so glaring a discrepancy should have been allowed to appear, more especially as both dates are used evidentially.

² This passage is also important, as affording further evidence that *Kitáb-i-Ahḍas*, not *Lawḥ-i-Ahḍas*, is the correct title of the work alluded to.



است بدون وسایط ملکی از عزت و ثروت و سیف و امثالها در بلاد غالب گشته و با دشمنی و معاندت اکابر هر ملک و ملت در سلاطین و ملوک و علماء و امراء حتی عامه رعایا امر مبارکش در اندر ممالک ناند شده و حجت و برهان ظهورش نزد ارباب قلوب صافیه و بجای هر مذهب و ملت مقبول و روشن گشته بنا بر آنچه عرض شد ما را در سه مقام تکلم باید و شاید بخواست خداوند ملت عزیزه اسرائیل بسبیل نجات راه جویند و از ظلم قبائل و گرفتاری بدست امم رستگاری یابند و این سه مقام که در آن تکلم میشود عبارتست از بیان و دلیل و تجدید شریعت و بشارات صریحه کتب مقدسه بر این ظهور عظیم و الله یهدی من یشاء الی سبیله الواضح المستقیم *

The headings of the three sections (*maqam*) into which the book is divided, with the pages on which they begin, are as follows :

مقام اول (f. 3^a) در بیان این مطلب است که هرگاه پیغمبری ظاهر شود حجت چه باید باشد و بچه دلیل صدق قول و رسالت او بر طالب مستعد واضح و معلوم گردد *

مقام دوم (f. 6^b) در اینست که آیا شریعت توره بظهور پیغمبری از جانب خداوند جایز است تغییر یابد و شریعت مقدسه بظهور جدید لباس جدید پوشد یا نه *

مقام سوم (f. 11^b) بشارات هائیکست که در کتب مقدسه بر این ظهور وارد شده و آن برد و گونه است قسم اول بشارتها ائیکست که بدون وقت (f. 12^a) و تعیین زمان شده جهة ظهور وارد و این قسم از حد گنجایش صحیفه بیرونست و ما برای اتمام مرام بچند آیه در این مقام اکتفا خواهیم

نمود (f. 14^a) [قسم دوم] و اما بشارتهائی که مؤرخ
و معین است و در کتاب وارد شده است صریح تر از
همه کتاب حضرت داینال است

The whole book, in short, is an attempt to interpret the prophesies of the Old Testament, more especially of the book of Daniel, in favour of Behá'u'lláh.

Ends :

پس از این دو کلام الهی پند گیرید (f. 22^a) و روز مجتات خود را
از دست ندهید و بیقین بدانید که هر کسی که خود را پاک نکرده
خداوند را تفتحص ننمود و بظهور سرور بزرگ میکانیلی ایمان نیاورد
نام او در صحیفهٔ حمراء از قلم اعلیٰ ثبت نخواهد گشت و وارث
عزت ابدی نخواهند شد امید چنانست که کَلّ از نصیح خالص
مستنبّه گردند و این یوم عزیز را که بعضی در آن رستگار و برخی
شرمسار خواهند شد بغفلت نگذرانند و الله یقول الحق و یرحم
السبیل انه هو العلیّ المقدر العزیز الجمیل الجمیل *
من قلم ابو الفضل گلپایگانی سنه ۱۳۰۹

I have now described, as fully as the space at my disposal would admit, all the Bábi MSS. in my possession, with the exception of a number of letters of greater or less importance, and certain scattered leaves containing transcripts, made by myself or others, of sundry poems, short epistles, etc., of which I have already published some, and hope, in due course, to publish such others as appear of sufficient interest. Of some of the MSS. described above (such as the various "Books of the Names," and many of the Prayers, Exhortations, Visitations, and Rhapsodies) it is most improbable that complete editions could ever be required or contemplated; a few judiciously selected extracts would answer every practical purpose. Of others, such as the *Tárikh-i-Jadíd*, and both volumes of the *Hashít*

Bihisht, complete editions would certainly be desirable, could anyone be induced to incur the necessarily heavy expenses of publication. Failing this, however, abridged English translations might sufficiently answer the purpose; and of the *Túrkkh-i-Jadid*, at all events, such a translation is now in the press, and will, I hope, appear in a few months. Of the more important sacred books of the Báb, *Subh-i-Ezel*, and Behá, nothing will serve but complete texts prepared from the best available MSS. I have no doubt in my own mind that the Persian *Beyán* should come first; and, with a view to publishing it *in extenso*, I have been for some time engaged on the collation of several MSS. Besides the two MSS. in my own possession (BBP. 8, and BBC. 3), and the British Museum Codex (Or. 2819), the liberality of the Academy and the Institut des Langues Orientales of St. Petersburg has placed at my disposal, for periods of six months each, the two manuscripts of the work contained in their rich collections. Much work remains to be done ere we can venture to generalize with perfect safety on the relations, affinities, and tendencies of the Bábí movement, but that that work is well worth the doing I, for my part, do not for a moment doubt.

DEATH OF BEHÁ'U'LLÁH.

Within the last few weeks news of the death of Behá'ulláh has reached me. I have not been able to ascertain the date of his decease, but of the fact itself there is no doubt, for it is confirmed by a letter written from Acre by his son, Mirzá Badi'ulláh, and dated *Zil-Ka'da* 29th, A.H. 1309 (June 25th, A.D. 1892). A portion of the letter I will here cite, with translation.

یا حبیب قلبی و مسرّة فؤادی در این ایام امطار بلا از سحاب
سماء قضا بشائی نازل و صواعق هموم و غموم باحوی متواتر که
لسانرا یارای تقریر و قلمرا طاقت تحریر نه زیرا افق امکان از مجتبیات

آفتاب حکمت و بیان محروم و سریز عالم از بر تو تیر اعظم و ممنوع
 آژان دوتان از استماع صریر قلم اعلیٰ در ظاهر باز مانده و عیون
 مشتاقان از مشاهدۀ افتخار ابهی محجوب گشته سبحان الله چه
 قیامتی در عالم بر پا و چه اضطراری در وجود هویدا شمس حقیقی
 ترک عالم ترابی فرمود و در عوالم عظمت و جلال با شراق بی زوال
 بجلی نمود اگرچه این مصیبت عظمیٰ فوق تحمل است و این
 رزقۀ کبریٰ مخرب بنیان صبر و تحمل و لکن نظر بحکم محکم و امر
 میسر که در کتاب اقدس از ملکوت مقدس نازل باید این عباد
 و آفتاب جمیعاً بطراز صبر و تسلیم مرتین شوریم و بحیل محکم رضا
 و تمکین و مشیت و با قلوب قویه و نفوس مطمئنه بر آنچه علت
 ترقی عباد و آسایش و عمارت باک و تهنیب اخلاق و ظهور الفت
 و وفاقت قائم و بنیام وجود بصریح و مالک غیب و شهون و مستحک
 تا عالم امکان بعنایت حضرت مکان رشک روضۀ رضوان مشاهده
 کردن و ما ذلالت علی الله بعزیز آیه مبارکه که در کتاب اقدس نازل
 در این مقام مرقوم میشود قوله جل جلاله و عم نواله یا اهل الارض
 اذا غربت شمس جمالی و ستوت سماء هیکی لا تضطربوا قوموا علی
 نصرۀ امری و ارتفاع کلمتی بین العالمین آنا معکم فی کل الاحوال
 و نصرکم بالحق آنا کما قالرین من عرفنی یقوم علی خدمتی بقیام^۱
 لا تقعدہ جنون السموات و الارضین و در مقام دیگر میفرماید قل یا
 قوم لا یاخذکم الاضطراب اذا غاب ملکوت ظهوری و سکنت امواج
 بحر بیانی آن فی ظهوری لکم و فی غیبی حکمة اخری ما اطلع
 بها الا الله الفرد الخبیر و نزدیکم من افق الابهی و نصر من قام علی
 نصرۀ امری یجنود من المله الاعلیٰ و قبیل من الملائة المقربین انتهی

¹ علی خانی BHP. 3 and BHP. to read BHP. to read BHP.

Translation.

"O friend of my heart, and delight of my soul! In these days the showers of affliction do so descend from the clouds of the firmament of fate, and the thunderbolts of griefs and sorrows do so succeed one another, that neither hath the tongue strength to describe, nor the pen power to utter them. For the horizon of the Phenomenal World is bereft of the effulgences of the Sun of Wisdom and Revelation, and the throne of the Universe is deprived of the radiance of the Most Mighty Luminary. The ears of the friends are, to outward appearance, debarred from hearkening to the cry of the Supreme Pen, and the eyes of the longing are veiled from the contemplation of the Most Glorious Horizon. Great God! how dire a catastrophe is this which has arisen in the World, and how grievous a calamity is this which hath appeared in the Universe! The Sun of Truth hath bidden farewell to this earthly sphere, and now shines with a brightness which waneth not in the regions of Might and Glory. Albeit this supreme affliction transcends endurance, and this most dire disaster lays in ruins the edifice of resignation and patience, yet, having regard to the authoritative command and binding behest revealed from the Holy Angel-World in the *Kitáb-i Aqdas*,¹ we and you alike must adorn ourselves with the ornament of patience and resignation, lay hold of the firm rope of submission and acquiescence, apply ourselves with strong hearts and tranquil souls to what will conduce to the progress of mankind, the peace and prosperity of the world, the amelioration of characters, and the appearance of charity and concord, and attach ourselves with our whole being to the counsels of the Lord of the Visible and the Invisible, so that the Phenomenal World may, by the Grace of that Beneficent Being, be beheld an envy to the Garden of Paradise. *Nor is this thing difficult with God.* The blessed text revealed in the *Kitáb-i Aqdas* shall here be cited. He says (great is His Glory and universal His Bounty!):

¹ Cf. n. 2 at the foot of p. 703 *supra*.

'O people of the earth! When the Sun of my Beauty sets, and the firmament of my Form is hidden, be not troubled; arise for the helping of my work and the advancement of my Word throughout the worlds. Verily We are with you under all conditions, and will help you with the Truth; verily We can do this.¹ Whosoever knoweth Me will rise up to serve me with such uprising that the hosts of heaven and earth shall not put him down.' And in another place he says: 'Say, "O people, let not trouble take possession of you when the Kingdom of my Epiphany becomes concealed, and the Waves of the Ocean of my Utterance are hushed. Verily there is in my Epiphany a reason, and in my Occultation another reason, which none knoweth save God, the Incomparable, the All-Knowing. And We shall see you from the Most Glorious Horizon, and will help whomsoever riseth up for the helping of our Work with hosts from the Supreme Concourse, and a cohort of the Cherubim."'²

The same news reached me on the same day from my Ezeli correspondent in Constantinople, but in how different a form of words was his laconic announcement of Behá's death couched! He added (I know not on what authority) that disputes had already arisen between two of Behá'u'lláh's sons, 'Abbás Efendí and Mírzá Muḥammad 'Alí,³ as to the succession; and that Akká Mírzá Akká Ján called *Khádimu'lláh*, Behá's amanuensis and special attendant, had given his support to the latter, because he hoped to find him more pliable and more amenable to his own views and wishes. This statement I only give for what it is worth.

¹ A translation of part of this passage will be found quoted at p. 975 of *B. ii*. It occurs on f. 7^b of BFP. 3, and f. 31^b of BFP. 4.

² This passage occurs on f. 10^b of BFP. 3, and ff. 38^a-38^b of BFP. 4.

³ The latter I did not see at Acre, neither did I know where he was, though I heard mention of him. He it was, I believe, who invented the different forms of the *Khaff-i-Badí*, or "New Writing." (See *B. i*, p. 498.) Of this writing I was unable to obtain a specimen, but I learn from Baron Rosen that M. Toumansky was more fortunate, and that amongst the treasures which he brought back from 'Istikábád were the words *علي محمد* written in new character.

What effect Behá's death may have on the further development of Bábiism it is impossible to conjecture. Will the movement of which he has for so long a time been the guiding spirit, languish or lose ground? Will dissensions arise amidst his followers to produce further disruptions and schisms in the Bábí church? Will the Ezelís (who, as it appears, keep themselves well informed of all that takes place at Acre) seize the opportunity to set on foot propaganda in favour of Subh-i-Ezel? Or will the fabric, reared with such infinite pains by the departed Seer, prove able to withstand the disintegrating forces which, no longer kept in check by his master-hand, must almost inevitably come into play? Time alone will show.¹

¹ I learn from Baron Rosen that a short paragraph announcing the death of Behá'u'lláh appeared in the Russian newspaper called *Le Caucase*, published at Tiflis; and that the news was also conveyed to him by Lieutenant Toumanski in a private letter, in which were enclosed copies of Behá'u'lláh's testamentary dispositions (كتاب عهدی) and an elegy on his death by the Bábí poet 'Andalib (Mirzá 'Alí Ashraf of Láhtján). Baron Rosen adds that Behá died on May 16th of this year (1892), but that the news of his decease did not reach 'Ishkábád till July 5th. The interesting documents forwarded by Lieutenant Toumanski are to appear in the *Zapiski*.